



MARXIST - LENINIST JOURNAL

**THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)**

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International Workers Day**
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Rally, Montreal
by Hardial Bains**
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Revolutionisation of the Life of the
Party and the Country —
A Permanent Task
by Ramiz Alia**
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Life Strengthens the Thinking and
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On the 100th Anniversary of International Workers Day

Comrades and friends,

On this 100th anniversary of May Day as International Workers' Day, when working people throughout the world express their solidarity with each other's struggles and pledge themselves anew to the struggle for the end of exploitation of man by man, it seems to us appropriate to make some remarks on the current national and international situation.

Reaction at this time is on the rampage, thinking they have things going their own way, with the governments of Thatcher in Britain, Kohl in West Germany, Bush in the USA, Mulroney in Canada, as well as Gorbachev in the Soviet Union of course, putting huge pressure on the people, waging in particular an unprecedented campaign against communism, against the long-term aspirations of the working class, going all-out to give the idea that socialism is finished for ever.

But can it be said that people in Britain, in Europe, in the other parts of the world are reconciled to the present situation, are happy to accept this verdict?

Speech given by a representative of the Central Committee of the RCPB(ML) at a meeting to mark the 100th anniversary of May Day as International Workers Day, London, May 8, 1990. The speech has been edited for publication.

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The voices of Thatcher and those like her, of course, are very stridently saying that socialism is finished, that the people generally have come to the conclusion that capitalism is the best system, it will give them their freedoms and prosperity, that socialism has been tried and it simply has not worked and that people did not actually like it. And, of course, they use the changes which have taken place in Eastern Europe to justify that. But aside from the fact that in Eastern Europe nothing worthy of the name of socialism has existed for more than 35 years now, at the same time one can legitimately ask the question, have these changes in Eastern Europe which they make such a fuss about, have they solved any of the problems which face the people there? And if one looks at the actual situation, the answer must be that they have not solved anything there.

If you take the question of the economic situation facing the people, of course the people have faced terrible economic hardship under the previous regimes, but what is very clear even now in the first months of some of these regimes is that the economic hardships facing the people are becoming even greater. A few weeks ago, the CIA I think it was produced a document saying that the economic situation, for instance in the Soviet Union, is quite disastrous. Following that the Supreme Soviet made a comment on it and said that not only is this true but actually it is worse than they were saying it was! And just in recent weeks they have announced in the Soviet Union that in the coming months up to 10 million people are going to be thrown out of work, prices are going to double. If you look at the whole period since these reforms started, since Gorbachev came to power five years ago, the fact is that production in the Soviet Union is lower now, national income has gone down, inflation is rising, and so on. The same thing is true in the countries of Eastern Europe – the programmes which have been brought in, the austerity programmes which they have been ordered

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to impose in order to get the loans from abroad, are facing the people with extreme and increasing difficulties. Even the benefits which the people in the Eastern European countries had as leftovers from when socialist measures were introduced after the war – the guaranteed work, the pensions, child care – all these things are now disappearing.

They are also making a very big fuss that there is freedom there now, freedom of the press, and so on. But, for instance, in Hungary, it was revealed a few weeks ago that the major newspaper publishing houses there have all been taken over now by Murdoch, Maxwell or the Springer monopoly of West Germany. One can ask, what sort of freedom of the press is this that the people have?

As is known very well, national and ethnic strife has reached quite horrific proportions. Tanks have been used against the people in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, and other republics of the Soviet Union. Just in the present days, huge economic pressure is being put on the people in Lithuania, who have taken the decision in their parliament to secede from the Soviet Union, a secession which of course is their right. But huge economic pressure is being applied – the cutting off of oil, the cutting off of gas, foodstuffs and so on – with the obvious threat of military intervention later.

Then there has been a very dangerous reappearance of openly fascist organisations in Eastern Europe. On May Day in Poland, five fascist organisations held a Congress in Warsaw, with openly anti-Semitic slogans. In East Germany, Nazi skinheads attacked the left-wing demonstration. In the Soviet Union, there are open racist attacks on Jews. All sorts of old quarrels are coming out into the open again, quarrels over borders – not only the one between Poland and Germany but quarrels between Hungary and Romania and others – all sorts of old wounds, all sorts of problems which one thought had been settled,

are now up for struggle again.

And then, with the break-up of the so-called Eastern bloc, the Soviet bloc, one has a situation where everything is now up for grabs. All the big powers are in a scramble to take over the production, the markets, in these countries of Eastern Europe, with all the dangers which go with that, as well as all sorts of manoeuvring on the military front.

So one can say that rather than anything being solved in Eastern Europe, while it is not clear at the moment which direction they will take, there are potentially dangerous situations being created there, with dangers of even greater foreign interference in the affairs of those countries, the resurgence of fascism, the danger of a new war, a new war emanating from Europe, where two horrific world wars have already begun this century, and it is essential for great vigilance on the part of the working people about these situations.

Then, if one looks at the situation in countries like ours, this capitalism which they are saying is bringing the people such benefits in Eastern Europe, one can again justly ask, what has it solved here, what problems is it solving for the people here? The fact is that the people who make such a fuss about democracy and freedom in Eastern Europe, the Thatchers and so on, are instituting a rule of increasing despotism in their own countries. We have in this country predictions all the time that economic recession is just around the corner. In fact they are saying that it is surprising that the recession has not happened already. We have the Thatcher government which over the years of its rule has justified putting all sorts of hardship onto the people on the argument that they are keeping inflation down, the people have suffered all these things in order to keep down inflation which they say will guarantee prosperity, but of course inflation is rising again now, it is up to nearly nine per cent, and even the bourgeois commentators predict that it will

go up beyond there. The CBI has announced that there is going to be a rise in unemployment in the coming months. Everybody knows, who is in work, that there is increasing pressure on those in work: in factories, increasingly harsh disciplines, pressure to produce more, harassment of progressive workers, and so on. It is the same in other strata of society as well. We know the attack there is on the health service, on the education service. The attack which has caused the most anger among the people at the present time is, as you know, the poll tax, which is a most devastating and crippling attack on the people, with the aim of furthering the strategy of the bourgeoisie to cut social spending, to make the people pay, and give themselves money to give to the monopolies, to the banks and multinationals, as well as using the poll tax to institute all sorts of new methods of surveillance of the people, gathering of information on the people, more and more draconian measures to take to force the people to pay. At the same time, we have an increasingly difficult situation for the youth, with less and less facilities for education, for social and cultural life, and so on, and a very reactionary climate being built up – an attempt to incite racism to a much greater extent. Last week Norman Tebbit made a speech in parliament on the question of the Hong Kong passports, the issuing of passports to fifty thousand families in Hong Kong when Hong Kong goes to China. Our Party's view is that we are against the issuing of passports to these people, because the people who are being issued the passports are those who have served British imperialism in the oppression and exploitation of the people in Hong Kong – the police chiefs, the jailers, various people who have made lots of money, and so on. We do not want here the swindlers, the jailers and torturers who have served British imperialism. Britain of course does have an obligation to the people of Hong Kong who have suffered so greatly under British rule, but not by giving passports to these type of people. Hong

Kong is part of China and there should be no delay in rectifying this situation, but it is the people of Hong Kong themselves through their struggles who will achieve their rights, while at the same time Britain is under obligation to make some recompense for the terrible suffering and devastation wreaked on the people there in the period of British colonial rule, and the great social problems created, the crime and drugs, a type of reparations for colonial devastation. The demand that Britain cease its interference in the affairs of other countries, that it hand back those territories it occupies which belong rightfully to other peoples, such as the six counties of Ulster, the Falklands, Gibraltar, remains a major demand of the British working class and all progressive people. At the same time it is vital to struggle against the increasing foreign domination of Britain, particularly by the USA, as well as for the national rights of the people of Scotland and Wales, the democratic, social and cultural rights of the immigrants and national minorities. In Tebbit's speech, what he was saying was the most open, vicious type of racism, using the issue to whip up racism, that we do not want people in this country who do not have our culture and way of doing things.

Generally, the situation in this country is one of increasing insecurity, increasing anxiety, for the masses of the working people. But what is the alternative which is being presented?

Quite clearly the Labour Party is being groomed and Neil Kinnock is being groomed as an alternative to the Conservative government. It would seem that the bourgeoisie has not made its mind up yet which party it wants - whether it wants to continue with Thatcher, whether it wants to replace Thatcher and push for another Conservative government, or to replace them entirely with a Labour government. But what is clear - if one looks at the new policies of the Labour Party - is that they offer people nothing really fundamentally different

from that which the Tories have offered.

One can look at the effects of the capitalist system in other parts of the world also. While one could say that in countries like Britain, countries of Western Europe and of North America, the people have some crumbs from the capitalist table, for the millions of people living under the world system of capitalism in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, in countries strangled and crippled by foreign debt under the domination of the superpowers and other big powers, life under capitalism means a life of starvation and oppression. There is increasing pressure by the superpowers and the other big powers to impose their will on the countries of the world. The US has sent its troops into Panama and established the regime it wants there. They have poured millions of dollars into Nicaragua, as well of course as years of financing the contras, to get a government that they want in that country. And now they are making very bellicose noises towards Cuba, even to the extent of threats of military intervention, to impose what they claim is democracy, their type of democracy, on all the peoples of the region, irrespective of what the people there have chosen for themselves by their struggles. The Soviet Union is also putting pressure on Cuba now that Fidel Castro has spoken against perestroika. We sincerely hope that the heroic Cuban people, who overthrew the fascist Batista regime and US domination by their own deeds, successfully resist these pressures.

What faces the working class and people is what has always faced them, to step up the fight for their rights, to step up the struggles for the sovereignty of their countries, with the perspective of fighting for a just system, for a socialist system.

At the same time, the lessons of the twentieth century must be heeded at this time when the history, the actual achievements, are under such attack and distortion. The real lessons of the twentieth century are that it is the capitalist system, time and time again, which has brought

disaster for the people, it is capitalism which brought fascism, it is capitalism which again and again has brought war, including two terrible world wars, has brought the oppression of peoples, the oppression of nations. At the same time, it has been the forces of progress and anti-fascism led by the Marxist-Leninists who again and again have saved mankind, have given rights to the peoples, have granted rights to nations, and have continually fought and achieved peace in the world.

One has only to take an example like Lithuania, which is in the news at the present time. One reads again and again that Lithuanians are now, in their call for secession, claiming back the sovereignty which they say Stalin took from them in 1940 when the Soviet Union annexed Lithuania. If one looks at the actual facts of history, one sees exactly the opposite. Every freedom, every piece of sovereignty won by Lithuania this century, was given them by Stalin and the Soviet Union. Lithuania was for centuries either part of the tsarist empire or under Polish or German domination. The first time it got independence was in 1918 when the Soviet Union gave independence to Lithuania. Again, in 1940, if one looks at the facts, the Soviet Union and Lithuania had signed a mutual assistance pact against the danger of Nazi invasion, Soviet troops were allowed in Lithuania, and when the Nazi danger was imminent, the Soviet Union insisted on the provisions of this pact being implemented. The Lithuanian people themselves, after the pre-war fascist dictator had fled, set up their own parliament, had for the first time free elections, and freely voted in July 1940 to join the Soviet Union. Previous to that it was the Soviet Union and Stalin which had given Lithuania back its capital, Vilnius, which had been seized by Poland in 1920. Then again, at the end of the war, it was Stalin and the Soviet Union who gave legitimate and defensible borders to Lithuania, as well as to Latvia and Estonia. And, it was of course Stalin and the Soviet Union who

played the main role in saving mankind in the defeat of Nazi Germany in the second world war. In fact, all the great achievements of the century are those which have been led by the Marxist-Leninists, the establishment of the first workers' state in 1917 in the Soviet Union, the victory over fascism in the second world war, and at the present time, the only genuine example in the world, the building of socialism in Albania, which despite all the fanciful stories which one reads in the press, is continuing on its own path which it has followed since liberation at the end of the war, continually building socialism, and all the time further democratising the country, more and more involving the people in running every aspect of the life of the country.

For the working class, in our view, the issue is that the principles to be followed have not changed. At the same time, the working class and people should be very vigilant of all the dangers which there are at present.

Today, we are marking as well as May Day the 120th anniversary of Lenin's birth. Looking at the actual facts – the struggles of the people, the dangers in the world – what is quite clear is that everything which Lenin stood for, everything that Lenin said in his time, is just as true today – that it is the contention of the imperialist powers which gives the danger of war, it is the capitalist system and its crises which bring all the hardships onto the people, and it is national liberation and the struggle for socialism which still remains the only way out for the working people, for the masses of the people, to get over the present problems.

On this May Day festival the message remains as it was 100 years ago when Frederick Engels and the other leaders of the International Working Men's Association declared the first international May Day. Solidarity with all the peoples fighting for their rights, for genuine democracy and freedom! Victory to the struggle for a

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better society, for the end of wage slavery and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man! Long live the First of May!

Report to the Internationalist Rally, Montreal

by Hardial Bains

Dear Comrades and Friends,

We have come a long way towards this day – more than 20 years of work and struggle, seeking for the working class and people a different life to that which they live today and have lived during the last two decades and more. These days, when we are gathering together, are particular days, days of reflection, of thinking things out – the days of preparation which will determine what is to become of the future. These more than 20 years have brought these days into being today. These more than 20 years have not only been full of an aspiration for a different future, but also full of activity in order to create that future.

It is said and repeated, nationally as well as

Speech delivered by Hardial Bains, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) at the Internationalist Rally on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of CPC(ML) and the 120th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, in Montreal, April 22, 1990. The speech has been edited by the author for publication.

internationally, by those who wish us evil, that we are nowhere. Nay, more, it is said that everything is lost – history has turned its back on us, on freedom, on progress, on socialism; socialism is not the destiny of mankind; the working class is not the builder of socialism; the working class is not the most thoroughly revolutionary class. The extent of brutality and uncultured behaviour in this propaganda is reminiscent of the days of Goebbels and others. It is anathema to mankind, to the very essence of cultivated and civilized behaviour. The arguments for which the McCarthy era was notorious are today presented as facts by the governments which claim to be not only democratic, but fighting for freedom, and by the media, which not only present themselves as being for freedom, but also as the product of freedom, and by those who claim themselves to be the representatives of the working class, the trade union leaders, the social democrats and the revisionists. Now that the revolution has suffered a setback, they have openly come out against what they call Stalinism, that is, scientific socialism, socialist democracy and the independent, hegemonic and leading role of the working class. They unabashedly admit and proudly declare that which they can no longer hide – that they were behind all the counter-revolutionary, anti-communist and anti-worker developments in the world working class and communist movement, in the movement for national liberation, in the struggle of the peoples against the two superpowers, and behind the right wing in Eastern Europe and on the world scale. Such an admission in the name of "defence of democracy" should make the workers and those interested in real democracy, freedom and progress think and draw the pertinent conclusions.

Why all this violence and brutality, all this hooliganism and all the calumnies and slanders against communism, against Marxism-Leninism? It is because world capitalism is on the verge of a new world-wide crisis. The much-touted hybrid system of "developed socialism" in

Eastern Europe turned out to be a dismal failure and is in collapse. Neo-colonialism is in equal crisis, and the entire world of capitalism is facing an extremely bleak future. Thus, it is convenient and helpful to world capitalism and the bourgeoisie to call the collapse of the hybrid system in Eastern Europe and the crisis of neo-colonialism the collapse of communism. In this way, not only would the workers and those who are concerned not know why this disaster in Eastern Europe and the neo-colonial states took place, but also they would be blocked from blaming the capitalists and imperialists and their lackeys for these tragedies and from looking to communism as a way out of the present situation which holds grave dangers for the people.

