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SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

**ON THE MARXIST - LENINIST
THEORETICAL THINKING OF THE
PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA
AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA**

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ON
THE MARXIST-LENINIST
THEORETICAL THINKING OF THE
PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA
AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

October 3-4, 1983

KIBRISTA SOSYALIST
GERÇEK LONDRA BURÖSU

SOCIALIST TRUTH IN CYPRUS

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THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES
AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY
OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

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The presidium of the Conference

On the eve of the 75th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Scientific Conference on the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking of the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, prepared by the Commission for the organization of the Conference at the Central Committee of the PLA, carried out its proceedings in Tirana from the 3rd to the 4th of October 1983.

This Conference, which was an important event in the scientific, ideological and political life of our country, was attended by leading cadres of the Party and State, workers of the ideological front, students of social sciences, cadres of the army, workers of production, culture, art, and others.

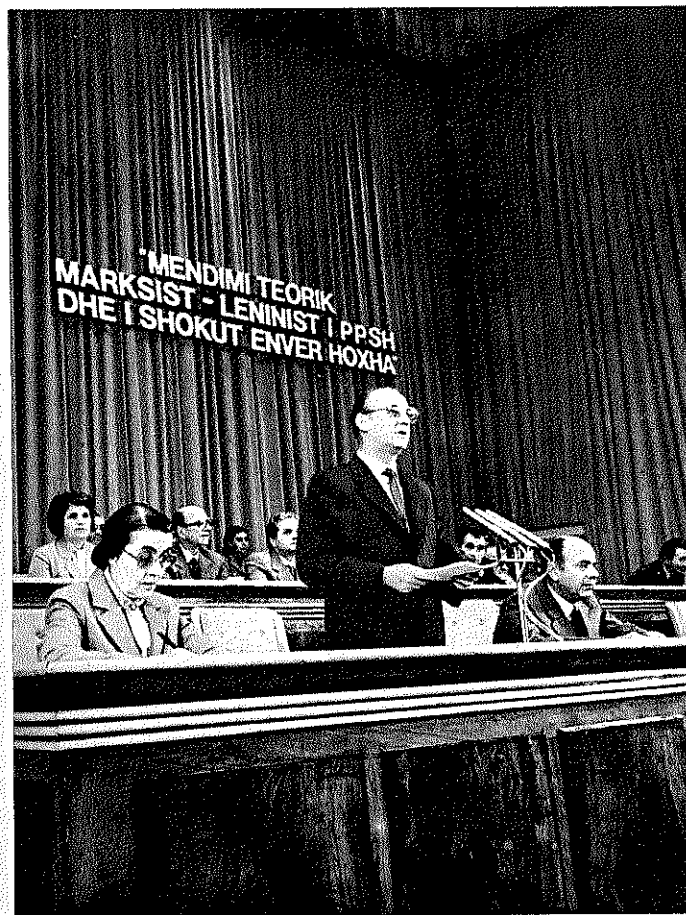
Present were also the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSRA, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, Comrades Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra,

Qirjako Mihali, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava, Comrade Nexhmiqe Hoxha and other comrades.

Comrade Ramiz Alia delivered the speech opening the proceedings of the Conference.

To the Conference were submitted 9 reports which dealt with the valuable contribution of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the great theoretical treasury of Marxism-Leninism, to the creative development and implementation of its teachings in carrying out the revolution and building socialism in Albania.

This publication includes the opening and closing speeches delivered by Comrade Ramiz Alia and the 9 reports.



Comrade Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, holding the opening speech at the Conference

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA'S SPEECH

Comrades,

The Scientific Conference on the study of the theoretical thinking of our Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha begins its work today.

It is always good to think of and reflect on the history of the revolutionary struggles waged under the leadership of the Party, of the magnificent battles for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland so as to see from where we have started and where we have arrived. This helps us sum up the experience gained, draw useful lessons for our everyday work and have a clearer idea of our perspective.

We take legitimate pride in our new industry, our factories and combines, our transformed fields, our schools and hospitals, all the material and spiritual wealth socialism has brought us. But we are not less justified to take pride in the wisdom, knowledge and maturity of our Party of Labour, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, which mapped out and led the realization

of these transformations, which found the most appropriate roads for the solution of the historical problems that faced our country. We would not be exaggerating to say that the experience of our people's revolution and socialist construction, the Marxist-Leninist thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha represent our greatest asset in the sense that their correct and consistent assimilation and implementation guarantee what we have achieved up to this day and ensure our non-stop march forward towards communism.

Our Conference holds its proceedings on the eve of the 75th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha. On this occasion we want to express our ardent love for the outstanding leader of the Party and our people, our profound respect and great admiration for his life and work, which are indivisible from the work and struggle of our glorious Party.

The major historic victories in the life of the Albanian people, the creation of the Communist Party, the triumph of the people's revolution, this beautiful and happy Albania in which we rejoice today, are closely linked with the name and revolutionary activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with his theoretical thinking, with his leadership. In all the stages our revolution has gone through, in all the major decisions our Party and state have taken, at any time and over any question, the thinking, role and contribution of Comrade Enver Hoxha have guiding and determining importance.

Our Party has had the great fortune to have at its head a leader such as Comrade Enver Hoxha, the loyal disciple and continuer of the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, a leader who is characterized by political wisdom, the ability

to orientate himself in any situation, far-sightedness and courage to take the right decisions at the right time. This has enabled our Party to always honourably fulfil its mission, to carry out the revolution and lead the people with a sure hand on the road to socialism.

Ours is an ancient people with a history of thousands of years, a history filled with long battles for freedom and independence, with uninterrupted efforts for the advancement of the nation and the emancipation of the people. And in all these centuries, in all these battles and efforts they have brought forth many outstanding individuals whose work illuminates and glorifies their history. Among them stands out the figure of Comrade Enver Hoxha. His life and work are the life and work of a revolutionary communist leader, of a heroic popular leader, of a typical representative of the freedom-loving spirit of the Albanian, of an ardent patriot and a consistent internationalist.

The figure of Comrade Enver Hoxha stands at the same height as the glorious epic of the National Liberation War and the people's revolution which brought our country its freedom and gave the people their state power. The strength of his talent as revolutionary leader, and his Marxist-Leninist thought respond to the titanic struggle and the brilliant creativeness our Party and people have displayed and continue to display in the construction of the new socialist Albania.

True, history is the work of the masses, but it is just as true that the major historical events, in which the masses play a decisive role, bring forth such leaders who give these events the stamp of their personality. Ours is the time when our people are living through a period of major

political, economic and social, ideological and cultural transformations, when for the first time Albania has become mistress of its own country and emerged on the international arena with an outstanding name and its own voice. As a revolutionary and a leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha stands at the height of this epoch and, together with the name of the Party, has given it its own name, too.

The work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is the work of a truly Marxist-Leninist leader who not only worked out the line and mapped out all the major transformations in the life of the country, but has also, at the head of the Party, led the masses in all the revolutionary processes. There is no field of activity of our Party and socialist state in which his theoretical thinking and practical contribution have not left their imprint, there are no major events in which he has not been present. This is proved by the history of the Party, the struggle of our people for the liberation of the Homeland, their everyday work for the construction of socialism.

The creation of the Communist Party of Albania, whose founder is Comrade Enver Hoxha, represents not only one of the greatest events in the ancient history of our people, but also one of the wisest and most political courageous acts in their history. The Party was founded at a very difficult moment, at the time when Albania was under foreign occupation, and the whole world was at war. The people were seeking the light which would illuminate the road out of the darkness, wanted a leadership that would lead them out of the slavery.

However, in the Albanian political scene of that time such forces as Balli Kombëtar, Legality and others might emerge, as they did, that

pretended to represent the will of the people and claimed to place themselves at their head. Hence, there existed the great danger that different reactionary forces might deceive the people and lead their struggle into a blind alley with catastrophic consequences for their fate and that of the Albanian nation. The special merit of the Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, is that precisely in this situation and in these conditions they had the courage to assume an historic responsibility, to create their Party, the political staff that would lead the struggle of the Albanian people against fascism.

The people followed the communists not only because of their bravery, self-denial and self-sacrifice. Undoubtedly, this had its importance, indeed a decisive importance. But they followed them, in the first place, because of the program they gave the people, of the prospects they opened before them, of the road of honour on which they had set out.

Our Party was set up as a party of the Leninist type, but it could not fail to bear the stamp of the time and the conditions in which it was born. It had to fight and to organize itself at the same time, and to organize the people for the struggle. And this was no easy task.

The definition of a correct line, of a correct strategy and tactic for carrying the national liberation movement through to victory, was no easy task, either. In the time of the nazi occupation of Europe there were many old communist parties such as those of Greece, Italy, France, etc. which fought or were bound to fight for the liberation of their countries and for the state power that would be established after the war. They were parties of old traditions, sections of the Comin-

tern, but apart from other causes, also because of their line and stand, were unable to carry their struggle through to victory.

The Communist Party of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, knew to link the war for national liberation from the fascist occupiers with the struggle for the establishment of the people's power and socialism. This was a new experience, but it was by no means a spontaneous result. This strategy of the revolution was thought out, programmed and implemented by our Party in a fully conscious manner. In the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha we clearly see how this strategy, which was totally new in the revolutionary practice of the proletariat, was worked out and implemented, how it was dealt with from the theoretical stand-point and what concrete forms it assumed in practice.

The strategy of the National Liberation War was embodied in the creation of the partisan army, the armed wing of the movement, and of the National Liberation Front, its political wing. The National Liberation Army, whose founder and General Commander was Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the National Liberation Front, which he conceived, organized and strengthened, became the main weapons for the victory over the enemies. The political, ideological and organizational principles on which they were set up, the whole experience which resulted from their heroic struggle is not only a source of revolutionary inspiration for us, but also a treasury of inestimable value for the struggle our Party and people are waging for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland today.

From its first resolution the Party pointed out that the National Liberation War of the

Albanian people was a component part of the great anti-fascist world front. However, the Party consistently preserved the independence and identity of the National Liberation War of our people and resolutely blocked all attempts, both on the part of the Anglo-American allies and the neighbouring countries, as was the case with Yugoslavia, at interference in the internal affairs of our struggle and subjecting it to other aims.

In these difficult and delicate situations, these stands had vital importance. Any error could be fatal to the outcome of the revolution and the future of the country. What would have happened, for instance, if we accepted the ultimatum of the allies who demanded that the 1st Division of the National Liberation Army should not cross to the North to attack and rout the forces of reaction,¹ if we accepted the landing of allied forces in Albania² or the compromise at Mukje?³ Obviously the consequences would have

1 Enver Hoxha, *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania* (Memoirs), the «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 267-268, Eng. ed.

2 Ibidem, pp. 334-352.

3 The treacherous agreement signed on August 1-2, 1943 between the capitulationist elements who represented the National Liberation General Council and the chiefs of the reactionary organization of Balli Kombëtar. This agreement which was in direct opposition to the interests of the National Liberation War and the Albanian people and would have paved the way for political power to pass into the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie linked with the foreign occupiers, was immediately rejected by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania.

been lethal: the failure of the National Liberation War, an Albanian Varkiza, the partitioning of Albania. But this did not occur because the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha defended the interests of the National Liberation War and the Homeland, because they implemented Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has the great historic merit of the creation and strengthening of the people's power, which also marks the crowning of our revolution and the basic condition for the construction of socialism. The road of the creation of this state power has been as consistent with the Leninist teachings as it has been original. Our people's power is the offspring of a revolutionary war which led, at the same time, to the expulsion of the foreign occupiers and the overthrow of the old regime, hence it has a profound popular, democratic and class content. Herein lies its great and unconquerable strength, the source of the inspiration for the correct development of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When the war ended, Albania was a war-ravaged and very poor country without industry, without capital, without technical cadres and specialists. There was the enthusiasm of the war, a great motor-power, but insufficient to build the new life. You cannot build socialism with enthusiasm alone, Lenin taught us. It was no easy thing to determine from where to begin, just as it was not easy to single out priorities in the conditions we mentioned above. Not only had we to do away with the leftovers of feudal relations and, of the economic dependence of the country on foreign capital and imperialism, but we also had to make radical transformations of the whole social structure, to liquidate the economic base of

capitalism, to build the bases of socialism through the establishment of the state of people's democracy, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Certainly, there was the Soviet experience, but its mechanical implementation would have meant complete ruin.