Can we say that communism and Marxism-Leninism have brought disaster to Eastern Europe, to the Soviet Union? Can we say that Marxism-Leninism, which brought the people of Russia out of Tsarist darkness, was later to lead them into another kind of darkness, another kind of enslavement? Can we say that because some claim this to be the case, there is no need for changes in Quebec, in Canada, and elsewhere? When we talk about changes here, we are referring to a qualitative change, to the movement of the society which is based on exploitation to one which is not. We are speaking of transition from class to classless society. Living in Montreal or in Quebec or Canada or elsewhere, and coming to this conclusion that change is not necessary because of the developments in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union, would be an impossible task. I have lived here, and you have also. Can we say that the developments in various spheres, most importantly in the spheres of the economy and culture, the spiritual side, the motive for living and in politics, tell us that we should strive for no change? Do these conditions point to the necessity of the continuation of the status quo? If this is the case, then we can proclaim the end of Marxism-Leninism, then we can proclaim the end

of history, then we can say that there is no future whatsoever for freedom, progress and socialism.

There are philosophers who are theorising this, who are suggesting that history has come to an end. What they mean by history coming to an end is that the age-old quest of the people for a society without exploitation of man by man has come to an end. According to them, liberal democracy has won. What are the main benefits for the workers and people as a consequence of this victory? Can we say that the rise of the right wing is a gain for the workers and peoples? If we do that, then the peoples of the world will wonder, "What kind of people are these who cannot see the forest for the trees?" They will ask: "If you do not want change, then what about us?" The billions upon billions of oppressed and exploited on the world scale will tell us: "We want change! We want a new life!" They will say that they want a system where there is no exploitation and oppression. Can we go to them and say, "Well, do not worry about the exploitation and oppression in the world. This is the price we have to pay for democracy. You should be happy and joyful about this". Will this convince them? Can they be convinced that there is no such thing as imperialism or social imperialism? Or that oligopolies and monopolies are the price we must pay for democracy? Are these merely our phrases, coined by us, or are they things which describe the reality of life? Have they not spread their tentacles all over the world? Have the two superpowers and others not united not only against revolutionary change, but even a minor reform which threatens their very existence? They would tell us: "We won't agree with you. We, the billions upon billions of people upon this globe, want change. If you want to go for the status quo, you will have to go it alone! You should also think about this: We need an ideology, one which is necessary to bring about this qualitative change, and it can only be a qualitatively new ideology. But what you are suggesting to us

smacks of the same thing we have heard before - not this year, not last year, but for all the decades of this century. We have always been told that there is no need for revolution, there is no need for change. Forty-five years of 'evolution' have only strengthened the chains of enslavement, and not broken or loosened them. Forty-five years of 'evolution' confirm ever more the necessity for revolution".

Comrades and Friends,

Our Party has organised this Internationalist Rally, and we have invited all of you here to celebrate not only the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party, and the 120th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, but also to be with us and reflect upon what our enemies are suggesting. What are they saying? Do you think it is appropriate for me here to declare on behalf of the Canadian Marxist-Leninists that the present developments indicate that the world has sorted out its main problems, and that there is no need for any further change, there is no need for any further improvement? The name of our Party is Communist Party, and its long-term objective is to bring in the communist system. Do you think that we should change the name and our long-term objective because "communism has failed"? Do you think that we should offer self-criticism and account for our deeds as Marxist-Leninists?

No, comrades; no, friends, all those who want to hear: we should do no such thing. History would condemn us as it will condemn all those who did such a thing. The working class and people on the world scale would condemn us. The enlightened and justice-loving people would condemn us if we did such a thing. If we have to offer self-criticism, what would we offer? Should we have self-criticism that in the 1960s we called for discussion about our situation, that we should oppose the decadent educational system which was facilitating the US economic penetration, which in the name of education was incul-

cating blindness, fanaticism and chauvinism, which was telling us that dependence on the US is better than independence, which was telling us that we should join with the US in aggression against other peoples, especially the people of Indo-China? Will this be the self-criticism? Should we have self-criticism that in August, 1964, we pointed out that the US has imperialist ambitions and aggression at heart, that it wants to dominate the world? Should we have self-criticism that in 1966 we opposed revisionism in the People's Republic of China and took a stand against the Kosygin reforms in the Soviet Union? Should we offer self-criticism for carrying out work in an organised fashion on the basis of democratic centralism and organising the Necessity for Change Conference in August 1967? Should we have self-criticism about events in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, when we pointed out to the Canadian working class and people that the invasion of Czechoslovakia was not by a socialist and fraternal nation, but by a swaggering social-imperialist Soviet Union? When in May 1968 we gave the call, right here in Montreal, that there should be a genuine communist party, a communist party whose first and only aim is to organise the working class of Canada, not on some chauvinist basis, not on the basis of some reactionary views, but on the basis of unity with the workers of all lands for the liberation and emancipation of the entire working class? Should we have self-criticism for fighting for this particular ideology of the working class, the only ideology which can represent the true aspirations of the Canadian workers, in their true struggle for not only emancipation from the system of wage-slavery in Canada, but also their support for all those who fight for national liberation and social emancipation? Should we have self-criticism that right here, in the fall of 1968, we stood against the division of the people of Quebec, especially the workers of Quebec, on the basis of language, and opposed the language fascists who wanted to organise attacks on the

people?

Comrades and friends, most importantly, should we have self-criticism on the question of founding our Party 20 years ago? Today, the bourgeois press is informing the workers that the Communist Party of Canada is planning to change its name. But, 20 years have created a new situation. The name of the Communist Party is not theirs to change! This party will stay, they will not be able to change its name. (Applause)

Comrades and friends, as we recall many struggles, let us remember one of the most important which our Party fought, the struggle for its independence from the encroachments and intervention by the Communist Party of China which did not wish to have a Party which is the party of the working class of Canada. They wanted some other party, a party with another aim. Should we have self-criticism for fighting for the independence of the Party, for having our head on our shoulders, for doing our own thinking, for solving our own problems?

Comrades and friends, right after its founding our Party was in the fire of resistance against the state-organised attacks carried out in close collaboration with the holy alliance of the "left". Hundreds of our members courageously stood up and faced the courts and prisons of the class enemy, fought the introduction of terrorism and the splittist gang of the "left sloganeering front of Khrushchevite revisionism". Should we have self-criticism for this heroic deed? None of those who committed crimes against our Party has ever been punished even though the Macdonald Commission on the Wrong-Doings of the RCMP came to know and record many of the things which are still kept secret.

Comrades and friends, we recall the days of 1972, when the Marxist-Leninists from all across the country built a vigorous, momentous movement for the unity of all Marxist-Leninists in one Party in Canada. Should we have self-criticism for that? Should we have self-criticism

that in 1974-75 we stood against the theory of three worlds? Or because again, in 1978, we opposed Maoism? Or because we waged many struggles in defence of our ideology and for the right of the working class to emancipate itself and for its unity against all the splitters, whether they were labour aristocrats or the revisionists of the "Communist Party", or the social democrats of the NDP or similar enemies internationally? From the days when we struggled for the necessity for the leading role of the Party to these days of the building of the Mass Press, each step of the way, our Party has marched forward, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, for the victory of revolution and socialism. It has called for the unity of the working class around the Party at each step, for the building of a society which is fit for human existence.

Comrades and friends, nothing has happened which can convince us that we have been proven wrong. On the contrary, it is the enemies of communism, it is the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, who have been proven wrong. It is they who supported Nikita Khrushchev, which brought disaster to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It is they who supported Leonid Brezhnev, and it is they who are hobnobbing with Mikhail Gorbachev. In the same fashion, they were the friends of Mao Zedong; they were the friends of every opportunist and revisionist in this world. Let me say, on behalf of all the Canadian communists, that we find no fault of principle in our Party, or our brother Parties. We do not betray their confidence in us, because if we have self-criticism, this will be betrayal of them. We will do no such thing. We can neither betray our workers, nor can we betray the workers of any other lands. History has put us in this position, not to answer questions for the wrongs of our enemies, but to put the enemy in the dock. It is the enemies who should answer these questions, and history will force them to answer these questions.

Already history has taken its initial verdict. As all of you know, democracy has recently returned to those countries where it was a thing of the past under the revisionists. But remember, the revisionists were yelling themselves hoarse at that time also. They claimed they did not have Stalinist repression, but a new kind of system, a system which they named by various names, including "developed socialism". We had theoreticians, after the time of J.V. Stalin, who tried to convince the world that contradictions themselves have ended in the Soviet Union once and for all. We ask these theoreticians that if the contradictions ended, why are they at each other's throats now? Are these fights not the manifestation of class contradictions? When they shoot down the people of Azerbaijan, then what kind of contradictions are being expressed? Where did they come from? When they deny the people of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia the right to self-determination, which the names of Lenin and Stalin were famous for upholding, then is this not an expression of the heightening of national contradictions?

Comrades and friends, where did these contradictions come from if they had disappeared? These theoreticians of the past, they have been proven wrong, and the present-day theoreticians of their kind will also be proven wrong, because these elements are trying to turn the just discontent of the masses against their own rule into a movement against communism, and this will not happen. Before 1989, all these countries of Eastern Europe were called socialist. We told the people, we told our workers that they were not socialist countries. We wrote one article after another. We organised conference after conference. We even organised a year-long national programme on the occasion of the centenary of the death of Karl Marx in 1983. Again and again and again, we proved that the Soviet Union was not socialist. These media tsars and others were telling us that the Soviet Union was socialist. They were telling us that the Soviet Union was the way

it had been at the time of Lenin but, more importantly, that this was a Soviet Union which could be talked with, negotiated with much better than in the days of J.V. Stalin. They were proven wrong about this question, comrades, while we were proven right. But the question is, why should the workers believe what our enemies say? Why should they listen to everything which comes from the newspapers, the radio and television? The answer to this is that from the time of the Second World War and before, to the present day, our enemies established a base in the trade union movement, an anti-communist movement on the social base of the labour aristocracy. They whisper, they gossip, they create fear, they say all kinds of things against communism. They don't speak openly, and they are the ones who were telling the workers the same tales which the media and the capitalists wanted them to tell. They were the transmission belt of the bourgeoisie, as were the social democrats and others. Now, should the workers not ask them: "Why is it that the country, which was, according to you, socialist before and with which you were hobnobbing, has given up socialism?" Every infamy which has taken place over the past more than 30 years in Eastern Europe has been applauded by them. And now, the same elements, the same enemies, call these countries democratic and free. Just the other day in Budapest, it came to the knowledge of world public opinion that two monopolies, one from Britain and the other from Germany, gobbled up all the press. This is the freedom Budapest has now, according to which "communist" tyranny is a thing of the past. Now they will have the press which we are blessed with here . . .

Comrades and friends, we, the communists, who have gone through many many struggles, must reflect on these things, as to why they are happening. Our Party looks at the developments within Canada and internationally extremely seriously. There is no reason whatsoever for us to be discouraged or goggly-eyed. As in the past, today

too, we must look at our conditions seriously. Why are there so many problems, and what can be done about them? We have every kind of problem in Canada. These days, as all of you know, the Meech Lake Accord has even brought the Catholic Church in Montreal to demand that young kids must get its permission about which language they can speak. In the name of defence of "distinct society", in the name of defence of French culture, everybody's culture should be destroyed, they say. Is this a demand from a true nationalist, a true democrat? Is this a demand from those who work for the well-being of their people? Or is it a demand from those who stand for autocracy, as is the case in the United States, which is against the interests of all cultures and nationalities? We have today this problem of the Meech Lake Accord, which is not only setting people at each other's throats, giving space to every chauvinist to speak and issue threats and so on, whether in Quebec or elsewhere, but hides the real fact, the real problem of the rights and duties of the citizens, which are not enshrined in the Constitution, where no discussion has ever taken place on this question since 1867. There has always been discussion about what should be the powers of the federal government and the provincial governments. For 123 years they have not sorted out this problem.

Comrades and friends, there is the problem of the economy. Besides the question of interest rates and unemployment, etc., here in Canada economic insecurity has spread like a plague. Working people fear the impending general sales tax. Working people are extremely afraid that what they have today they may not have in the afternoon or tomorrow. In place of serious discussion on these matters and other matters internationally, an atmosphere of fear has been created, of gossip and slander, an atmosphere which forbids deep reflection and serious thought, in which diversion is the preferred method to ensure that passions flare, not for the solution of problems, but for

their aggravation.

Comrades and friends, the developments in Eastern Europe should make us think, but there is another agenda being imposed on us in order to zero in the most brutal attacks on us. In place of serious thought about why these developments are taking place, there is a ferocious attack on communism. Will these attacks provide a solution to the problem? The fact that the occasion is used to attack communism shows the bad conscience of those who engage in it. It shows that they do not want to resolve anything. They have merely self-serving aims. We should seriously reflect on why this is the case.

Our Party has said that real socialism can only be brought about through violent revolution, that is revolution by the use of force, and by force is meant compulsion. We have been accused of being violent for saying so. Have the changes which are being brought about in Romania or in Panama been brought about peacefully? Has the change in Nicaragua been brought about peacefully? Those who accused us of violence now justify violence. It is clear that violence is all right to bring back capitalism, but it is not all right if it is used to bring about socialism. Shouldn't we conclude from this that there is a need for revolutionary violence? Revolutionaries do not use violence against the people. They do not use compulsion over people to bring about change. On the contrary, they make the masses conscious and it is then they who bring about change. The reactionary violence, on the other hand, is always destined against the people who seek change. Because we have said that socialism can only be brought about through violent revolution, does it follow that we can conclude that we, our Party, is going to compel everyone to have communism against their will? Can a new system come into being through compulsion? When the old system is ready to depart from the scene of history, can we say that right on the first day the vast majority of people are ready to dump it? Can we say, on the

contrary, from the other side, that if they are not willing to dump it on the first day, then we should wait for when the majority agree to dump it? Again, the question is not a simple one and the answer can't be simple. It is not a matter of a yes or no answer. What we can say for sure is that no system has lasted for ever and what we have in mind are very definite systems which had one thing in common - that is the running of the society by the minority in the interests of the minority. Historically, one such system replaced another. Can we say that every time a system has been replaced by another, one minority has replaced another? No, we cannot say such a thing. There is a fear that such a change may again not benefit the majority. This is the conclusion which the enemy, which the bourgeoisie, which the capitalists want to spread amongst the masses, that a change is like a spiral which never gives rise to anything, that people with good will and good sentiments come forward, organise revolution, then get corrupted, and revolution is finished. This is not, comrades, how history has moved in the past. Retrogression may take place but is not necessary and mandatory for the advance of the society. For example, from slave society, we did see feudalism, we did see the end of slave society. From feudalism, we did see the end of feudalism and the rise of capitalist society. There may be periods when the two may have coexisted, but there has been a break within a historical epoch. And today too, on the world scale in the 20th century, we see that socialism has become one of the greatest aspirations. All the enemies of socialism in the 20th century who saw actual possibilities of socialist revolution triumphing - and one-sixth of the globe did become socialist - pretended to be socialists. This was the case of the Italian fascist party, through which the king and the ruling class, afraid of the working class and revolution, brought forth the corporate fascist state. It was true in the case of the Nazis in Germany, who presented themselves as national

socialists. And since that time, besides the Italian fascists and the German National Socialists, we have democratic socialists, and socialists of many varieties, and in Eastern Europe we had a hybrid in place of real socialism. There was developed socialism in the Soviet Union. What does it prove? That people want change, the working class wants socialism, and the enemies of socialism want the working class to go on another path, to be diverted and so on. This is why in Canada David Lewis, a personality the bourgeoisie says is so pure he should not even be touched, said many times that he would always be for democracy which should be put in the first place, and for socialism which should be put in the second place. How is it that democracy and socialism should be put in contradiction with one another? How can socialism be relegated to the second place? We know in this world there is such a thing as socialist democracy. David Lewis, his son Stephen Lewis, Audrey McLaughlin and all the others, don't want socialist democracy. They want democratic socialism. Are these just different words? Or do they stand for different things? When they say they are for democracy, just the word has to be changed to understand that they are for capitalism, for imperialism, for every kind of exploitation. When they say they are for socialism, then also the sentence should be completed to say they want socialism merely as a phrase, merely to tell the workers that "Look, we are so successful, we can even constitute governments, while these Marxist-Leninists are nowhere! We are the people who are doing something while the Marxist-Leninists are merely talking." Very well, but what has the 20th century proven? That just as corporate fascism or national socialism brought disaster to mankind, so democratic socialism has also done the same thing. It is not uncommon for these champions of the Second International to justify either suppression inside a country or aggression abroad. In 1968 there was a Labour party government in Britain.