The program the Party mapped out for the construction of socialism was a creative implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Looking back from a distance of forty years, we see today the great creative strength of the solutions that were adopted at that time. As in the time of the war, the Party displayed its ability in an entirely new field. The wisdom, the Marxist-Leninist knowledge, the revolutionary determination, and the organizational strength of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha displayed themselves here with new force.

The orientations they issued for the economic development of the country, which lay at the foundations of the program of the Party for the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, and for the development of education and culture, had decisive importance for the fate of the construction of socialism in Albania. Underlying the foundations of the policy of the Party was the great principle of self-reliance which became the banner of the development of our economy, of the defence of our country and of its international relations.

The defence and strengthening of the state power, the carrying out of democratic reforms, and, in general, the construction of socialism in a small and backward country encircled by enemies, were heavy burdens which could not be shouldered if the principles of Marxism-Lenin-

ism were not rigorously applied and implemented, not only in compliance with our conditions, but also in a spirit of living political and ideological creativeness.

The Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head succeeded in carrying out the colossal tasks of that stage because it correctly assessed the ratio of class forces and alliances and correctly and consistently carried out the class struggle in the new conditions. In regard to the fronts to which it extended, to the problems it involved and the difficulties it represented, this struggle was not less difficult and less fierce than the National Liberation War. It demanded courage and resolve, knowledge and maturity.

Its broad, profound and realistic understanding of the class struggle led the Party to the correct concept that this struggle should be consistently developed also after the disappearance of the exploiting classes, against the survivals of the past and the new enemies emerging in this period as a result of the external pressure and the degeneration of various elements.

These correct Marxist-Leninist concepts on the class struggle and their resolute implementation in practice have helped our Party and people to uncover and successfully smash their different enemies, from Koçi Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu and his gang. In the struggle against all the internal enemies, spies and tools of foreigners, the high revolutionary vigilance of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the steel unity of the Party and its close links with the people, their determination to defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland, the victories of socialism in any situation and against any enemy, have emerged with special force.

Because of the changes that took place in the international arena immediately after the end of the war, the Party had to define who were the external friends and enemies. To hesitate or tarry, no matter how little, in taking our stands or steps in those extremely complicated situations would have put the freedom and independence of the Homeland, the socialist future of the country in great jeopardy. A merit of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in particular, is that they knew how to analyse the existing situation in a profoundly scientific manner, to distinguish the new imperialist strategy directed against socialism and the peoples, to uncover the Yugoslav betrayal which represented a direct threat to Albania, and to formulate those principles and fundamental orientations which have ensured the success of our external policy.

In these four decades of our free life, Albania has gone through several revolutions which we call revolutionary transformations, such as those in the field of the economy, culture, ideology, etc. The changes that have been made are so great that no comparison, no matter how successful, can render the whole depth of the processes that have taken place.

From a very backward country, a country without an industry and an utterly primitive agriculture, Albania has been transformed into an advanced country with a many-branched industry and modern agriculture, with a stable and independent economy which develops at high rates and with a constantly increasing standard of living of its broad working masses.

Once a country of mass illiteracy, Albania has now become the country of education and culture for the masses, where sound socialist art

flourishes and broad avenues have been opened to science. Nowhere but in Albania has man been freed to such an extent from the shackles of ignorance and poverty, in which the church and the kings, the feudal lords and the bourgeois kept him in order to oppress and exploit him more thoroughly.

The canons that enslaved woman were overthrown, the shackles of religion and old customs were thrown away. The Marxist-Leninist world outlook penetrated deep into the minds and hearts of people. Albania became the first atheist country in the history of mankind.

Practice is the criterion of truth. Present-day Albania, as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a socialist society, testifies to the correctness, effectiveness and great transforming strength of Marxism-Leninism, of the line of our Party, of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, of its leadership. The new experience, that original contribution they have made to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism lies within this visible and tangible reality.

When we affirm the results and victories our country has achieved under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, we compare our country not only with its past but also with other countries, neighbouring or distant, such as Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Poland and others, which emerged from the war in conditions more or less similar to ours, although they did not inherit our centuries-long backwardness and are bigger countries, with possibilities and resources greater than those of Albania. We affirm these results also having the current situation in mind. And what do we see? Socialist Albania is a country developing at stable

rates, an independent country marching with sure steps towards new horizons, knowing no stagnation or crisis, no unemployment or inflation, no enslaving debts or rising costs of living, or other phenomena which are shaking today the capitalist and revisionist world to its foundation. And this at a time when such countries as Titoite Yugoslavia and revisionist Poland, which have betrayed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, find themselves in a deep crisis, faced with insurmountable difficulties and on the brink of complete bankruptcy. The present crisis refuted many myths, overthrew many theories, put all systems to the test. However, socialist Albania is the only country which defies it. This is an experience which is valuable not only to us.

The foreign policy of our Party and state, based firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is also a component part of the policy of the construction of socialism. Just as it has defined the ideological, political, economic and other principles for the socialist construction of the country, the Party has also worked out its principles and doctrine in the sphere of foreign policy, which is a policy of complete independence and full national sovereignty. In this field, too, our Party has made its contribution to the enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist science.

Socialist Albania has become known and won the admiration of world progressive opinion for its courageous struggle and indomitable stand against imperialism and, in particular, against the two superpowers — the United States of America and the Soviet Union. It has won the love and support of the peoples and progressive

elements because it is never afraid to tell the truth loudly and openly denounce any form of aggression, colonial exploitation, tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination, violation of national sovereignty and inequality in international relations.

Socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, are honoured and respected everywhere in the world for their principled and uncompromising ideological struggle against modern revisionism and all its trends and manifestations.