It sent the army to Ireland. They think that people have short memories. And many times since then, the Labour party has also been "against" the army being in Ireland. How is it possible? Sister parties of the New Democratic Party are the Zionist Labour party of Israel, the Indian National Congress, organisations known for their aggression abroad and their internal suppression of the people, and so on. In other words, none of these parties is really socialist, none of these parties is really democratic, but the workers want genuine democracy and real socialism.

Look at the situation at the present time. We all want change. One thing common to all, to one degree or the other, is that we want change. This means that the society is pregnant with change. This means that the vast majority want this change but are not quite ready. There is a fear that such a change may again not benefit the majority. A new minority may manipulate the situation in its own favour. Yes, such a danger comes from the social-democrats and the revisionists. Thus, what is common to all is the desire for change. At the same time, we want a change which favours the whole of our humanity.

When we say "whole of our humanity", here, of course, we are pointing not to NUMBERS but to what it means to be human. In this world, there are those who proclaim themselves to be human but then apostatize, truncate the concept "whole of our humanity". The "whole of our humanity" is what is distinct, differentiated, and completely separated from the "whole of animality". The whole of animality has as its component part the "complete enslavement to all given conditions of existence". A beaver may live in conditions in which the "whole of beaverliness" can be expressed but a beaver cannot create these conditions. They are given to it, and it has to adapt to them, and not the other way around.

If a beaver were to say that because of my nature I am only going to adapt to part of these conditions, then the beaver would be in serious trouble. It does not really

have a say in the matter. But men and women, we human beings, are not beavers. We create conditions for our existence, making use of what nature has in store. We do not reject nature but we are not slaves to nature either. We not only face nature, but, more importantly, we are products of the society to which we are born. The "whole of our humanity" rebels against the very thought of either being slave to the blind forces of nature, or more importantly, of the blind forces of society. This really, comrades and friends, is what we must look at closely and reflect on deeply. Only then will you be able to appreciate what we Marxist-Leninists say.

There are those in the society who compel us to remain slave to the blind forces of society. They are humans too. They are very conscious, but their consciousness leads them to attack the "whole of our humanity", that which differentiates us from the "whole of animality". We are being COMPELLED TO SUBMIT TO WHAT WE DO NOT LIKE. Because there exists such a compulsion, we can only end it through compulsion. A man who works in snuffing out fire knows very well: extinguish fire with fire. We must end compulsion through compulsion too. There is a branch of medicine which bases itself on "like kills like": a poison which creates certain symptoms in a healthy body can also rid the body of a malady with similar symptoms.

Comrades and friends, we are living in a society where there are more people concerned about protecting the habitat of some animals and such things. They write articles, they demonstrate, and when it comes to the habitat of man, that is society, they say we are not going to say a word. What kind of humanity is this, which accepts that the habitat of an animal should be protected, but about man's habitat, they say this is out of our hands? They invoke the name of human nature to say that men and women who want to bring about change are merely causing trouble. But men and women, we human beings,

are not beavers. We create conditions for our existence, making use of what nature has in store. We do not reject nature, but we are not slaves to the blind forces of nature either. We not only face nature, but more importantly, we are products of the society to which we are born. The whole of humanity rebels against the very thought of either being the slaves to the blind forces of nature or, more importantly, the blind forces of the society. Are we now to give up this "whole of our humanity"?

You and I have come here today not to participate in empty philosophising. I have a motive in talking to you in this way. I want to pose to ourselves a question: Why can't we have the whole of our humanity, our entire consciousness aimed, deployed, to solve the problems we face? Again, you know very well that those who profit from the status quo would rather forgo the whole of humanity than let go of their own interests. You know very well that the present society really serves only a small minority. We have at one pole a minority of rich, and on the other pole, the increasing number of poor. In terms of division between rich and poor, in between, we have a whole majority, who are neither rich nor poor. But it so happens that the vast majority of them are workers, and the vast majority of poor are workers also. As is historically the case, the increase in the number of workers is based on the ruin and impoverishment of the petty producers and the middle strata, and the increase in the number of poor is the result of the increase in impoverishment of the workers. In other words, there is ruination of the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie, and there is impoverishment and ruination of the working class. Should the middle strata not make common cause with all those who face the same consequences? Should they not think about what kind of emancipation the working class could bring about? Maybe there is a salvation for the middle strata in the working class rule. Those who are neither rich nor poor, it can be clearly seen, are also

facing the pressure. It is really becoming a Herculean task to keep out of the ranks of the poor, while there is no danger whatsoever in being pushed into the ranks of the rich. It can be easily said that we have a society in which the majority are powerless: the poor do not count, and the rich are willing to sacrifice the whole of our humanity. It is only we Marxist-Leninists who speak about real humanity. According to our critics, Marxist-Leninists don't even want to use the name humanity. Marxist-Leninists do not believe, according to them, in humanity. If Marxism-Leninism did not believe in humanity, if the socialist system is not the most humane system there is, then you know what happened in Eastern Europe, and you know what happened in Russia in 1917. Inhumane systems do get overthrown, and Marxist-Leninists are the ones who lead such an overthrow and who can build a really humane system. In Eastern Europe one inhumane regime has been replaced by another. There is yet to be a real champion of overthrow who brings to the fore what is really humane. The Marxist-Leninists will lead the workers to do such a thing. We are not only confident but certain of it.

It is proclaimed now that communism is finished and Marxist-Leninist ideology is discredited too. What are we to do now with the whole of our humanity? All those whose hearts were filled with the future of communism, what are they going to do? Look for another "ism"? What kind of "ism" will that be? To be happy with enslavement? What? No, this is not the way things stand. The question here is not of communism ending, the question is that we are in a new situation, a situation created by the smashing of the illusion called "developed socialism" in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There we had a case of the minority ruling the majority, a case where they ruled in the name of the working class, but the working class was not actually in power, in the same fashion as it is not in power in Canada either. The Canadian

ruling class rules in the name of Canada. The ruling classes in Eastern Europe ruled in the name of the working class. The new ruling classes there have become like the Canadian ruling class. The People's Republic of Hungary has become the Republic of Hungary, with a system like Canada's. What kind of country it is, they do not want to speak about; in a country where within days of their "liberation", the entire press can be taken over by the tsars of the media from Britain and Germany. They do not want to write there that this is a semi-fascist and a capitalist republic. They are afraid to openly pronounce themselves, even though they boast that an amalgam of bourgeois and social-democratic ideas is guiding them.

In Hungary, as well as in the other Eastern European countries, anti-Semitism has raised its head, and they are trying to repeat the same hackneyed phrase: Well, this is the price we pay for freedom. Yes, hunger, poverty, disease, crime, racism, fascism - all are justified in the name of "the price we pay for freedom." Shouldn't one ask what kind of freedom it is which is bringing forth all these terrible things? Why should we pay such a price? Should we not raise the issue then, that those who say such things also considered a European inter-imperialist war to be a price to pay? If they say such a thing and in such a callous and calculated manner, then they are the enemies of mankind. And such rulers have come into existence in Eastern Europe, replacing others, who were also the enemies of mankind.

Comrades and friends, the changes in Eastern Europe have unsettled all the settled problems, while they have settled none of the unsettled problems. A serious danger exists there to the freedom and progress of the peoples, especially a danger to national independence and sovereignty. As you remember at the beginning of this year, it was simply proclaimed that now it's Albania's turn, forgetting that Albania is not like Hungary, that Albania is not like Poland. But of course, what does it

matter to those who are punch-drunk with aggression and interference, to those who suppress the people at home and carry out aggressions abroad?

Let us for a minute dwell a little bit more on what kind of regimes would have allowed such a thing. The regimes in Eastern Europe were two-faced. We are quite familiar with such a phenomenon because in Canada the bourgeois parties say one thing, and they do another. In Eastern Europe, the regimes had inherited a situation which demanded solutions, that is, real socialism required further deepening and broadening, socialist democracy further required deepening and broadening, it required the planned development and renewal of the productive forces there, it required a law objectively in operation where there could be an uninterrupted reproduction, where the productivity of labour could express itself in the brilliance of a real socialist society which would have made hide-bound attitudes a thing of the past, and which would look forward to a time the whole world would be without exploitation of man by man - where a man, the labouring man, would emerge at the centre of all development, a new man, expressing the whole of our humanity. What did these "communists" achieve in Eastern Europe? There, the participation of the masses in every way possible in the political and state affairs, in the economic affairs, in the cultural affairs, was the necessary ingredient for the construction of real socialism. There, it was necessary that the Party not replace the masses and take up their role. Today they slander the name of J.V. Stalin, saying that he substituted the leading and hegemonic role of the Party for the role of the masses, which is to say that he advocated a Party dictatorship in place of the dictatorship of the proletariat. J.V. Stalin in his time fought against such a conception. He did not believe that there should be a dictatorship of the Party. He did not believe that the Party should replace the leading and hegemonic role of the working class. He talked about

the necessity of the trade unions and of the collectivised peasantry. He talked about the necessity of the youth organisations, women's organisations, as major factors, major participants in the development of socialism in the Soviet Union. But those who followed him did not solve the outstanding problems. They did not improve upon where he left off. There were historical weaknesses there, some caused by the necessity to collectivise agriculture and develop the productive forces at a very rapid rate. There were other problems as well, but Stalin died in 1953. Did those who followed him, who called themselves champions of humanity, champions of socialism, solve these problems in 37 years? We would have gladly joined them if they had corrected the "mistakes" of Stalin, about which they so loudly shout. And they would have joined us to hail Stalin. They would not have thrown mud at his name and work.

Comrades and friends, the name of J.V. Stalin can be besmirched, slandered and so on, but this cannot change reality. Coming back to what they achieved in Eastern Europe, everyone knows that the developments in Eastern Europe are new, in the sense that even the remnants and symbols of socialism are being overthrown there, but nothing has changed in North America, nothing has changed in the rest of the world. Why then should the new situation in Eastern Europe change the character of the society here? Then why should the long-term and short-term plan of the Party change? No it does not, but what it does show is that we should not keep looking toward the situation somewhere else, in other countries, and keep debating as to whether or not this thing or that thing happened there. Yes, we are very much interested in the experience of others, negative and positive, but it will have value if we have our own work at the centre of the Party's preoccupations. This is what we emphasised in 1963 and from that time on. We must continue on this path and strengthen it.

Just on Friday, all the newspapers reported that the Bank of Canada interest rate went up to 13.77 percent, and this is the interest rate offered to preferred customers, and all the commercial banks raised their rate to 14.75 percent. And of course, the masses of the people in Canada are not their best customers, so the rate is much greater for them. They said this is the highest interest rate since 1982. Why has this happened? Why do we allow such a thing? Were you consulted when the declaration was made? Are we not a democratic country, where everybody's wish is listened to? How can a man named Crow, Governor of the Bank of Canada make such an important decision, which concerns your very lives, without consulting you? It will mean that there will be more poor. It will mean that there will be more middle strata and petty bourgeois ruined. It will mean that those who are living on the poverty line will now fall beneath the poverty line. Should we not reflect that we who are living in a democracy have the Governor of the Bank of Canada announce every Thursday without consulting us what will happen to the interest rates? Still, every day, we are told we are in a democracy. In whose interests does the Governor of the Bank of Canada raise the interest rates? It has been said that he is doing it to decrease inflation, or keep inflation in check. But, why is there inflation? As far as inflation goes, the capitalists do not have to make any declaration whatsoever - it goes up and down on its own, it seems. But in a society which is so monopolised, to fix prices is a right which the monopolies have given to themselves, and when the Bank of Canada happily announces the rise of interest rates, you never know who has ordered it. You never know who the Bank of Canada is connected with, or whether it is a Canadian, American, German, Japanese concern or an oligopoly. Such statements are also made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Britain, and others with the same positions and responsibilities in other countries. In a democracy,

comrades, which they tout so much, there is not a single issue which concerns us so deeply which is ever decided by the people. Surely there still is need for deriving some conclusion from this. We can discuss Eastern Europe, but it would be better if Canada were discussed as well, and as far as the Party is concerned, it would be better if this were discussed all the time. Otherwise, we will be caught off guard.

This new situation has one most important lesson, that we must be masters of our house. If we are not, then what happened to Eastern Europe will happen here as well. The countries of Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Bulgaria had become the satellites of the Soviet Union, through economic chains, Comecon, and military enslavement, the Warsaw Pact. What brought disaster to them is not communism, but satellitism, to coin a word. It is tragic indeed that now they have replaced one form of satellitism with another form of satellitism. Their situation will go from bad to worse. They are still not masters of their own houses. This lesson from the developments of Eastern Europe is a crucial one to learn.

A story comes to mind of a man who sent his sons to get educated in a faraway land. After twelve long years of education, they returned with a camel load of books. But whenever a problem arose, they had to consult their books, because on their own they had no clue about the problem. What happened? Did those who gave them these books not educate them? Did the education not enable them to function in real life, to deal with the problems? On the contrary, their education was not to develop their faculties, but a new burden to suppress these faculties. Why? The answer is not so unclear. Because when the father sent them to get educated, he never gave them an aim. He failed to tell them why they need an education, why they want to learn. In the same fashion, the previous regimes in Eastern Europe didn't know why they wanted

Marxism-Leninism. Those poor souls who at the time of liberation never fought for their own liberation, who were satisfied that somebody else could give them liberation on a silver platter, then sent their sons for education, and they came back with a camel load of books. As a result, socialism was the last thing they could construct. Those who were revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, such as Georgi Dimitrov in Bulgaria, whose great name shines in the annals of the international communist movement and world revolution, and Bierut of Poland, and others, were in one way or another gotten rid of. Somebody caught a flu in Moscow and then died from it, somebody else died of something else. Then those who were real lackeys took up positions, comrades and friends. It is tragic, but the situation has not changed there.

This kind of education also exists in Canada. American imperialists are interested in such an education. The Canadian ruling class is interested in such an education. They say that the main aim of education is to have a career. Even if this were true, one could go along with it, but hundreds of thousands of educated people are unemployed. It puts a lie to this claim that education is for a career. Education here is in the service of those who own and control the economic and political affairs, and they do not want to educate the younger generation with an aim that they should build a new society.

Comrades and friends, in the end I would like to emphasise to you that the failure or success of a system is not some kind of a game. It determines whether the people will live in dignity, in progress and prosperity, in independence, or they will live in enslavement and die. We cannot rejoice at the enslaving system which has been imposed on the people in Eastern Europe. We cannot sit idly by when a country like Albania is called upon, under this excuse or the other, to divert from real socialism. In the same way, the Yankees want Cuba to come under their thumb, because the existence of Cuba

as an independent nation is anathema to imperialism. For them it is just a tea party, it's a joke: Nicaragua today, Panama yesterday, now they want Cuba. But, this domino theory will break its neck at the rise of the people's consciousness and the revolution. It will not go on forever. After all, it is the people who give birth to, work for, and make possible a system at whose foundation is the relations between people. The very essence of these relations determines what is going to happen to the people, and when something happens to the people, they will definitely rise. In Eastern Europe they say that now, in various places, whatever gains they have made, the people will lose them, especially in the spheres of social welfare, free education and health, affordable housing and so on. The bourgeoisie can say, "Well, this is the price one has to pay for freedom," but this is no consolation for the people.