This struggle is not only a glorious epic which will remain unforgettable in the history of the world communist movement, but also a whole experience rich in lessons of great theoretical and practical value. By defending Marxism-Leninism against revisionist attacks, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have shown the vitality of its teachings, the ability of the scientific doctrine of the proletariat to give an answer to all the problems of current world development and the class struggle on a world scale. With great convincing strength and a strong logic they have refuted the claims of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists that Marxism-Leninism has become obsolete, that it must be abandoned, etc. In their great struggle against modern revisionism, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have defended the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the revolution, the stand towards imperialism and opportunism, the construction of socialism, etc. and have enriched them with new ideas and arguments from the practice of our time.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, such as his speech at the Meeting of 81 parties of November

1960,¹ «The Khrushchevites», «The Titoites», «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», «Imperialism and the Revolution», «Reflections on China», his reports to the congresses of the Party, his articles and many other documents are monumental works rich in ideas, arguments, judgements and reasonings of great value and importance for the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat in the present conditions, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The theoretical thinking of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have displayed their particular strength, especially after the exposure of Khrushchevite revisionism. Drawing the necessary lessons from the negative experience of the events in the Soviet Union, which led to the degeneration of socialism there, the main problems of the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution, as the fundamental condition to preserve its gains intact and to carry them further forward, were worked out during the 60's. The theses on the revolutionization of the Party and the whole life of the country, on the struggle against leftovers from the past and alien influences, on the revolutionization of the school, etc. were also worked out in this time.

Of particular importance are, especially, the stands of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha in regard to proletarian internationalism, the faithful implementation of its principles, enunciated by Marx and Engels, in the

¹ See Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 3, The «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1980, pp. 93-163, Eng. ed.

concrete conditions of our time. From these same positions our Party has also dealt with the problems connected with the national question. It has correctly resolved the problem of the Greek minority in Albania and clearly defined its stand towards Kosova and the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Our Party has also defined its stand towards the Marxist-Leninist movement and its unity, the relations between sister parties, the stand towards the revolutionary and liberation movements of the proletarians and peoples, as well as towards all the progressive and democratic forces in the world, proceeding from the positions of genuine proletarian internationalism.

Seen as a whole, the experience and example of Albania as a socialist country with complete economic, political, ideological and military independence, constitute an original contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism. This example shows that a small country can successfully build socialism and cope with the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, when it relies on its own forces. Our Albania is vivid proof of the unconquerable strength of Marxism-Leninism, of the correct line of the Party of Labour of Albania and the life-giving force of the teachings of its founder and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrades,

When we speak of the theoretical thinking of our Party we do not mean an abstract doctrine, or a collection of philosophical dogmas. With this we mean the contribution it has made to the implementation of Marxism-Leninism in our country and the original solutions it has given



The hall in which the Conference held its proceedings

in the spirit of its teachings to different problems of the revolution and the construction of socialism. We see this thinking embodied and materialized in present-day Albania, in its social system, in the ideology of its people, in the policy of its state and, above all, in the general line of the Party. By theoretical thinking of our Party we mean those generalizations, conclusions, directives and orientations derived from the revolutionary practice of our people and the world proletariat, which serve the struggle and work of our working masses to safeguard the victories achieved and to carry the construction of socialism forward.

The theoretical thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha represents a very broad field which comprises all the problems of the revolution and socialist construction, our internal problems and the international ones. This Conference will deal only with some of its general aspects. The formulation and analysis of this thinking calls for broad and all-round studies which constitute the fundamental tasks of our social sciences for the present and the future.

In declaring open the Scientific Conference on the study of the theoretical thinking of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, allow me to express my confidence that its proceedings will be a complete success.

**THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST
CONSTRUCTION IN ALBANIA — A
LIVING EXAMPLE OF THE VITALITY
AND CREATIVE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY**

For more than four decades our people have been living and acting under the leadership of the Party of communists, illuminated by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. This, as the people themselves have called it, is the epoch of the Party, the most brilliant epoch in all their ancient and new history. With their struggle and under the leadership of the Party, the people freed themselves from the fascist enslavement took, political power in their hands and made themselves the masters of their own country and destinies. With the Party in the lead they overcame the centuries-old backwardness and set out on the road of non-stop and all-round development and progress. Under the leadership of the Party, Albania has become a genuine socialist state, completely free, independent and sovereign.

Everything that has been achieved and reali-

zed in these years by our people under the leadership of the Party is closely connected with the name and gigantic work of the founder and leader of the Party and of the entire Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The entire glorious history of our Party, everything in new socialist Albania bears the stamp of the revolutionary thought and action of Comrade Enver Hoxha. With the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the forefront, the Albanian people have traversed a road full of struggles and efforts, have clashed with many savage and powerful enemies, and have withstood great difficulties and storms. In all these battles they have never tasted defeat, but have always emerged triumphant, have risen to new heights, have climbed new peaks.

* * *

The work of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, as one and inseparable, is a magnificent and extensive work, very rich in teachings and experience. It is outstanding for its rare political and ideological clarity and strength, for its proletarian partisanship, for its unshakeable confidence in the strength of the people and boundless loyalty to their interests, for its wisdom and understanding of the masses and great Marxist-Leninist maturity, for its great boldness and unrivalled revolutionary courage.

With these lofty qualities and virtues, the Party has known to orientate itself with clarity and unwaveringly in any situation, to work out a correct line in any stage of the revolution, to grasp and solve the fundamental problems which

emerged for the country, to formulate and apply a revolutionary strategy and tactic, which have led the people from victory to victory.

The immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have defended with ardour, carried out in practice, developed and further enriched, underlies all the activity of our Party. They have always seen and treated this theory not as a dogma, not as an abstract and illuminist theory, but as a guide to action, as a weapon for struggle, as a great force for the revolutionary transformation of society. There is nothing dogmatic and narrow, nothing sectarian and liberal in the activity of our Party. The slanders of our enemies are refuted by life itself, by the entire practice of the revolution and socialism in Albania. The only correct criterion for the assessment of the mettle of a party and its leadership are not the subjective opinions, but the practical results of their activity. The results of the activity of our Party are such that they cannot be dimmed by any slander or demagoguery, because an entire people see, touch and enjoy them, a people who, under the leadership of the Party, have wrought wonders.