What has happened in Eastern Europe, as well as in countries such as Mexico, Brazil and others which are suffering the consequences of the debt crisis and other forms of crises, that is, the bankruptcy of the neo-colonial system, as well as what is happening to the financial and other institutions in the capitalist countries, points to the fact that when one crisis ends for the capitalist system, another crisis much worse than the previous one is in the making.

At this time, just because revolution has suffered a setback, it does not mean that revolution has become a thing of the past. It means that this revolution will re-emerge with an even greater vengeance. As J.V. Stalin said, in this era the link in the chain of imperialism will break somewhere. It could very well be in Canada. It could very well be in one of the countries our fraternal comrades come from. It could be in some other country. This remains the issue on the agenda at this time. In spite of the setbacks, a communist party like ours has its vigorous programme to organise the class, to build ever greater

links with the working masses and the middle strata, in order to ensure that when the new situation comes, we are ready. In fact, the objective conditions have been ripe for revolution for a long time. It is the subjective conditions which have been lagging behind. This is what we said in 1970, this is what we are saying today. And we should create these subjective conditions, with our methods which we adopted in the late 1960s. The Party makes all its decisions on the basis of consultation with and in the interests of the masses. We have nothing to hide. These views of ours are open views. We don't hold private discussions and settle matters concerning the masses of the people behind their backs. The two super-powers participate in secret diplomacy. Eleven first ministers and some others in Canada also make decisions behind the backs of the people. And they of course call themselves democrats. Let everyone know the Marxist-Leninists' views. I remember those days in the 1960s when this was not just an exception, but a rule, where hundreds upon hundreds of people in Montreal and other places agreed with us and implemented our programme. Everything was discussed in their midst, and they also considered themselves to be Marxist-Leninists. The bourgeoisie was very afraid that we had infiltrated everyone. Let this "infiltration" be taken up systematically in a planned way. Let us use this anniversary of the founding of our Party and the birth of V.I. Lenin in order to make sure that things turn around, that those who are slanderers of communism cannot hide amongst the workers, cannot hide amongst the middle strata, and so on. Let us with all our might, militancy and reasonableness, and with the science of Marxism-Leninism on our side, take these things in hand with ever greater firmness.

[...] In this democracy, workers cannot even get together to discuss what concerns them. The same is the situation in the universities, and so on. We had many cases where even a student is declared to be a trespasser in

a university and then convicted. Why? Because this student is agitating for something positive. In Montreal at Vieux-Montreal, some students have been literally expelled, others have been arrested and there are charges pending against them. Why? Because they shouted the slogan, No to Fee Increases! This is democracy and the price we have to pay for it! In the same fashion, when the Native Indians lay claim to their lands and put up barricades, they send armed policemen to attack them. They are there for "law and order". They are there to clear highways - not to deny the Native Indians and Inuit their hereditary rights! In the same fashion, a racist professor can be defended at the University of Western Ontario, in the name of defending freedom of speech, but Marxist-Leninists could simply be banned from entering these universities.

But let the banner of democracy - of real democracy - be the banner of communism. Let us test these individuals. Let the people get together and participate together in the form of elections, in the form of mass meetings, in various forms, to expose and demand that this rotten system must come to an end. Let the voices rise, not only in the federal parliament, but also in the provincial assemblies, coming from factories and other work places.

Comrades and friends, our party has such a quality that we turn our words into deeds. Let the working people come to know our line, our policies, in the real life, in the problems which they face. Let our theory emerge by finding a solution, in the agitation, in the movement of the class for its rights. And let this work be carried out in a planned way and guided by our ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades and friends, while we carry out our programme, let there be a challenge to all those who say that Marxism-Leninism is finished. Let them explain the situation, why there are economic problems, why

there is all-sided crisis. Let them be accountable, and you will find no other ideology can find solutions for real problems, no bourgeois ideology which they present as being very confident about the future can find a solution which can be worthwhile and useful for the workers and broad masses of the people.

Internationally, our Party, as in the past, so too at the present time, stands steadfastly with our friends, with our brothers, in the form of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties. I want to declare to you that on behalf of our Party, we express this loyalty not just for some self-serving aim, but that this unity of all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties is crucial for the solution of different problems as they pose themselves in different countries. We share with our comrades the experience of our work, as they share theirs with us, and between us, there is common ideology and common aims. Together we defend socialist Albania, real socialism, but at the same time independence and sovereignty, which is absolutely necessary for the continuation of real socialism under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

Comrades and friends, our Party stands with all the oppressed and exploited, with all those who are fighting for their national liberation. We stand with the people of Panama, we stand with the people of the Middle East, with the people of Central America, and we stand with the people of South Africa in this very complex situation, where all kind of intrigues are being hatched against them. In this period, the expression of support for independence and sovereignty is the expression of our real internationalism, is the expression that we Canadian workers and people will not stand on the side, when imperialism, when the US, the Soviet Union and others, are creating such disasters for others.

Comrades and friends, today is declared Earth Day. Various people have celebrated Earth Day in different

ways. And we celebrate in this way: To save this earth, to save these beavers, to save this natural environment, the real humanity of the men and women workers and others must be expressed, it must be brought to the fore. Then this earth can be saved. Let us pledge together to bring this about on this Earth Day – the anniversary of the birth of our great leader, great teacher, V.I. Lenin. Let us pledge that every year on this day, we will discuss the problems in the world, and together proclaim solutions, which we can then spend the year implementing.

From the bottom of my heart, in the name of our Central Committee and all the Canadian Marxist-Leninists, I would once again like to thank our brother Parties for coming here, the PLA for sending us this message and the other parties who have sent us messages. They are with us at this moment of joy, as they are with us in moments of difficulty in this complex situation. We will never forget this support which has been given to us. I would also like to once again thank all of you who have come on this important occasion to be with us.

Comrades and friends, this decade the Party is facing a new situation, a situation where the Party at the head of the working class will ask, not only accountability, but it is quite possible that new situations, other situations, other moments, other opportunities will also arise. We are not soothsayers, but this setback to revolution, this ebb is not going to last forever. The situation will change, and we should also contribute towards this change. Let us unite ever more closely in the course of implementing our decisions, the decisions we made just three weeks ago at the Twelfth Consultative Conference on March 31, decisions reaffirmed in the course of their implementation. I am absolutely certain that following this policy, our Party will become stronger, its ranks will expand, its links with the working class will increase. Let us work for this organisation and mobilisation of the working class. Let us work for the realisation of the saying of Karl Marx:

The proletariat is the grave-digger of the bourgeoisie, and, as all the other exploiting systems have been replaced one after another, capitalism too will have to make way for the new system, for the socialist system. Let us together stand behind what he said, that we have nothing to lose but our chains, we have a world to win. **Workers of all Countries, Unite!** This must be our banner. This must be the banner which we take forward under the leadership of the Party and the leadership of the class.

Comrades and friends, with the ideology which V.I. Lenin gave rise to, and with its further development and enrichment, it is not possible to fail. Let us together march on!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

**LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF ALL OUR
BROTHER PARTIES!**

**LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT!**

**LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA
(MARXIST-LENINIST)!**

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

[Prolonged applause and standing ovation]

The Deepening of the Revolutionisation of the Life of the Party and the Country - A Permanent Task by Ramiz Alia

Comrades,

Today's meeting is, in a way, the continuation of the work of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee. Then we put forward for discussion many questions which had to do with the need for the further revolutionisation of the life of the Party and the country so that we can respond better to the present stage of the socialist construction. At today's meeting we propose to convert into decisions those questions and others that the comrades will find necessary.

To facilitate the proceedings of this meeting of the Central Committee, allow me to present some ideas which might serve as a basis for a most fruitful discussion.

Extracts from the speech delivered by Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, at the 9th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, January 22, 1990.

From the time when we convened the 8th Plenum nearly four months have elapsed, but the political situation has changed greatly.

In the Eastern countries – in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bulgaria and Romania – great changes have occurred. We notice that, while they remain members of the Warsaw Treaty, these countries are extending their relations with the West, especially in the economic and political aspects. They are linking up with the socialist and social-democratic parties of the West, making approaches to the European Union with the intention of joining it, and are strengthening their ties with the EEC, the International Monetary Fund and other institutions there.

The Western countries are encouraging the political changes in Eastern Europe. Under the calls for free elections and political pluralism, for the creation of as many different parties and groups, they want to bring about the total destruction of everything that reminds one of socialism. The bourgeois propaganda has proclaimed socialism as an anachronism. Reaction paints communism as a spectre that threatens the people and not the bourgeoisie.

The events in Eastern Europe, in the general meaning, are not unexpected for us, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out. What occurred had been forecast decades ago by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, although few were those in the world at that time who believed it. For more than 30 years, as early as the emergence on the world political scene of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union and with the acceptance of Khrushchevism and later of Brezhnevism by the East-European countries, we have spoken about the re-establishment of capitalism there and have described the process of the return to the bourgeois society as definite.

Nevertheless, there is something new in the current events: in Poland, the communist party is no longer the ruling party; it has become the opposition, whereas the

state power is in the hands of Solidarity; in the GDR, Honecker was removed and an organisation called the Democratic Forum is emerging at the top of the leadership of the country; in Czechoslovakia, Husak has come down and Dubcek has come back, and so on. These events that have happened there are of consequence in many aspects which should be analysed and assessed from the ideological, political and economic angle.

The changes which are occurring in Eastern Europe have not encountered the opposition of the Soviet Union. Indeed, it has inspired and encouraged them, although, in one or two cases, such as in the GDR, events have got out of its control, and in Poland and Hungary, the hand of the Western bourgeoisie has made its presence felt more strongly.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union does not allow the Eastern countries to go as far as making their own political and military alliances with the West, i.e., get out of the sphere of Soviet influence or become anti-Soviet bastions, which is unimaginable, and thus create a kind of "cordon sanitaire", as they were before the Second World War. This was the aim of the Bush-Gorbachev summit at Malta; and on this they found a common accord.

Apart from the euphoria, the events in Eastern Europe have aroused some preoccupation in the West. A number of political problems have emerged such as the German question and that of the future position of the military pacts and economic unions. Not less worrying are the problems connected with the crisis in the Eastern countries. All the parties, however, are of the opinion that these processes should be stimulated, because, on the whole, they are in favour of capitalism.

After speaking about the character of the changes that occurred and are actually taking place in the countries of the East, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued:

What attracts our attention as the characteristic feature of these events is that they have won the broad,

we could even say, enthusiastic support of the masses.

It is natural to ask the question: Why all this? How is it possible that the working class and the masses should become the protagonists and the supporters of the re-establishment of capitalism?

The unfortunate thing about it is that the peoples of these countries saw the revisionist regime, its bureaucracy, violence, economic stagnation and technological backwardness as a product of the socialist system and of Marxism-Leninism, which they now refuse to accept.

It was this very reality of the Eastern countries which antagonised the masses with the state and with the political institutions. The legitimacy of the socialist state was compromised and tarnished by the hypocrisy of the cliques in power. Socialism, the communist parties and the democratic values which were created in the East after the Second World War were not further developed and enriched. The economic growth and the social emancipation were not accompanied with efforts to perfect the socialist democracy. Not only did not the state become "of the entire people", but it isolated itself from the people and opposed them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia continued: Our Party was right that in its gigantic struggle against revisionism it concentrated on tearing off the socialist masks, in exposing the falseness of the "Marxist" speculations of revisionism. The Albanian communists understood this and fought with all their power, with all the means they had so as to help people to realise the danger that lurked in the compromising of socialism and of its revolutionary ideology and policy. But the tragedy occurred. We as communists and internationalists, as members of the world army of revolutionaries, made all the contribution we could to prevent it. But this should not put our minds at rest, just as we should not be glad that everything we forecast turned out to be true, and that we have had our say about it. We must live through this tragedy with pain, but, of course,

without despair.

Now we must draw lessons from what happened in the East. We must ask the question and find the answer: why revisionism was born, what were the objective and subjective causes of its birth, delays and haste, errors and concessions?

The analysis should be extended to include the developments in the Soviet Union for a long period of the practice of the construction of socialism there.

Continuing his speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

Comrade Enver Hoxha has discovered some of the fundamental shortcomings in the Soviet system which brought about the birth of revisionism. On the basis of his conclusions we adopted the measures for the revolutionisation of the Party and the whole life of the country.

Now that many years have passed, that things have settled and that we have seen what were the weaknesses revisionism took advantage of and what weapons it employed, we are very clear about many problems and can understand what were those mechanisms of the socialist system which ought to have played a greater role in strengthening the system and which were neglected.

In the Soviet Union there was a general though not complete awareness that bureaucracy was growing and that it represented a potential threat. But bureaucracy there was fought not through its opposite, i.e., by enhancing the role of the masses and strengthening socialist democracy, but through strengthening and perfecting the administration and the legislative and disciplinary prescription of norms for the Party, state and social activities, and through the enhancement of the centralism from above. It is not an accident that precisely glasnost, i.e. speculation with democracy, has actually become the main weapon of the revisionists. There was a vacuum and Gorbachev and his like stepped in with success.

More or less the same thing happened with liberalism there. The Soviets tried to combat it mainly through

administrative measures. Liberalism has the ability to speculate with the current problems, with the known shortages and weaknesses. It passes itself off as modern and as democratic in the solution of the problems of the time and operates with new terms, etc. In the Soviet Union liberalism was confronted with dogma and not with the strength of ideas and arguments. They confronted it with general universal principles and not with the solution of the problems. This created the conditions in which individuals and groups of people, especially from the ranks of the intelligentsia, alienated themselves from socialism and embraced all sorts of ideas which the bourgeoisie peddled to them and publicised. The bourgeoisie found the dissidents and the revisionist cliques found their social basis among them.

All these and other similar questions have to be discussed so that we can ward off the danger of any surprise, despite the great differences that exist between our development and that in the Soviet Union and the other Eastern countries.

It is publicly known that socialist Albania dissociated its fate from the Eastern bloc at the end of the 1960s. And here we must add that our country had set its own course before it did this. The revolution in our country was deep-going. The Communist Party was created in Albania by the Albanians; its leaders mastered the theory of socialism in the school of the war for national and social liberation.

As long as the socialist camp existed, our Party valued its experiences, but in the process of socialist construction it has always taken into consideration the specific conditions, the tradition, the material and spiritual heritage of the country, and the national psychology.

We say that the known phenomena of the East will not occur in Albania, not because the operation of the external pressure on us is weaker. But the fundamental thing is that we have a solid situation at home, the state

power which emerged from the war has remained the power of the people, the Party of Labour has the initiative in its hands and its policies are in unity with the will of the masses. The calls from outside for changes and for deviating from our course will not find support in our country and do not find a response in the opinion and desires of the broad masses of working people.

This is a major political victory of our Party and people. However, without underrating its value, at every moment we must be on our guard. We said at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee that various pressures will be brought to bear on our country. The time has thoroughly proved this forecast. The external enemies, especially the Yugoslavs and Greek reaction, were the first to give the signal: they mounted a campaign of slanders and defamation against our country.

The free and independent Albania has been the target of attacks and slanders for 45 years, said Comrade Ramiz Alia. Different circles in the West began it, but they suffered complete defeat when the popular revolution in our country triumphed and smashed the traitor and collaborationist organisations of "Balli Kombëtar" and "Legaliteti", which collected in their ranks the representatives of the exploiting classes on whom the Anglo-Americans had pinned their hopes. This campaign was taken up by the Yugoslavs, who, in cahoots with western reaction, did everything in their power not only with slanders and propaganda, but also with diversionists, to overthrow the people's state power. Later, in 1960, a fresh savage attack was mounted against Albania. This time it came from the Soviet Union with Khrushchev who accused us "of having sold ourselves to imperialism for thirty pieces of silver". And it is continuing until today.

At any time, yesterday and today, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, the aim of those who concoct slanders and mount the attacks against our country has been to reduce Albania to submission, to deprive it of its independ-

ence, to induce it to change its stands in international relations, to become a tool in the hands of others and to march in step with them.

Our enemies will certainly fail ignominiously. We will defend our freedom and independence and all our victories, which we have won at the cost of bloodshed, because they are our most precious things, and we will do so with determination, by any means and without the slightest hesitation. Our people have chosen their road of development and would not render account to anyone for this. It is they and nobody else who know what should be done, when and how things should be done so that the process of the socialist construction can advance always ahead. In Albania the people are in power, and it is they alone who are the sovereign masters of their own destinies.

In these situations, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, in the first place, we must enhance our vigilance everywhere. On the other hand, our political and propaganda work, especially inside the country, but also towards the outside world, should be more intensive. The comrades of the party committees, those who work in the propaganda, the press and radio-television must think seriously about this duty because it cannot be carried out only with old slogans and arguments or with a formal and bureaucratic style.

Another important direction of our work is the fulfilment of our tasks in the economy. For this needs work, much work by everyone and not words and promises. The plans which have to do with the food and clothing of the people should be fulfilled at all costs. Nothing hinders us from supplying our market with plenty of vegetables, milk, and meat; no justification can be accepted for the shortages we notice. The decisions we have taken must be carried out with insistence, and possibilities must be found to advance them still further.

After speaking extensively about problems of the foreign policy of Albania and the stands of the Albanian

state towards some concrete issues of present-day international relations, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed:

We follow a policy of peace and friendly cooperation with others. This has been our line and will remain so in the future. We have not wanted and do not want isolation. Isolation, shutting ourselves in our own home, as in a castle under siege, has not been and does not constitute our political line. That is what the enemies of Albania would like to see. Therefore, our stand towards the external world should be active, both in political relations and cooperation, and in the cultural and economic ones. We are interested in peace and friendship with our neighbours and the whole of the Balkans, as well as in the problems of Europe and in our relations with all those who respond with friendship to the friendship we offer.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on the question of the revolutionisation of the life of the Party and the country, which has always been in the centre of attention. The revolutionisation of the Party, he said, is an imperative in the struggle against alien influences and manifestations, for the preservation of the purity of the Party and the people's state power, the communists and cadres.

We discussed these questions at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee. We are returning to the decisions of this Plenum for two reasons: first, to urge the complete and rapid implementation of them, so that bureaucracy and liberalism, indifference and passivity will not find a free field to operate. Second, because during the discussion of the decisions of the 8th Plenum, the communists and working people have made various suggestions and proposals for completing them with some new measures which create the possibilities for us to further deepen the role of the masses, the participation of all the strata of the population, especially the youth, in the socialist construction of the country in a broad and active manner.

The strengthening of the Party, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, should constitute our permanent task. The Party

is the leading force; the present and the future not only of socialism but also of the freedom and independence of the Homeland are connected with it.

In the East European countries socialism was rejected under the slogan of liberation from the monopoly of the communist parties. And pluralism, the creation of many parties and different organisations, became the formula of salvation allegedly for democracy to flourish.

The many parties in the East have their basis in the profound social and class differences which existed before and were revived and deepened in the conditions when the revisionists were in power. The society there was differentiated and gradated, it became polarised until it gave birth to classes and strata with different interests, which objectively could not be rallied into and represented by one party, other than their own. Now each of these groupings demands to have its own share of the power.

We have declared ourselves for the hegemony of the Party of Labour because we are conscious that this is a basic condition for socialist construction and coincides with the objective circumstances of our country. If we consider the question on the historical plane, if we return to our past, to the time of the Zog regime, we can say that in Albania there have not been political parties in the strict meaning of the word. Only during the fascist occupation were the first political parties and organisations set up. The first to be created was the Communist Party of Albania, today the Party of Labour. From the day of its founding it hurled itself into uncompromising struggle against fascism, for a free, democratic people's Albania. Immediately after the creation of our Party and as a reaction to it emerged "Balli Kombëtar" and "Legaliteti". These two organisations, which represented the wealthy classes and the supporters of the return to monarchy, did not manage to grow into influential political parties in the country, because, from their first steps, they emerged as collaborationist organisations and placed them-

selves openly in the service of the Italian and German fascist invaders. Hence, they were anti-national organisations and as such were not followed by the people. On the contrary, the Albanian people, the youth, the women, all the working people in the countryside and town rallied around the Communist Party and the anti-fascist organisations like the National Liberation Front and the youth and women's organisations. On this road, going through the test of fire in the war for national liberation, our Party won the love and confidence of the masses, which it further tempered in the major struggle for socialist construction and the defence of freedom and national independence.

In the conditions of our country, the calls of the international bourgeoisie for political pluralism mean that "Balli Kombëtar" and "Legaliteti" be revived, or that similar anti-socialist and anti-national political organisations be created. But this would not be an expression of democracy. It means the weakening of the national unity and the creation of conditions for the destruction of socialism.

According to the yardstick of the bourgeoisie, the absence of many parties is allegedly equal to the absence of democracy. This is not true. In our country we have not had many parties, but have had an ancient tradition of free discussion, the settlement of the people's problems in a democratic way by the village councils, assemblies, the boards of the elderly, people's chambers, etc. Our Party, which grows wiser with the wisdom of the people's knowledge and ideas, has raised this tradition to much higher levels. The direct participation of the masses in the elaboration and implementation of the plans for the economic and cultural development of the country and in the discussion of every problem which interests the people has been adopted as one of its methods of work. It achieves this also through the different organisations and associations such as the Democratic Front, the Youth

Union, the Women's Union, the Trade Unions, the organisation of veterans, the Writers' and Artists' League, the association of scientists, and so on.

Naturally, we are not content with the existing situation. The deepening of the line of the masses, which constitutes the essence of our socialist democracy, should be in the centre of attention. And a primary condition in this aspect is the development of democracy inside the Party.

Speaking about this question, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

In continuation of the discussion we held at the 8th Plenum we ask: in what directions should the work of the Party be further revolutionised?

1. To strengthen the links of the Party with the masses, and to revolutionise its internal life, I think that the Central Committee should commute into binding decisions the idea Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasised several times that the meetings of the basic organisations of the Party, with the exception of very special cases, should be open. What is the meaning of "open meetings"? Its meaning is that the agenda and the place of the meeting must be made known, and not only some guests but all working people of the work centre who wish to should be permitted to participate.

By holding open meetings, the activity and the decisions of the basic organisation will be continuously and more thoroughly under the control of the working masses, whereas the communists will feel still more the burden of their responsibility before the people. But, at the same time, they will also have the support of the masses when they are in the vanguard for the implementation of the Party's decisions.

2. The decision for the selection and appointment of specialists and cadres should be further perfected. Real conditions must be created so that the most capable and devoted people are brought to the organs of the Party

and state, and thus open the road to the promotion to posts of responsibility and the elected organs of young people with energy and knowledge.

This requires that the concepts and procedures of the appointment and administration of personnel should be changed. About this question there have been valuable proposals in the discussion of the decisions of the 8th Plenum. I will mention some of them:

a) Apart from those organs and cadres whose election is envisaged under the Constitution, the statute of the Party and the social and economic organisations, the principle of elections must be applied still more extensively. For instance, the managers of enterprises, various plants and factories, the heads of clinics and chairs, of institutions and another category of cadres, which will have to be clearly defined, should be appointed by the superior organs only after the workers and the working people of the work centre have thoroughly discussed the candidatures and have given their approval. Without ensuring this consent, no cadre should be appointed, irrespective of which is the organ that has the competence of appointments.

In this way, the role of the masses is enhanced and the cadres will see that they are answerable before the working people and not before the organs which confirm their appointment. Once we accept this, then we must automatically accept that the collectives should have the right of removing those managers and cadres who fail to carry out their duties or who do not make progress, as was pointed out at the 8th Plenum.

As for the staffing of some institutions, especially those of culture, science and education and some other fields, which also have to be defined better, we must practise extensively not only the principle of elections, but also competition, so as to block the way to mediocrity and favouritism.

b) By so acting, the number of cadres who are appointed

directly by various leading organs of the Party and the state can be restricted. Thus, for instance, the approval of the central organs of the Party and state will have to be sought only for the appointment of leading cadres, such as vice-ministers and others of the same rank as them, the party first secretaries and the chairmen of the district executive committees, commanders and commissars of army divisions, chiefs of branches of internal affairs, the managers of central departments and others in similar positions. Whereas for the managers of enterprises and other leading cadres of the districts, only the approval of the leading organs of the districts will be sought. The specialists and other personnel should be appointed by the state, social and economic organs of the work centre or the institute in which they work.

So, the idea is that the smallest possible number of cadres should be appointed directly from above. For all cadres who are elected or selected through competition, the approval of the respective organs is given only after the results reported upon the election or the competition.

The Party, through its basic organisation, has the duty of working carefully for the correct implementation of its norms in this process.

c) There is room for discussion, also, about the questions connected with the democratisation of the procedure of elections within the Party.

Our general rule should ensure that the leading cadres, those elected to the Party forums, to the organs of the state and to the mass organisations must emerge from inside of them, that the substitute or the chief engineer should come to the post of director, and so on in turn, and not to have the directors circulated from one enterprise to the other, or to seek a candidate in the districts to replace a director at the ministry. Why all those heads of sections, all those head-clerks and inspectors? If they are not suitable to be promoted to higher posts of responsibility, then why have they been brought there at all and

why are they kept in the committees, the sectors and departments of ministries?

At the 8th Plenum we said that the term of election or re-election of secretaries of bureaux of basic organisations of the Party should be reduced to 4-5 years. Suggestions have been made that a limited mandate be given also for people in other organs and functions such as, for example, for members of the party committees and the district people's councils, the deputies of the People's Assembly and members of the Central Committee and others. Would such a thing help to strengthen internal democracy, to enhance the role of the masses, to strengthen the struggle against routine, bureaucracy, subjectivism and other alien manifestations? If, for instance, we decide that at least one-third of the membership of the people's council and the district party committee and one-third of the People's Assembly or of the Central Committee of the Party is to be renewed at each legislature for the election of councillors and deputies and at every party conference of the district and at each congress, that is, limit the re-election of the same person to 2-3 legislatures, would this not give a more concrete content to the implementation of the policy of circulation of cadres?

d) We all saw how advantageous was the new procedure of the election of people's councillors, which was based on the presentation of 2-3 candidatures for one place. Should this procedure be extended in some cases to include even the deputies of the People's Assembly, and this not only during the debate for the presentation of the candidates, but also during the polls? Of course, there will be a distribution of the votes. What is wrong with it if all the candidates are presented by the Democratic Front?

We must take into consideration what the 8th Plenum said in connection with unity and unanimity. These concepts should not be confused. Unity is not harmed by the exchange of opinions or by the fact that there

is no unanimous voting for one candidature. It seems to me that we have to combat this complex.

3. The struggle against bureaucracy, as a condition for the strengthening of our socialist democracy, should be raised to a higher level. This struggle can be waged with success only by continuously enhancing the role of the masses, which constitutes the permanent line of the Party. It is the only remedy against bureaucracy and any other anti-socialist manifestation. The present time and the current situations cannot tolerate bureaucratic stands. Such stands must be dealt away with, and the sooner this is done the better. We must do this, and if need be even at the cost of some sacrifice, because every stage in the revolutionisation of the life of the Party and the country requires its own style and people.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have frequently emphasised that the masses should see that they themselves are a creative factor of decisive weight at any time and in any field of social activity. This becomes a reality when they participate in the drafting and implementation of the plans, but it finds its full reflection there where the principle that the working class must exercise its leading role in society is carried out in practice. An important factor in all this is the strengthening of worker control. This is another revolutionary lever which bureaucracy hampers. It is the duty of the Party and especially of the trade unions to give the necessary strength to this irreplaceable weapon in the struggle against bureaucracy, favouritism, embezzlements, arrogance and various injustices. And this can be done only if the worker control is invested with all the necessary competences, is all-powerful above everything and everyone, in the way it was conceived when it was first put into action.

The power belongs to him who has the right of decision-making. There is no power without competences. If the working class has only the right of making proposals

and suggestions, then it will be removed from power. Therefore, a series of prerogatives must be transferred from the apparatuses and the cadres' offices to the collectives, to the organisations of the masses, to the councils and collegia.

There is no need to repeat what was said at the 8th Plenum, but I think that the struggle against bureaucracy should be waged continuously. Therefore, the organs of the Party, and especially the Government, will have to review some questions such as giving more competences to the base by restricting centralised management and direction where it is in excess, by abandoning the tendencies to having more and more things concentrated and put within strict norms, by cutting down the number of office employees and people who work in the administration and apparatuses, etc. It is particularly important that we clearly define the duties of apparatuses, so that the role and functions of the elected organs and the ratio in the selection of communists and ordinary people not in the Party should not be violated.

4. The revolutionisation of the life of the country and the perfecting of our socialist democracy should be extended into the field of legislation and the implementation and completing of the system of laws.

In this field, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, the respective organs must study what our practice so far offers and in what directions we can further improve our socialist legislation in conformity with the current stage of development.

Some time ago the Political Bureau recommended, apart from other things, the need for studying some juridical problems which life has brought to the fore, such as the introduction of legal defence in court, or the exact definition of conditions for the rehabilitation of those convicted for some categories of crime and penal acts, and who, for a long time after serving their term, behave correctly in society.

Since we are discussing the question of legislature and taking into consideration the extended activity of the state, the difficulties in codifying the legal activity, there are proposals about the need for reinstating the Ministry of Justice with the function of control over the legitimacy of state acts, as well as the suggestions about revising and improving the law on the courts of villages and city quarters, which should be and act as organisms of social character, that is, should not have the power to pass penal sentences.

Continuing his speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia drew attention to the care that must be devoted to the people, especially when it comes to making their political assessment. It is noticed, he said, that there are cases in which, in the evaluation of a person, his family record carries greater weight than necessary.

The ideo-political and moral stand of the family of an individual has its importance, but his own figure and personality must be decisive. That kind of class struggle which seeks the enemy mainly in the family line is schematic and bureaucratic.

The general line and the economic policy of our Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, have always been aimed at the construction of the socialist society, without the exploitation of man by man, an order which guarantees the independence of the Homeland and continuously enriches the life of the people. And the results are known. But the developments which open up before us have raised the imperative need of further enlivening the motive forces of our social system, first and foremost, by deepening the line of the masses and perfecting the economic mechanism.

The constant Party line has been and remains that the broad masses of working people, in production and elsewhere, should always be the main subject of the leading activity, so that their initiative and contribution should always constitute the decisive factors for the elaboration

and implementation of the policies pursued in different fields. The people are masters of the country and of the destinies of socialism, precisely because it is they who do and run things at one and the same time. In everything we do, be it great or small, these two sides of the question of power should go together in unity and at the same pace. This is the essential feature of the socialist order. Isolated work, excessive centralisation, manifestations of formality and routine impede the progress of socialism.