Our people have brought forth from their bosom many outstanding leaders, statesmen, men of the pen and the rifle, wise and intelligent and courageous individuals who have spared nothing for Albania. For many reasons, however, the people did not achieve what they wanted under the leadership of these individuals. Nevertheless their deed, work and struggle were not in vain. They bequeathed us a valuable legacy which must be further developed and enriched, they taught us the great lesson that for victory to be

achieved a sound, wise and bold leadership, one which should fight together with the people and for the people, should be found.

Comrade Enver Hoxha fulfilled this historic need and, placing himself at the head of the Albanian communists, he knew from the beginning how to grasp the key link on which the entire course of subsequent events would depend. The creation of the Communist Party of Albania was that great historic act which the time and the situations dictated, which the very development of the workers' movement and of the liberation war of the people demanded. The founding of the Party was neither an arbitrary action nor the doing of the foreigners, but the mature work of the Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

The Communist Party of Albania was built on strong foundations as a Party of the new type, on Marxist-Leninist ideological, organizational, strategic and tactical bases, in the example of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. As such, though young and small in numbers, it aroused the whole people, united, organized and threw them in the war and led them to the greatest victory in their history. This was achieved because the line of the Party was a correct line that responded to the conditions created and expressed the interests and aspirations of the working class and working people, because the Albanian communists showed the people not only with words but also with deeds, with their struggle and with their blood, the only road of salvation, the road of unity and war against the foreign invaders and local traitors.

The National Liberation War is the most glorious epic, is the most comprehensive, profo-

und, the best organized and most conscious war that the Albanian people have fought in their history. In the process of the organization and development of this war, the Communist Party of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, showed, from the first steps of its activity, its high Marxist-Leninist maturity, its rare organizational and leading ability, its creative spirit and revolutionary ardour. In the extremely complicated and difficult conditions of the war it knew to find entirely original solutions to a series of cardinal problems. The experience of our Party in uniting the people and creating the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front, in organizing the armed uprising and the partisan army, in destroying the old state power and in building the new people's state power, in the correct treatment of the foreign allies in the anti-fascist war, in combining the National Liberation War with the popular revolution, etc., constitutes a great valuable contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, a further development of the theory of the revolution.

Some moments in particular, in which the maturity and farsightedness of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha stand out with great force, have vital importance for the destinies of the people and their liberation war. The smashing of the various factional groups in the ranks of the Party, especially the faction which developed in Vlora¹, the rejection and exposure of the Mukje

¹ It was organized by anti-party elements in April 1943 and foiled in May 1943 through the direct intervention of the Central Committee of the CPA that sent Comrade Enver Hoxha to the spot.

compromise for the sharing of the leadership of the war and state power with the traitor organization of the Balli Kombëtar, the determined opposition to the landing of the Anglo-American allies in Albania and the interference of their representatives in our internal affairs, the crossing of partisan brigades to the North of Albania and their smashing of the forces of reaction there, etc. saved the situation. Unless the Party had maintained a correct, clear-cut stand on these fundamental problems, the development of events might have taken another course, the sacrifices made and the blood shed would have been in vain.

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It was the correct line of the Party and its wise leadership which led the National Liberation War to the great victory of the 29th of November 1944, which marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the country, a stage not less glorious than that of the partisan war.

The driving out of the fascist invaders and the smashing of the forces of internal reaction, the establishment of the regime of people's democracy, as a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the sole and undivided leadership of the Communist Party in power, created a situation in which Albania could not march forward without proceeding on the course of socialism. Here, however, a great and principled problem had to be solved. How could Albania set out on this road when it was known that it had inherited a great backwardness from the past,

how would the transition from the anti-imperialist democratic revolution to the socialist revolution be made concretely?

The teachings of Marx and of Lenin, in particular, on this issue were known. The Party based itself on them and was led by them. However, their implementation in practice could not be done readily. Here a series of internal and external factors had to be taken into consideration and a series of problems solved, that is, it was necessary to go over from theory to living practice, in the specific conditions of Albania at that time. The carrying out of the tasks which the new stage of the revolution raised, became more arduous because of the lack of experience and the shortage of qualified cadres, the ruins and devastation brought by the war, which made the backward situation of the country a still more serious obstacle, because of the savage activity of internal reaction and foreign enemies, who could not reconcile themselves with the defeat they had suffered. For all these reasons the Party had to wage a great struggle and to carry out an all-round work in the theoretical plane and in the political and practical plane.

Of special importance in this is the struggle of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to expose the opportunism of Sejfulla Malëshova who, as the advocate and champion of the interests of the bourgeoisie of the country and foreign imperialists, tried right from the beginning to stop the revolution half-way and to turn it backwards. Had the Party followed the completely hostile, anti-Marxist views of Sejfulla Malëshova in its foreign and home policy, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at that time, «our people and country would have been reduced under the

terrible heel of foreign and local capitalists, the blood of the people would have served again to fatten the landowners, feudal lords, industrialists, big merchants and all the blood-suckers of our people, all this would have been suicide for our Party and the most terrible crime against the Albanian people.»

Precisely at this time, when the country had entered a decisive stage of development, when the Party was faced with the major and arduous tasks of socialist construction, it clashed with the brutal interference of the Titoites and their agents in Albania. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has explained in his outstanding work «The Titoites», it was a life-and-death struggle, a struggle between the socialist and capitalist road of development, a struggle for the defence of national freedom and independence won with so many efforts and bloodshed against a new enslavement. The exposure and defeat of this fierce hostile activity by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha were vital for the destinies of the people, revolution and socialism.