In every work unit of production and services, the internal motives of stimulation should be strengthened in conformity with the present intensive stage of developments, in order to give as much as possible and to demand and expend the minimum possible. However, in many cases in our practice these two aspects of the relationships between the individual and the group, on the one hand, and the society, on the other, are considered and treated separately from one another, by loading failures on to the state and burdening it with investments, imports and other expenses. At present, the economic levers we have in force stimulate consumption more than production.

At the stage of intensive developments, which are growing uppermost in our economy, when quality, productivity, effectiveness, the technical and scientific revolution have gained priority, it is becoming more and more necessary to further perfect the constituent parts of our economic mechanism. It must free itself without delay from the outdated elements and the inefficient borrowed practices. Along with this, it is necessary that we correct some weaknesses and shortcomings that are noticed, etc. Naturally, this is a difficult problem. From our experience and from that of other countries we have learned how we must not act, whereas we need profound studies and reflection to determine what new steps forward we must take and how.

While we demand that the economic mechanism be perfected, we will not renounce democratic centralism,

socialist planning, or those victories which have a vital importance for the people. So, the need for changes should not intimidate us. The 8th Plenum said we are building a new society, in constant search, therefore, it might happen that sometimes we would fail to hit the mark in everything. But hesitation should not bind our hands. This is not in the style of our Party, which has never hesitated to seek new ways out and solutions for development in conformity with the conditions created. It has been and is always innovative, because our science, Marxism-Leninism, is essentially distinguished for its creative spirit.

The Party and state leadership has given orientations long ago about the need of conducting studies of the main fields of the economic relations and the mechanisms that operate in them. These studies have to be carried to greater depths, but at this Plenum of the Central Committee we can discuss the main directions and whether these are really the roads on which we must proceed.

The enhancement of the initiative of the base requires that the centre must give up many of its competences in the field of planning. The question of competences should be seen more profoundly as the road for the revolutionisation of our our affairs at the base so as to increase the direct responsibility of the enterprises and the districts.

The extension of competences of the base in planning implies a qualitative transfer of the leading activities from the centre to the districts and from the districts to the enterprises, the cooperatives and institutes. The changes we made in the planning of agriculture should not be seen as a question which involves only indices. It has to do with a new conception of the structure of production and the relations between the base and the centre. Should we proceed in the same manner, also, in the foodstuffs industry, in some sectors of the light industry, in transport, the communal services and in trade?

The base must be encouraged for better and more

suitable organisation, to reach the optimum conditions for the concentration and effectiveness of production. Wherever necessary and profitable, we will continue to split the enterprises and cooperatives and reorganise their sectors into smaller units. There are opinions that, wherever effectiveness is ensured, we must introduce such forms of organisation as work according to planned duties, piece work, work with pay per unit of production, etc. Would this help to stimulate production and services?

All the conditions have been created for expanding the sphere of operation of the economic methods and the material levers by abandoning the methods of administrative management, but also by strengthening the scientific character of orders and tasks assigned from above in those cases when these are indispensable. The decisive step in this field, we think, is made with the creation of the economic possibilities of the enterprises to really enjoy the independence which the economic and political laws of socialism give them.

In the present practice, the independent economic accounting of enterprises, otherwise known as the profitability system, serves only to cover production expenditure with incomes from sales. Whereas the needs for extended reproduction, those for investments and circulation means, are loaded onto the state through financing and endowment. Management of the activity of the enterprise with the independent accounting system is perfected by studying and examining, according to unified criteria, all those activities which are to be financed from their own income, as distinct from those which will be financed from the state budget. This means that the incomes will be employed more by those who create them. In this way, the interests of the collective will find material expression. The important thing is that people realise that the economic result of the activity of an enterprise and the balance between income and expenditure is the main thing, is the determining factor.

In these conditions it will be necessary to make an overall review of the whole problem of state endowments because they are being used as a shield for poor work, passivity and stagnation. There are opinions that endowments should be given only in cases of absolute need, when it is so decided in a conscious manner, and not be imposed by the unfavourable results and the inefficient expenditure of the enterprises.

The implementation of this concept of financing the economy, which is recommended in the studies, would require a number of improvements and adjustments in the field of the pay of working people and prices. The main thing in the remuneration of work is that the wages of working people in the state sector of the economy must be formed not only on the basis of the fulfilment of the production quota in the concrete work place, as it stands today, but also on the basis of the final results of the factory or the enterprise.

Partial measures can help to make wages a powerful stimulus. For example, the present level of wages might remain unchanged, but we can alter the way compensation is made for the overfulfilment of the plan, by stimulating, according to a multiple system, those sectors in which we have greater interests such as oil, chromium ores, export and other sectors. Thus, we can begin on the whole by changing the ratio between the basic and supplementary pay in favour of the latter.

To stimulate the agricultural production in all the zones, those who carried out the study have made the proposal that the purchase prices should be reviewed with the tendency of raising them and increasing the differences in them according to zones, but also the final aim of increasing the measure of appropriation of the differential rent from powerful cooperatives, especially those of the higher type, in which the state has made considerable investments in non-returnable means.

By making some alterations in the wholesale prices,

we must aim at reducing unearned profitability, fictitious efficiency and redistributions which have nothing to do with the priorities of development and with the social and class policy. This will create possibilities for building economic relations which are based on the real values and contributions by different branches and sectors of production. The desire to make every price and relationship dependent on policies could lead us against the internal laws of the economy.

By intervening in the system of purchase prices and the wholesale ones, the need might arise, according to some opinions, of adjusting the retail prices, too. The Party has orientated and has worked to ensure that these prices should remain stable. The Plenum can reconfirm that the staple products will continue to be sold at stable and guaranteed prices. Whereas the prices for some other goods, which are not primary necessities, can fluctuate by making the supply-demand factor a stimulus for the increase of the productivity of labour and the better fulfilment of people's requirements.

Nevertheless, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, all these major questions which have to do with the system of financing and credit, with wages and prices, are still being studied. The duty of this Plenum is to express its opinion in principle about the main questions and to evaluate the political, economic and social consequences which we ensure from them. As for the state and study organs, they must hasten their work and delve deeper on the solutions they recommend.

The experience of socialist construction, especially in the 1980s, in this decade of progress relying on our own forces, teaches us that to fulfil the requirements of the people better we must further encourage the initiative of the masses. So, we can encourage the citizens to build more dwelling-houses with their own funds, not only in the countryside but also in the state farms, in which the work can be organised on the same lines as

in the agricultural cooperatives. The repair and extension of the existing privately-owned houses and the building of dwellings in places outside the towns and at a distance from work centres, houses for individual citizens on their own or in groups, by entering into contracts with mutual obligations between them and the state, can be stimulated.

The mechanism of our economy would not be enlivened as we wish if we were to leave out of the attention of the Party and the whole society the relationships between demand and supply, consumption and production.

To make production dependent really on consumption and on the market requires a careful examination and implementation of economic priorities. It demands more efforts for effectiveness and a considerable increase of the productivity of labour. The means of production are an indispensability and, considering the question in general from the strategic aspect, they develop more rapidly than the consumer goods. But, in the final analysis, the means of production are necessary for the increase of consumer goods for the people. The less units of production are involved to ensure a given unit of consumer goods, the better it is for the society.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that the increase of industrial goods and food-stuffs for the market is one of the main priorities of the 1990 plan.

Matching the purchasing power of the people with the present and future material sources requires an increase of the food-stuffs from our agriculture. In these conditions, the stimulation of the agricultural and livestock production should be considered as a permanent duty. We have adopted some measures, but we must delve deeper on them. Thus, it has to be understood that the collective plot of land and the small herds and plots of the cooperativists should be made to produce more for the supply of the peasantry. Only in this way can conditions be created to increase the cooperative's products for the city. But not enough efforts are being made to help co-

operatives to come to the city markets to sell their agricultural and livestock products at prices which they will fix at a difference from the state prices.

A few days ago we made the decision that each cooperativist family and the state farm workers who live in the village must be given animals to fulfil their own requirements for meat. We must not forget that the peasantry has great possibilities to increase the production of livestock, beans, potatoes, vegetables and fruit. Therefore, along with the struggle for the consolidation and strengthening of the small herds and plots, we can adopt some supplementary measures like this one for hastening the solution of the problem of meat.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

Dear Comrades,

The decisions which this Plenum of the Central Committee will adopt are to influence the further strengthening of the internal situation and stability, to give an impulse to the socialist construction and the revolutionisation of the country, to steel the Party and the unity of the people around it, to further consolidate the victories achieved, the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our Homeland.

Democratisation of Socio-Economic Life Strengthens the Thinking and Action of the People

by Ramiz Alia

Comrades,

During the three months since the 9th Plenum, the country has experienced a new phase of revolutionary upsurge. **The people welcomed the decisions of that Plenum and were inspired to actions aimed at the ceaseless improvement of our society.** The role of the masses has been strengthened, and the consciousness of their political responsibility has been enhanced.

From the reports which the Central Committee has received, it turns out that during this time the Party, the organs of the State and the economy have been in greater activity. The participation of the masses in all social activities has been more effective. The social

Speech delivered by Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, at the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, April 17, 1990.

debate for the correct solution of problems has been further enlivened.

During these 2-3 months, in the application of the decisions of the 9th Plenum, the appointment or reappointment of many cadres has been carried out. Some of them were reconfirmed in their position, while others have been replaced by younger, more capable comrades. In Tirana alone, 266 directors, chiefs and other functionaries have been changed. I desire to inform the comrades that, by making these changes, the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee about the establishment of a fairer numerical relationship between functionaries who are party members and those who are not party members in the state organs are being applied better. Thus, for example, in the apparatuses of the central departments and institutions, the communists make up only 33 per cent of the total number of employees and functionaries, while 67 per cent of them are not party members. Of the total number of cadres and engineering-technical staff who run the economy and culture in the combines, plans, factories, state farms and agricultural cooperatives in the Tirana district about 17.5 per cent are party members, while about 82.5 per cent are not.

As we had foreseen, the development of the line of the masses has been associated with a narrowing of the terrain for bureaucracy. The links of the Party and state organs with the working masses are being further strengthened. Criticism and self-criticism are being made more courageously. The working masses have displayed culture, maturity and balance in the solving of problems and the taking of decisions. This is a great encouragement for the Party to proceed consistently on this course. **The ability of the masses to use the democratic means, laws and institutions to serve the socialist progress expresses the correctness of the decisions. Whereas the misuse of these means, laws and institutions would have made us reflect.**

The 9th Plenum clearly reflected the militant and anti-bureaucratic spirit of our Party. The holding of open meetings of the basic organisations with the free participation of the members of the collectives has placed the activity of the basic organisations and all communists under the direct control of the masses, has enhanced the creative role of the working people in working out the plans and directives for development, and has strengthened the unity of the people with the Party.

While affirming these encouraging steps, we must be aware that we still have much to do in this field. The struggle for the democratisation of the life of the country is an historical process which must accompany socialism step by step. In fact the current measures constitute a second cycle, a new phase, of the historical period which began on the eve of the 1970s with the well-known speeches of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the decisions which the Party took at that time for the all-round revolutionisation of its life and the whole country.

Our Party will advance resolutely on the course which it has set itself. The decisions which we took at the 9th Plenum and which we are developing and making more concrete at today's meeting respond to the interests of the people and the Homeland. We aim to enhance the role of the masses so that the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and the youth, the people themselves are the true masters of the country and exercise their power and sovereignty in the economy, in culture, in defence, and in everything. We aim to revolutionise the life of the country and the Party through strengthening socialist democracy so that the whole economy is developed, the interest of the working people in every field of social activity is increased, and the living conditions are ceaselessly improved.

It must be clear to all of us, beginning from the Central Committee of the Party and the Government, that it will not be easy to carry out the tasks that lie ahead of

us. Changes are always difficult. Many factors of tradition, culture and material conditions are involved here. Let us take the question of competences. We all agree that the role and initiative of the masses cannot be enhanced without giving up the excessive concentration of competences in the central organs or executive committees. But bureaucracy and routine are not eliminated easily. In order to give something up you have to learn to do something different, something more qualified. To go on working in the way you have done for decades is easier than to master a new way of running things.

Some officials, accustomed to usurping the rights of others and to securing authority through personal orders and decisions ask the question: "What are we going to keep ourselves busy with now?" These comrades forget that the task of the central organs or the executive committees is not to share out the funds or the material base, but to engage seriously and competently in working out policies for development in the respective fields, to develop the strategy for technical and technological progress, to conduct studies and make valuable generalisations from the practice, from their contacts with and check-up on the enterprises of their system. In today's conditions a redivision of duties and functions on a scientific basis has become possible in the whole pyramid of the apparatus of management.

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party demanded a new regulation of social and economic life based on one discipline, on unified norms and laws which recognise no exceptions. The masses have been encouraged to place under their control every action which is carried out. But the road we must travel to achieve the objectives we have set is long. It will run into resistance both from elements who do not understand development and from elements who try to damage socialism. It must not be forgotten that the class struggle is waged in this field, too.

Thus, the implementation of the decision on the election of cadres, directors and leaders of various institutions directly by the collective seems a simple thing. Nevertheless, the application of the line of the masses has caused problems for some organs of the Party, the state and the economy. As a consequence, procedural actions which artificially hinder the application of the people's will are carried out, pressures are exerted on the collectives to elect the former chief, in some places the voting is conducted openly with the aim of gaining approval for the one favoured by the presidium of the meeting, in other places troublemakers and lazy people take advantage of the democratic right of elections from below in order to discredit those cadres who demand accounting and discipline, etc. This is another difficulty which has to be overcome patiently, through persistent educational work, but also through the establishment of clear and accurate rules.

The whole course of the work which is carried out for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Plenum of the Party must be followed carefully. If the collectives in Tropoja or some other district reject certain recommendations of the responsible organs for elections to leading positions this must cause concern in the Party Committee and the executive committee of the district so that they acquaint themselves with the situation better and renew their contacts with the people. If it is said that the Party Committee in the district of Berat is capable of performing its tasks even with half its personnel, it is time to take action. If, finally, throughout the whole country unification of requirements of each job has been discussed and the necessary criteria have been re-defined, this discussion must be extended to the central organs, too, including the apparatus of the Central Committee.

We must bear in mind that the forums are elected and renewed periodically according to the Constitution and inner rules of the Party, while the apparatuses remain

unchanged. Even after the 9th Plenum, in many directions the apparatuses in the centre and the districts continue almost as before to demand from the others, while it is elementary that in order to carry out the decisions we must "Begin from ourselves". The requirements for instructors must be adapted to the time.

The decisions of the 9th Plenum put forward the task of raising the educational and convincing work of the Party and the organisations of the masses to a higher level. **All the oral and written propaganda must respond to the requirements of the time. It must reject clichés and slogans, make greater use of argument and cope patiently and with culture with the questions and problems which emerge.** The Party and the organisations of the masses must make things clear to the people and must counter every influence of the hostile propaganda which is conducted against our country and socialism.

It is necessary to work tirelessly to strengthen our tested weapon, the unity of the people round the Party. Work must be done with the workers and peasants, with the intelligentsia and especially with the youth who are the future of the Homeland. Work must be done to safeguard and develop the human values which socialism has created such as love for the Homeland and its freedom, honesty and moral purity, revolutionary and progressive spirit.

It is never unnecessary to explain to the masses that not long but only 45 years ago, about 85 per cent of the population was illiterate, while today 75 per cent of the youth attend secondary schools. It must not be forgotten that in 1945 the average life expectancy of the Albanian was 38 years. Now it is more than 70 years. Only 25 years ago, the Albanian women and girls were considered second-class creatures. Now more than 60 per cent of the teachers and doctors are women and girls. In Albania there is no unemployment, no traffic in drugs or terrorism, no social inequality or national persecution. The country

is developing and advancing without enslaving debts and chains. The people are free and sovereign in their own Homeland. No temporary difficulties or shortages can overshadow these victories of the people in socialism.

The great economic, political and social changes which have brought our country from the feudal stage to the modern life could not have been achieved in any other social order apart from socialist society, in which the people and the state are closely linked with one another. These achievements could not have become a reality if life in Albania had not been free and democratic and the rights and duties of the citizens not harmonised with those of the whole society.

Our successes in all fields are linked with the role of the Party and the name of Enver Hoxha, who with wisdom and determination led the Albanian people from victory to victory. For this the people love the Party and are linked with it like flesh to bone, for this reason the people and the Party respect Enver Hoxha and follow his teachings consistently.

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The 10th Plenum of the Central Committee is a deepening of the work that we did at the 9th Plenum. The main objective of today's meeting was to discuss measures for the improvement of the mechanism of the economy. The essence of these measures, as Comrade Adil pointed out very well in the report he delivered, is the strengthening of the efficiency of the economy, **the creation of conditions for self-financing of the enterprises, for the participation of their working people in the distribution of the profits which they create in excess of the plan, for the establishment of relationships, which the time requires, between centralism and the competences of the base during the drafting and the carrying out of**

plans, for increasing the role of economic and market methods, bringing the prices closer to values. The aim is to provide new socialist solutions to these fundamental problems and to apply the criteria required by an intensive economy with dynamic development. What production needs are long-term solutions which open the way to real competences and initiatives for all, and not rules and mechanical actions which are only a partial refurbishing. The present mechanism of the economy will require the further enhancing of the role of science in working out policies of development.

The improvements which have been discussed and approved at this Plenum are a logical consequence of the objective conditions created. We make changes on a wide front because the economic situation of the country has evolved, people's ideo-cultural level has been raised, a wealth of experience has been accumulated, and the links between economic subjects are stable. The Party is encouraging and guiding these changes in order to open up new prospects of development, to put the economic and financial system in the service of technical progress, to subject it to more rational structures of production in order to utilise our natural assets more rapidly and raise the well-being of the people. The mobilising force of the plan must be strengthened everywhere with economic incentives and interests.

The changes which the Party has inspired in the field of relations of production and which we are sanctioning at this Plenum of the Central Committee are a valuable contribution to the science of the political economy of socialism. The theoretical economic concepts must be developed and enriched together with the transformations which occur in the economy. They assume a new content especially in this stage of intensive development. **It can be said quite correctly that, just as socialism is a long process of development, its economic theory likewise is continuously being perfected.** It must always open the

way to the activation with higher socio-economic fruitfulness of all resources of development which the country possesses.

The measures which we discussed will be accompanied with new norms of moral and economic education, with a different psychology and a more active stand towards work and the social property. All these things require a change of aims on the front of education so that its work is coordinated with the operation of the economic mechanism. This must begin from the school textbooks, the press and propaganda and the educational work of the Party. Thus, the importance of education in the life of society is not diminished but increased.

The economic levers and methods encourage the thinking, interest and responsibility of each worker and specialist and every economic organisation. In the conditions when the needs for extended reproduction will be financed from the source of the enterprise and with credits, when a part of the income of workers and managers will be conditional on and determined by the level of the realisation of the net income in the work centre, when their obligations in kind towards the central organs for production will be mainly for supplies outside the district and for export, the management of the enterprise with its own accounting assumes real importance. In these conditions, each worker or cadre is directly interested in having his say for the smooth running of work in the enterprise and demanding a reckoning for the best possible organisation of production, for the application of the most advanced technology, for discipline from the workers, the frugal administration of values, the saving of raw materials and having the management run by the smallest number of capable people. **Thus, the revolutionising measures for the extension of socialist democracy will not remain general principles, but will be linked with the material interests of the working people, because they have the right to receive bonuses amounting to three**

months' extra pay a year from the profits in excess of the plan which the enterprise secures. As a consequence the workers' control assumes more real force and fresh impulses are given to production, and the education and training of people.

In the final analysis, the economic, and also the social usefulness, of the programme which we are undertaking will be determined by the degree to which it needs to increase productivity and the savings. In other words, the increase of the effectiveness of expenditure, of social labour and capital investments is decisive everywhere. At present the central organs are mainly engaged in these questions, but they cannot cope with them, because they do not have the possibilities. On the other hand, the managers of enterprises are more interested in the overall volume of production and in new investments, leaving the questions of quality, range of products, and financial income to others. With the new economic mechanism we must overcome this contradiction by shifting the interests, decisions and responsibilities on many matters to the base.

The material-technical base which we have set up, the sources of labour which are increasing normally, the favourable climatic conditions and the natural assets we must activate with the maximum fruitfulness. This is the immediate and strategic interest of our whole society. All the levers and links of our economic mechanism must serve this objective; this capital issue requires the qualitative improvement of the work of the organs of the Party and its levers.

When we speak about effectiveness we have in mind the normal fulfilment of the needs of the people and the economy and the improvement of the living conditions. These lofty aims are achieved through the increase of incomes, through producing the necessary products in quantity, quality and on time. These matters must proceed in unity, and one-sidedness must not be permitted in

practice.

Each interest must have its economic expression. The enterprise must have separate interests for the fulfilment of the targets of the plan, for the deliveries of products, for its financial obligation towards the State and for its own income. Likewise, the worker must feel in his remuneration that the fulfilment or the overfulfilment of the plan, or the non-fulfilment of it influence his pay in the way which is different from the previous one.

In improving the levers of the economic mechanism, we proceed from real possibilities and clear aims, but experience shows that no measure which is applied in life can be immunised from negative consequences. Every improvement in economic relations is realised through the activity of persons and comes as a result of their interests. We should encourage and support the economic interests of the people in work and creation, but it must be borne in mind that in life actions from the positions of narrow personal or group interests to the detriment of society may be encountered, and these must be prevented or restricted. Petty-bourgeois indifference or generosity are harmful phenomena, but they can become dangerous in conditions of the increased competences of the base and extension of the sphere of the use of economic levers. On the other hand, the decisive condition for achieving the results we expect is the strengthening of discipline at work by the workers and the technical-engineering personnel. **The establishment of rigorous rules and norms must put an end to liberalism and indiscipline. Now the workers themselves are more interested in the application of rule and discipline, because the income of each of them is dependent on the common work.**

Through the economic and financial operations which we are undertaking possibilities are created to achieve a more complete correlation between the material and financial aspects, in the whole cycle of reproduction. This will be achieved especially through adjustments to

the wholesale prices paid for the purchasing of agricultural and livestock products, and wholesale prices for the means of production; as well as through the self-financing of the enterprises and the linking of the remuneration of the workers with the final result of the smallest unit which works on its own account. In this way we achieve what you might call a re-evaluation of the economic role of branches of production, and the contribution which the workers themselves make to the socialist construction. This will stimulate their efforts for economic efficiency, for technical progress, and for advantageous economic exchanges with the world.

As a result of the improvement of the mechanism of the economy, conditions are created to support certain re-orientations in the proportions and priorities in the use of resources of society, in conformity with the prospects of intensive development of production and the need to achieve some rapid qualitative changes in the people's consumption.

The interventions in this field should have been more profound, but in the conditions of keeping the retail prices for prime necessity goods unaltered, the further advance would have been accompanied with the increase of budget subsidies in administrative ways. The main thing is that, in accord with the instructions of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the sphere of action of non-economic factors in the formation of prices must be narrowed, and the possibilities restricted for non-productive expenditure beyond the limit which productivity of social labour permits. The further reduction of re-distribution between branches of production remains a long-term task which we must accomplish gradually along with the development of the economy and the raising of the well-being of the people.

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The studies on which the decisions which we are making are based should be appreciated also from another aspect: they encourage economic and social thinking for analogous improvements and actions even in fields outside their object. In this context, observations and analyses have been made by specialists, a series of concrete proposals have been presented, and some further adjustments to the personal plot and the collective garden have been made.

Proceeding from the facts to date, we can claim that the objectives of the 9th Congress of the Party for supplies of food, especially livestock products, for the people will all be achieved. **However, whereas four years ago we spoke about the supplies for the people as one of the priorities of the 8th Five-year Plan, today it has become the priority of the priorities.** The objectives of the long-term programme of the Party for food production must be advanced, of course, this will have to be accompanied with the necessary changes in the field of organisation. The aim is that we must turn that resource which we have least exploited, living labour, into food product.

As is known, through the collectivisation of livestock, as a result of the hasty implementation of Party directives, instead of gaining the superiorities of concentrated production, as was intended, in fact, the number of people engaged in livestock-farming was reduced enormously and production fell to minimum level. Whereas tens of thousands of people contributed to livestock-farming each day previously, after collectivisation this number was reduced to 3-4 thousand people. Apart from this, in all districts many head of livestock were slaughtered, and there was inexcusable carelessness in regard to ensuring the fodder base and zoo-veterinary treatment of the livestock.

Some of the shortcomings were corrected through the setting up of small herds. The number of people employed in the livestock-farming has grown 5-6 fold

and herds and flocks have increased. Ten years after the collectivisation of the livestock was stopped, we have achieved the number of head that we had on the eve of the 1980s, while milk production has been increased not just by tens of thousands but hundreds of thousands of tons, etc.

The small herds, as a new form of organisation, have demonstrated their superiority especially in the lowland zone. Wherever the proper care has been shown, the villagers have been supplied better by means of the small herds. However, it must be said that they were not supported with the necessary material base. There was much hesitation, especially from the cadres and officials, over the development of them. At present small herds have one third of the country's livestock and, despite the Party's insistence, they have at their disposal only 20,000 hectares of land, while the centralised herds have more than 120,000 hectares. Neither the number of head, the breeds, nor the age of the cows have the level required to respond to the increasing tasks for supplying the people. Consequently, from the small herds alone, especially in the hilly and mountainous zones, it would take a very long time to achieve the levels of supplies which we expect.

To solve the question of supplies, which is the Party's main concern for fulfilling the people's needs, the decision which we took at this Plenum with regard to the personal plot has great importance. **Let the cooperativist peasantry consider and decide for themselves on a village basis how the problem of supplies for the peasantry can best be solved.** Wherever they consider that the collective garden, that is, the small herd and plot, should be retained, let them proceed on this course. Especially in the lowland zones of priority intensification, this could be the most advisable course. In this case, however, measures must be taken to strengthen the small herds. If the peasantry considers that the keeping of a cow or some sheep or

goats in their personal plot is more effective, the agricultural cooperatives should decide this themselves, according to the desires of their members. In this case, livestock from the small herds could be given to the cooperativists in return for payment, or could be bought from the peasants who have not carried out the collectivisation of their livestock to date. In regard to the state farms, their supplies of livestock products will be ensured, as up till now, solely through the small herds.

Whatever the peasantry decides, the Party committees, the executive committees, and the management committees of the agricultural cooperatives must not proceed with the idea that now they have less to do, that they are "freed" from the problem of supplying the people with livestock products. No. On the contrary, they must do a great deal of organisation and education work, so that production is effectively increased both for the peasantry and for the city. Many tasks emerge for the state organs, especially in the establishment of rules and norms for the peasant market, and for commitments towards the state.

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At this Plenum of the Central Committee we also discussed measures in the field of justice, amendments which must be made to the Penal Code, etc. As we said at the 9th Plenum, too, these changes are demands of the time. **The more our socialist social order grows stronger, the more the unity of the people is strengthened, the higher the civic consciousness and culture of the masses is raised, the more our socialist legislation must be democratised.**

I want to stress that with the proposals which have been made, our struggle for the defence of the people's power and socialist order is not weakened. On the contrary,

against various enemies and evil-doers, against those who dare raise their hand against the people's power, against the socialist property and the property of the citizens, against those who break the rules and norms of socialist life, our laws, our state will be stern and determined to strike them hard at any time. For the working masses, for the people who have dedicated their work to the advance and the prosperity of the Homeland, our laws will be a reliable protection in the future, as they have been up till now.

The changes which are made in the Penal Code put the protection of the interests of the state and society in a more correct relationship with the protection of the interests of the individual citizens. This is realised not by means of declarations, but by setting up the respective institutions, such as the creation of the Ministry of Justice, the creation of the institution of rehabilitation, of the advocate service, etc., or by amending some clauses of the Penal Code which time has shown are unnecessary. Comrade Manush Myftiu explained these changes. Soon, together with the questions which have to do with the improvement of the economic mechanism, they will be presented to the People's Assembly for discussion and final decision. In regard to measures in connection with the election to the organs of state power, about which we spoke at the 9th Plenum, they are in the course of preparation, and will be presented to the People's Assembly at another session.

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The undertaking of the programme which we are approving in the field of relations of production and the measures for the strengthening of the legislation express the strength of our Party of Labour and respond to the level of development of the country. Our society has all

the possibilities to progress. We shall apply these possibilities in the economy and other fields of social life and turn them into new achievements, with the united strength of the people, in the interests of the people and the socialist construction.

It is the duty of the organisations of the Party, the organs of state power and all the organisations of the masses to raise their work to a new, higher level which responds to the requirements of the time. As I said earlier, the changes which we are making will not come about by themselves. They require more qualified work in all directions. The new tasks will not be accomplished with outdated methods and mentalities.

Above all, it is essential that these decisions are explained to the masses, the workers and the peasants, the intelligentsia and the youth. Everyone must understand that the correct implementation of them will bring about the strengthening of socialism, the strengthening of the economy and improvement in the life of the people. And this is achieved with work, with much work, with mobilisation and militancy.

We heard the report of Comrade Hekuran Isai on the accomplishment of the tasks of the 9th Plenum and the fulfilment of the state plan. The overall results of the first three months in general are good. Mainly for objective reasons, however, the plan was not fulfilled in several branches. The severe drought has had a grave influence, especially in the generation of electric power. It not only made it impossible to achieve our export targets, but obliged the Government to close some plants, such as the ferro-chrome plant, etc., and to import electric power to meet the needs of the economy. Difficulties have increased also as a result of the changes and disorders which occurred in the countries of Eastern Europe, in general, and the new political and economic restructuring of Europe.

In these conditions **the militant and patriotic spirit**

of citizens and communists in our country must be raised high. The communists and all the workers must throw themselves into the struggle to accomplish the targets of the plan everywhere, to discover new reserves and develop the spirit of initiative. Every worker, peasant and intellectual must understand that today, more than ever, the Homeland requires the maximum contribution from everyone, requires effective work and revolutionary attitude to duty.

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Comrades,

The aim of the struggle of our people and Party has been and is to build a just and free society, in which there are neither exploiters nor exploited, in which each person is valued and rewarded according to the work he does and the role he plays in the progress of society, and in which the material and cultural well-being of the people is improved from day to day. We have fought and are fighting for a socialist society in a free, independent and sovereign Albania. This society, for the construction of which our people have combined their energies for five decades, this society, the foundations of which were set on with the blood of 28,000 martyrs and which we built with sweat, sacrifice, and all-round struggle against poverty, against backwardness, against numerous enemies and saboteurs, we must ceaselessly strengthen and raise to new heights. This is our duty, and no one can fulfil this duty other than our people, the people's power and our Party.

I emphasise this question because now, following the upheavals which have occurred in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, reaction and the international bourgeoisie are trying to impose their norms on the peoples as absolute truths, to proclaim their social order and their way of

life as universal, and to interfere in the internal affairs of others, in order to dictate how and what should be done. For this purpose, they are employing political pressure and economic blockades, are setting their agents in movement, and spreading all kinds of slanders through the means of public information. Those who talk about democracy and pluralism of ideas are exerting a kind of political "terrorism" against Marxism-Leninism.