The fundamental economic cause of the backwardness of the country, of the oppression and exploitation of the masses, of their poverty and misery was the existence of the old relations of production, which were based on different forms of private ownership. The development of the productive forces, the raising of the well-being of the masses, the advance towards socialism could not be done without liquidating these relations and without replacing them with new relations. This constituted at that period the fundamental strategic task of the Party. To solve this task the Party did not wait till the productive forces of the country reached a high level of development,

till the working class constituted the majority of the population and created its own cadres and intelligentsia, till capitalism developed on a large scale, as the old and new, internal and external opportunists and reformists preached. It began to work immediately to carry out great and deep-going socio-economic transformations of a democratic and socialist character, which finally led to the abolition of private ownership, the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, thus establishing everywhere, in town and countryside, new socialist relations of production, and building the economic base of socialism.

The road our Party followed for carrying out these revolutionary transformations has been quite original and responded to the historical circumstances, the conditions in the country and the international situations. In this extensive work, it relied strongly on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the period of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin, and Stalin. But it never applied these teachings and this experience in a stereotyped and mechanical manner. The socio-economic transformations in Albania, beginning from the confiscation of the assets of foreign imperialist states and local quislings, the nationalization of the main means of production, the Land Reform and the collectivization of agriculture, etc., have their own peculiarities, which speak of the ability of our Party to treat and solve these problems in a creative manner.

Let us take, for example, the socialist transformation of the countryside. This was an important and difficult problem. Important because socialism could not be conceived and built with-

out extending to the countryside, because the new political state could not support itself on two different bases: the socialist economy in town and the small-scale commodity production in the countryside, which constituted a strong base for the development of capitalism and the undermining of socialism. Difficult because the countryside represented a tangle of very complex feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, economic relations with elements of the natural economy, and because the peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of the population of the country and had been the biggest and most powerful ally of the working class in the war, which had borne the brunt of the war. Therefore, in this question it was important to act with firmness, but also with great care, so that the socialist transformation in the countryside should be carried out without violating, but on the contrary strengthening, the links and relations of alliance and friendship between the working class and the working peasantry.

The Party carried out this task with complete success. The Land Reform and the collectivization of agriculture, as two great revolutions in the economic relations of the countryside, were realized in original roads and forms, with features characteristic of the conditions of our country.

The collectivization of agriculture, which marked a radical change in the centuries-long economic system of the countryside, in the life and consciousness of the peasantry, was carried out not through administrative measures, or with compulsion and violence, as the Titoite revisionists and their cronies who have long ago abandoned this road claim, but through a broad convincing and explanatory work on the basis of

the Leninist principle of voluntarism. In this question the Party has proceeded with great care. The process of collectivization of agriculture lasted not less than 20 years. It began first in the plains zone, and then spread to the hilly areas until it included the remote mountainous areas.

Bearing in mind that the peasantry was closely connected with the people's state power and that the Party had won the confidence of and had great authority among the peasantry, as well as the fact that after the Land Reform there were no great differences between the peasants regarding the amount of land and agricultural inventory, the main and only form in which the peasantry was drawn into the road of socialism was the agricultural cooperative of the socialist type, in which the land and other means of production are social ownership and the distribution of incomes is made only according to the amount of work done.

The collectivization of agriculture in our country was carried out in the conditions in which the land was not nationalized. Taking account of the character of the relations of production, which predominated in the countryside, the fact that the peasantry was closely linked up with the land and had dreamed and fought for centuries to obtain it, the Party did not follow the road of nationalizing the land, but that of distributing it to the tillers. Nevertheless it prohibited the alienation of land (its sale, division, exchange and donation), which in fact was a kind of nationalization, which the peasantry, however, accepted. Only when the conditions were mature the Party decided on the nationalization of the land, which was proclaimed by the new Constitution of the years 1976.

To carry out the collectivization of agriculture, the Party rejected the other «theories» of the modern revisionists and did not wait till the industrialization of the country was completed, till a developed material-technical base of large-scale agricultural production was created, but set about work for the creation of this base along with the development of cooperation which, in turn, created the most favourable conditions for the development of the productive forces in the countryside and for its allround advance. Now it is clear to everyone that the agrarian policy of the Party has brought immense good to the peasantry and the entire country.

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With the building of the economic base of socialism, which marked the second major victory after the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's state power, with the triumph of the socialist revolution in the field of the economy, a new historical period, the period of the complete construction of socialism, opened up before our country. In this period, too, a number of problems, which called for theoretical approach and practical solution, emerged such as: what was the socio-economic content of this period, what dictated its necessity, what concrete problems emerged and what roads had to be followed for their solution? In many documents and materials the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have given clear and correct answer to all these questions, thus further developing the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought and enriching the revolutionary practice.

But in this stage of the socialist construction the Party had to cope with the challenge of a new, more powerful and more dangerous trend of modern revisionism, that of Khrushchevite revisionism. Beginning from the 20th Congress of the CPSU until today, this kind of revisionism denied the fundamental teachings of the October Revolution and the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, worked out an entirely anti-Marxist platform, both in its foreign policy and internal policy, which had catastrophic consequences for the destinies of socialism and the world communist and revolutionary movement. Our Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, was among the first to rise with rare courage against this betrayal, the greatest ever in the history of communism. The history of this struggle is known. It constitutes a brilliant page in the history of our Party.

Here, however, we want to point out that the emergence of modern revisionism, and, consequently, the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries, forcefully raised not only the need for the struggle to expose and smash the revisionist betrayal, but also the task to discover the causes of its emergence and to define the measures to bar the road to this retrogressive phenomenon in the other socialist parties and countries.

A new great problem was put on the order of the day: can revisionism be averted, how to prevent the revolution and the socialist construction from being halted and turned back, how to carry the revolution through to the end and build socialism and communism with success? The communist movement lacked such an experience. This new experience is being created now, and

our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha are making the main contribution to it. The creation of this experience, which is being continuously enriched, constitutes a new great contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Many documents of the Party and especially many speeches, reports and writings of Comrade Enver Hoxha reflect the conclusions drawn from what occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and show the roads and measures to avoid this evil and to march always forward on the road of socialism and communism. On the basis of them, especially after the 5th Congress of the Party, a great process began, that of the further revolutionization of the Party and the state, education and culture, the people's consciousness and world outlook, of the entire life of the country, which constitutes not merely a continuation of the revolution, but also a new, higher stage of its development in conformity with the new tasks and conditions.

A series of fundamental problems have been worked out in theory and put forward for solution. Of special importance is the re-establishment of the correct Marxist-Leninist understanding and implementation of the relationship between the objective and the subjective factor, of the social being and social consciousness, of the base and superstructure, the economy and politics, which have been badly distorted by the revisionists. The Leninist thesis that the ideological base of opportunism in the workers' movement has been and remains economism, the preaching of spontaneity, the theory of productive forces, the negation of the role of the conscious factor, was proved once again in the case of modern revisionism.

Of great theoretical and practical value are the teachings and conclusions of our Party about the class struggle in socialism which, contrary to what the revisionists proclaim, continues even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, is waged not only on the external front but also on the internal front, not only against the enemies but also in the ranks of the party and in the bosom of the people, includes all fields — economic, political and ideological, is waged not only from above, but also from below — with the active and direct participation of the masses, and develops with zigzags, sometimes going up sometimes going down, but is never interrupted or extinguished.

Our Party has always connected the problems of the class struggle closely with the problem of the contradictions in socialism and with the unity of the people with the Party. It has rejected as anti-Marxist and anti-dialectical both the view of the Khrushchevite revisionists who accept only unity and deny contradictions and class struggle, and the view of the Maoist revisionists who accept only contradictions and class struggle and deny unity. It has stressed that in socialism it has great importance to accept two kinds of contradictions — antagonistic and non-antagonistic, to make a clear distinction between them, accepting non-antagonistic contradictions as typical for socialism, to strengthen the unity of the people and the party as a new motor force in socialism, through the class struggle and the solution of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have put forward in a new manner the fundamental question of the time when the triumph of so-

cialism can be regarded as solved. Our Party has stressed that the victory of socialism can be secured fully and finally only when the danger of the restoration of capitalism, which comes not only from the exploiting classes or from foreign aggression, but also from the internal bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, is liquidated. The latter danger will exist as long as its bases will exist, which are the leftovers of capitalism inside the country and the influence and pressure of the capitalist world from outside. These bases will disappear when the complete victory of communism is achieved on a world scale and only then can this victory be regarded as final.

Our Party has given new ideas and experience also regarding the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the party in its system. It has rejected the anti-Marxist theses of the modern revisionists who attack the dictatorship of the proletariat, proclaimed it as liquidated and replaced it with the «state of the entire people». The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have proved that since the class struggle continues throughout the whole period of socialism and the danger of the re-establishment of capitalism exists, it is necessary to preserve the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main weapon of the proletariat in the class struggle to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. They have the merit of having worked out in an all-round manner the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, as two major dangers which threaten the socialist state, of defining the relationship between dictatorship and democracy, stressing the idea that without the dictatorship of the proletariat there is no genuine democracy for the broad masses of the people, and that the

development and deepening of socialist democracy is the general road for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, the relationship between the cadres and the masses, in order to prevent the creation of privileged and bureaucratized strata, which constitute the social basis of revisionism and open the road to the restoration of capitalism.

Likewise, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have condemned and rejected the theories of the revisionists about the «party of the masses» and the «party of the entire people», about the «economic party» or the «illuminist party», about the plurality of parties in socialism, etc., and have defended and further developed the fundamental theses and principles of Marxism-Leninism about the indivisible leading role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, about the character and proletarian content of the party and its leading organs, about the implementation of the line of the masses in the entire life and activity of the party, about the revolutionary understanding and implementation of the norms of its internal life, about the harmonization of the monopoly of the party in cadres' policy with the drawing in of the opinion of and exercise of control by the masses, etc.

A new and very rich experience has been gained by our Party also about the questions of the development of the ideological and cultural revolution. Of special importance here are the ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the effect that as long as the victory of the socialist revolution is not secured in the field of ideology, the victories of the socialist revolution cannot be secured in the political and economic field, either. Experience shows that the bourgeois ideology

precedes the spread of the revisionist counter-revolution and that the most appropriate form of the penetration of that ideology in the conditions of socialism is revisionism — the bourgeois ideology disguised with socialist and Marxist phraseology. The Party has regarded the struggle on the ideological front as the broadest aspect of the class struggle in the present conditions. It has waged this struggle not in one direction only, but against all forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes, old and new, has refuted «ideological pluralism» preached by the revisionists and has defended the basic thesis that in socialism there is only one ruling ideology — the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the working class which is in irreconcilable struggle with all other ideologies. Of great value is the experience of our Party in the ideological struggle against individualism and bourgeois egotism, against bureaucracy and liberalism, against economism, intellectualism and technocratism, against feudal-bourgeois customs and traditions, as well as in the struggle against religion in which a result unexampled until today in the world has been achieved: the elimination of all institutions of religious obscurantism.

In the field of culture the Party has taken measures of great importance for the revolutionization of the school on the basis of a critical analysis not only of the bourgeois school, but also the revisionist school, thus taking a new step forward in the implementation of the principles formulated by our classics, especially by Marx and Lenin, about the socialist school, on the foundations of which have been placed the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, profound scientific

knowledge, physical and military training and productive work in practice. Likewise, our Party has defended and further developed the Marxist principles on literature and art, the method of socialist realism, proletarian partisanship, the popular national character, socialist humanism and internationalism in art, waging a stern struggle against all the trends of bourgeois and revisionist decadent art and their influences in our country. It has always maintained a correct stand in the evaluation, in literature and art, of the relationship between the new and the old, the present and the past, the national and the foreign, as well as between professional art and amateur and popular art, avoiding any one-sided nationalist or cosmopolitan, nihilistic or fetishing, aristocratic or vulgar stand.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have worked out and developed, in a complete and all-round manner, in compliance with the conditions of the country, with the present-day military technique and armaments, a series of important theses on the defence of the Homeland, the organization of the armed forces and the military art of people's warfare. Of special importance in this is the definition of a correct relationship between man and weapon, political work and military work, the leadership of the Party and the role of the army commanders, the soldier-officer and army-people relations, of the problems of the fortification of the country, of civil defence and popular warfare. All this has made the defence of the country secure and unbreakable.