Savage propaganda campaigns are organised time after time against our country and our Party, too. The Yugoslavs are the banner-bearers, but Greek reaction and others are not lagging behind, either. They are singing a descant for one another and spreading the most fantastic tales. According to them in Albania there is terror, people are killed in the streets, mass arrests are made, etc., etc.

The Yugoslavs would like disturbances to occur in Albania, because they want to divert the attention of international opinion from their internal crises, and especially from the acts of violence and killings which they are perpetrating in Kosova. Others, who in most cases know nothing about the history, culture and course of development of Albania, make analogies with the countries of Eastern Europe and have invented the "domino theory". They expect sensations.

We have pointed out previously, too, that **nothing similar to what has happened in the Eastern countries will occur in Albania. The Albanian people have shed their blood for freedom and independence. Therefore, they will not allow anybody to become masters over them, will never allow the beys, the aghas, or other wealthy classes to seize the power, the land and the factories from them and to suck their blood.** Therefore, anyone, whether the external enemies or the internal enemies, or the dregs of our society, who dares to lay a finger on the freedom of the Homeland, on the people's state power and socialism will find himself confronting a people united firmly around the Party of Labour, a people determined

to defend the victories achieved even with their life.

Our society is not a copy of any other country; our revolution is not imported or imposed from outside. It is inspired by Marxism-Leninism, but it has developed and is developing on our own national soil, and follows the outstanding traditions of the Albanian progressive and liberation movement. This constitutes a basic component of our revolution. Whoever does not understand this cannot properly understand or explain the history of the new Albania, or the original road it has followed.

It is true that in the socialist construction we have tried to benefit from the experience of the others. Nevertheless, we have never danced to a foreign tune, and have applied nothing mechanically, without passing it through the Albanian filter.

Our Party has always acted courageously and in a dialectical way. It has never been afraid to look the reality in the eye, to make serious analyses of the successes and the shortcomings, the good things and the bad. From these it has drawn conclusions about what must be done to carry socialism forward, and what must be done to avoid endangering the present and the future of our people and the Homeland. This is what we did at the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee, and this is what we are doing at today's meeting. But neither now nor in the past are we imitating. We do not proceed and will not proceed on the course, or according to the desires of anyone else.

In the field of relations with the external world, too, the Party and our State must operate, as always, in conformity with the changes which are occurring in the international arena, but always bearing in mind the interests of the people and socialism, of our freedom, national independence and sovereignty, and the cause of peace and security.

At the 8th and 9th Plenums we spoke about the changes which have occurred in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. Those countries have now formally

rejected socialism as an ideology and a practice, just as they have negated everything which was connected with the revolution and the struggle of the working class. That is their affair.

However, the events in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which aroused great euphoria in East and West, have not justified the hopes of those who took power there and those who supported them. It was said that everything would go well, but disillusionment and problems soon began.

The economic situation in Rumania, Poland, the GDR, Hungary and Bulgaria has degenerated. Because of strikes and repeated economic and social organisations and re-organisations, the level of production has fallen below what it was previously. In the Soviet Union the economic situation and the standard of living are worse than they were five years ago when perestroika was announced. In all the Eastern countries the working masses are worried because, with the introduction of new economic rules imposed by international capital, those social gains which they had inherited such as guaranteed jobs, housing, pensions, etc., have been placed in jeopardy.

In no country of Eastern Europe is there political stability. Under the slogan of pluralism, various political parties, groups and associations have been created, are competing with one another, and thinking only of winning votes and occupying positions of power. In Rumania some parties are demanding that the cultivated land and that occupied with buildings should be returned to the former owners; in Poland and Hungary factories and plants which were previously state-owned are being privatised. In this climate, even fascist organisations have begun to appear, while nationalist trends and feuds on this basis have come to the fore. In the Soviet Union the matters have gone as far as armed clashes, in which Armenians, Azeris, Tadjiks and Uzbeks have been killed. Meanwhile, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Georgia are officially

demanding secession from the Soviet Union. Recently, the old feuds between Rumania and Hungary have broken out again.

The events in the East have created problems on a European scale, too, because they have upset the balances and affected the existing alliances. The problem of the unification of the two Germanies has emerged, which is undoubtedly a right which belongs to the German nation. However, this question has aroused concern in many countries and has brought to light old alliances and enmities.

However, it is not only the German problem which dominates the European scene. Equally important is the problem of military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, and the European security in general. The USA and USSR are trying to give events a direction which they desire, while each has its own interests. Now, however, even for them it has become difficult "to get the jinn back into the bottle".

The situation created is completely new, and is characterised by a general offensive of the international bourgeoisie and opportunist forces against socialist and communist values, against the practice of socialist construction, and the internationalist unity of the workers. This is the most aggressive and dangerous attack which has been undertaken against the revolution hitherto.

It is beyond doubt that the socialist alternative for the regulation of human society cannot be quelled, that as long as there are exploiters and exploited, there will also be struggle for the resolution of this contradiction. But the historic perspective is one thing, and the actuality something else. And this actuality is fraught with many concrete dangers and threats, with struggles that must be waged and coped with today, and not in the future.

We must examine the whole complex of foreign relations. Now that the political balance in Europe has been upset we have to think hard: how should we

manoeuvre on the world scene to safeguard the interests of the Homeland?

In this situation two courses can be envisaged for foreign relations: the first course would be to close ourselves in our own shell, restrict contacts, go over to ideological, political and cultural defensive, but this has not been and cannot be our line, our policy. Our Party has never chosen isolation. Only those who have tried to harm Albania have wanted to isolate it, just as they have used economic blockades for such a purpose.

The second course is that of dialogue and the acceptance of open diplomatic struggle. But what does it mean to wage open diplomatic struggle? This means to go and wage this struggle where it is taking place, and means also that you must accept the rules by which it is played.

The idea exists that diplomatic struggle means newspaper articles, government and public declarations, in one word, the propaganda struggle. This idea is not only wrong, but extremely naive.

Diplomatic struggle means contacts, talks, agreements, compromises, refusals and approvals, always guided by the national interests and the national criterion.

What does our history teach us about this?

From the time the movement for secession from the Ottoman Empire began until this day the Albanians have fought on two fronts: on the front of the armed struggle and on the diplomatic front.

The League of Prizren, the uprisings of the years 1910-1912, and the National Liberation War are the best examples. The fundamental thing has been that from the external aspect the Albanians have avoided placing themselves on the losing side.

The red thread that runs through all the Albanians' liberation movements is that clear and accurate definition of the national political philosophy which has not altered in all the epochs, in all the changes, and in all the storms.

Unlike the dominant philosophies in the world, not only previously but now, too, **our national ideal has been a democratic ideal, because the Albanians have not aspired to extend themselves to foreign territories, have had no pretensions to any kind of political, economic or cultural expansion. The fundamental aspiration of the Albanian people has been to have a free, independent and sovereign state. They have not demanded more.**

Their political thinking in the internal life has been democratic, too. Perhaps this has come about because they have been a peasant people, always tending to equality, justice, tolerance, collectivism, mutual aid, spiritual nobility, and so on, or because they have suffered long national and economic oppression. They did not manage to create a real consolidated bourgeoisie, which might have exerted an influence also through its ideologies.

On the basis of this national ideal and this democratic spirit, it became possible to create a sound political unity on the fundamental issue, that of safeguarding the independence of the country and its state throughout all periods of modern history.

Of course, there have always been periods and moments of unclarity, but revival has occurred from this inextinguishable source of inspiration. Just as the national criterion has been a guide for international relations, it has also been decisive for the whole spiritual world of Albanians.

At the critical moments in Albania the people have been evaluated not from their class or religious allegiance, from the government hierarchy, their level of schooling, etc., but from their political stand towards the independence, freedom and sovereignty of the country. On the other hand, since Albania is a small country, it could not have importance and play any decisive role in world affairs except, of course, through the importance and role which derived from its geo-strategic position. This weak aspect: the small population, the small territory and the lack

of economic weight, it has tried to compensate for through diplomatic manoeuvres, through the exploitation of contradictions among enemies to defend its own interests.

If we looked more deeply into the activity of Abdyl Frashëri, Ismail Qemali and Enver Hoxha, if we examined the power of these three great men whom Albania has brought forth at key moments of history, we would not be exaggerating if we said that they were masters of diplomatic tactics. Our Party, which since its founding has been a resolute fighter for freedom and national independence, must follow these outstanding traditions unwaveringly.

Proceeding on this course, **the new Albania has always been realistic in its foreign policy; it has conducted its international activity, bearing in mind the lofty interests of the Homeland and the contribution it can give to the strengthening of general peace and security.**

The policy of our Party and State has never been that of a passive onlooker, and it could not be so. World events have had and have close interconnection with one another, and no one can stand aloof from them. The problem which presents itself is how to avoid the negative influences of these events and how to benefit from the positive ones. Of course, neither the harm nor the benefits come of themselves, nor do they have a constant weight. Since they take place at a given time and place, it depends on our reaction and activity in time and space what effect they will exert upon us.

For example, let us take Europe and the recent events there. On this continent to which we belong, too, as we said earlier, great changes are occurring and these have led to what we might call a total reshuffling of the cards. New political, economic, security and other problems have emerged which impose a new consideration and treatment of them. We would not be dialectical if we were to think that they can be understood and coped with through the formulas and means of struggle used up till

now. The important thing is to stick to our principles and be guided by them. But on this question, too, we must clearly distinguish what is fundamental and what is non-fundamental, what is primary and what is secondary, what is permanent and what is temporary. **What we must guard against is considering tactical activities as strategical activities, and vice versa.**

Right from the outset Albania has consistently opposed the division of Europe into blocs, opposed the spheres of influence and opposed the limitation of the sovereignty of its nations. We have opposed all those policies which in our opinion gave rise to and increased the tensions and conflicts on this continent, all those measures and actions which directly or indirectly infringed the freedom and independence of European countries and their right to decide their own fate.

Our view has been that European security could not be achieved through the armaments race, through the confrontation of military blocs, political discrimination and ideological diversion, various blockades, or the endless arsenal of the cold war.

We have always wanted and desire that the European countries should settle the conflicts and tensions not by means of force or the threat of its use, but by means of dialogue, reason and understanding, on the basis of full reciprocal respect in order to establish a truly peaceful coexistence.

Efforts can be seen in Europe at present to find ways and means to reduce tensions. This is connected with the situations created, but it also coincides with our aims. At the 9th Plenum we reached the conclusion that in these conditions certain initiatives which have been undertaken by the European states, including those for multilateral meetings, should be taken into consideration on our part. Thus, now Albania's joining in the process of European cooperation and security and its participation in the meetings which are planned for this purpose is timely

and responds to our interests. This will be another proof not only of Albania's interest in the security of our continent, but also of its desire to make its own contribution to strengthening this security.

In carrying out the decisions of the 9th Plenum our State organs must also take action in the direction of the European Common Market. There has been created in Western Europe a community of states in which not only the economy but also many sectors of internal and foreign policy are being unified. The European Community already represents a reality recognised world-wide. The establishment of diplomatic links and contacts with it will serve our political and economic interests, and so will the increased cooperation with individual members of this community, which has already become a useful practice.

Although of another nature and very complex, bearing in mind the developments which have taken place, the problem of re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States and the Soviet Union has also emerged on the agenda. I want to point out that Albania has never had a phobia against the great powers. What it has not tolerated and does not accept are the aims to impose policies which run counter to its freedom and independence and its own will.

As you know, after the liberation of the country, the Albanian Government made great efforts to establish friendly relations with the USA, relations which had existed before the war and which had been confirmed during it. Regrettably, from the liberation of the country on, the United States made recognition of the new Albanian Government conditional on changing the social system which had emerged from our people's revolution. For a long period the USA also opposed the admission of Albania to the UNO and did everything in its power to isolate Albania internationally. These actions, not to mention the others, created a great gulf between the

two countries, which remains open to this day.

Likewise, it was the Soviet Union which unilaterally broke off diplomatic relations along with all its economic and other ties with Albania. And the main reason was that Albania did not accept its hegemony, refused to become a simple executor of its foreign policy, and to conform and submit to its demands. The severing of political and economic relations, extending the ideological differences to the relations between states was an act of vengeance intended to damage the PSR of Albania.

For the establishment of relations with other states we have not set political conditions, but neither have we accepted any. The only thing which we have demanded, and this is a legitimate issue, is that they accept Albania as it is. And we have accepted and accept the others as they are. The choice of social systems is a sovereign issue of each people and nobody has the right to meddle with it.

If the United States of America and the Soviet Union are really going to change their stand towards Albania as they say, we have no reason not to welcome this. We have never wanted to be in enmity with anybody. On the contrary, as we pointed out at the 9th Plenum, we respond to friendship with friendship, just as we take no step back when anyone behaves towards us with arrogance, underestimation, or despotism. Relations between states are normal and fruitful when the basic principles of equality, non-interference, respect for the freedom, independence and sovereignty, and cooperation with mutual interest are respected. This is valid also for Britain which, although so many things have changed in Europe, continues to stick stubbornly to the outdated mentality of the 1940s and keeps the Albanian monetary gold frozen. The time has come to abandon that position.

We have always wanted friendly relations with all countries irrespective of their social system. We devote special attention to relations with the neighbouring

countries. In this context we have always wanted to have good relations with Yugoslavia because we are neighbours and, as such, we have many interests in common. Neither we nor they can leave the Balkan Peninsula where the Albanians and the southern Slavs have lived for centuries. History has compelled us to coexist. But how should we coexist? The Albanians on this side and that side of the border have shown that they desire to live as friends and not as enemies. The feuds and conflicts have not brought any benefit to either side.

Unfortunately, the Yugoslavs have responded to the hand of friendship extended by the Albanians with a clenched fist. Belgrade has pursued an anti-Albanian policy inspired by archaic concepts and ideologies, by the nostalgia of feudal romanticism and imperial euphoria.

This policy has led to a stern conflict with the Albanians of Kosova and to a national crisis all over Yugoslavia. A consequence of this policy is the abnormal state of Albanian-Yugoslav relations.

But this policy has failed. It has failed because the time is gone when internal crises can be solved by means of violence or through the creation of artificial conflicts with the neighbours.

The problem of Kosova, like other problems of Yugoslavia, results from the conflict between demands for freedom, democracy and progress, on the one hand, and attempts at domination, arbitrary acts, oppression and violence, on the other.

This dividing line now runs all through Yugoslavia. On one side stand the leaders of Serbia and on the other the peoples of Yugoslavia among whom, as we read and hear, the conviction is growing stronger that the problems of Kosova and Yugoslavia can be solved only in democratic ways, by means of dialogue, equality and respect for the rights and interests of all parties.

The time has come when even in Belgrade they must understand that problems cannot be solved through violence

and eliminating the autonomy of Kosova. The people of Kosova have already chosen their own representatives, gathered in the democratic alternatives, with whom talks can be held and problems solved, but of course, with equality, openly, without prejudice and with understanding.

As regards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, it has frequently made it clear that it is ready to talk with Yugoslavia about the complete normalisation of relations between the two countries, as well as about other problems which might be of interest to both sides, proceeding from the interests of good neighbourliness, security in the region and general peace.

Our country gives great importance to the process of cooperation between Balkan states, which exerts an influence to ensure peace not only on our peninsula but also more widely. This year the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries will be held in Tirana. We will do everything possible to ensure that this meeting turns out a success and marks a turning point in the strengthening of good neighbourliness and fraternal relations between our countries.

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Comrades,

The decisions of this Plenum have very great importance for the present and future of our country. They will certainly find the unanimous support of the entire people and of our glorious Party, just as they have done in our meeting. Let us devote all our strength, sparing nothing, to make our Homeland stronger and the life of our people better and happier, to keep high and carry forward the banner of Marxism-Leninism and socialism in free and independent Albania.

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