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Another very broad and fundamental field in which the creative ability of our Party stands out in a special manner is the field of the economy. In the process of socialist construction the Party has known how to solve with wisdom and intelligence a series of great and complicated problems, both of the development of productive forces and of the perfecting of relations of production.

In the development of the economy, the policy of the Party has been aimed at securing high rates of growth of social production, relying on local primary materials and assets, the internal market, realizing a correct distribution of productive forces in all the territory of the country, correctly defining priorities in the development of various branches of the economy so as to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past as soon as possible, to strengthen the economic and political independence of the country, to ensure the growth and development of the working class as the leading class of society and the backbone of the people's state power, to raise the standard of living of the people continuously.

A magnificent deed of the Party, which has vital importance for the entire development of the country and the strengthening of its independence, is the creation of a new multi-branched, heavy and light industry based on local primary materials, which has led to the transformation of Albania from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial country

that advances on the road of its transformation into an industrial-agricultural country and of becoming, in the perspective future, an industrial country with advanced intensive agriculture.

The creation of a powerful energy base relying on oil, gas, coals and water power, which fulfils the needs of the country in an independent manner and secures large incomes from export, is another major victory of the correct line of our Party in the field of the economy, the value of which comes out with great strength, especially, in the conditions of the present world energy crisis.

The line of the Party for the electrification of the country has yielded wonderful results, extending electricity within a very short time all over the country¹, even to the remotest mountainous villages.

The course followed for the development of the economy has been to build a strong and independent economy, relying on both feet: industry and agriculture. The development of agriculture has reached the stage in which, for the first time in the history of the country, it is in a position to produce all the bread grain and the overwhelming part of other agricultural and livestock products needed for the food of the people, for the light and food-processing industry, and for export.

On the basis of this high-rate development of our economy, our country is in a position to advance non-stop, relying completely and only on

¹ Electrification was completed in October 1970, 15 years ahead of schedule.

its own forces and using its exports to cover everything that must be imported. Albania is very probably the only country in the world which has no debts to anyone, which does not extend its hand to anyone for alms, which secures everything and copes with everything through the toil of its own people. This has made our country a completely independent and sovereign country which says its word courageously and openly on every problem, which does not recognize or accept dictate and tutelage by anyone.

Now we all see the brilliant results of the economic policy of the Party which, rejecting the «advice» and «recommendations» of the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, saved the country from their colonial dependence and secured a strong and independent economy which knows no crises, stagnation and fall of production, unemployment and inflation, price rises, emigration and other ills which erode the economy of the capitalist-revisionist world from within.

Original and of great value is the experience of our country also in the field of the perfecting of relations of production. By summing up this experience and analysing the theoretical conceptions and practices of the modern revisionists in a critical manner, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have reached conclusions and drawn lessons of great importance for carrying the revolution and socialist construction forward with success.

One of these main lessons is that the establishment of social ownership of the means of production, as the foundation of the economic base of socialism, does not mean that the whole complex of other economic relations is thus

correctly and automatically established, and the entire socialist superstructure of society definitively settled on this basis. The policy that is followed, i.e., the subjective factor, plays a great role in this. Therefore, just as the theory of productive forces propounded by the old opportunists is erroneous, so is the theory of relations of production propounded by the Khrushchevite revisionists, because both of them coincide in the fundamental question, the negation of the role of conscious factor in the life of society.

Another important aspect is that our Party, quite unlike the revisionists, has never seen the relations of production only from their merely economic aspect as a form of the development of productive forces, but as a decisive factor which places people in given socio-economic conditions, which, in turn, have a direct influence on and determine their ideological, political and moral formation, whereon depends the direction of their activity. Therefore, it has concerned itself not for any kind of perfecting of relations of production, but for such a perfecting of them which serves at the same time two aims: both the development of productive forces and the strengthening of the socialist order and revolutionary education of people.

In the whole fabric of relations of production the Party has shown special concern about the relations of distribution. It is known that the relations of distribution stem from and are determined by the relations of ownership. However, in the conditions of the socialist order, as an order which develops not in a spontaneous manner, but is built in a conscious manner, an erroneous policy in the sphere of distribution

heavily impairs and distorts the character of relations of ownership. We have learned this from the experience of the revisionist countries, where although a facade of social ownership of the main means of production is maintained, the fruits of it are enjoyed by the new bourgeois class which, in different forms and ways, appropriates the labour and toil of the workers and peasants. The merit of our Party is that it has always followed a correct policy in the field of distribution, correctly applying the socialist principle of remuneration according to work done, without allowing large differentials and without slipping into petty-bourgeois egalitarianism, either of which is equally dangerous to the cause of socialism.

On this basis our Party has worked out and carried out into practice a correct revolutionary concept also regarding well-being, well-being not for individual castes and classes but for the entire people, not for the fulfilment of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois whims, but for the fulfilment of the essential needs of the people, in conformity with our aesthetic tastes and the real possibilities of the economy. On this question our Party has proceeded not only from the interests of the moment but also which those of the perspective, in order to ensure a gradual, stable and continuous uplift of well-being of the working masses, with a view to narrowing, in this field, too, the distinctions between town and countryside, between people of mental work and physical work. This policy is diametrically opposed to that which the modern revisionists have always followed in their own countries.

Our Party's experience of socialist construction is very broad and rich. Here, however, we

cannot leave without mentioning two or three moments of special importance.

In the first place, the question is about that great and genuine revolution which has been made in the life of the Albanian woman, who, from the most oppressed and most backward stratum of the country, has been transformed today into a great creative force, a builder of the new life, enjoying equal rights with man in every field. There is no country in the world in which such a great emancipation of the woman has been achieved within such a short time, as in Albania.

Very important are the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha also about the role and place of the working class in socialism. Led by these teachings, the Party has always seen the working class as the class which, through its own party, leads the entire life of the country and with its example, sets the tone to the whole work and struggle for socialist construction, as the class which exercises complete control without breaches on everything and everyone through the Party and the socialist state from above, as well as directly from below, as the class which represents not only a great executive and productive force, but also a creative and constructive force, an active participant in the organization and management of all the affairs of the state and society.

In all the work for the construction and direction of the state, the economy and society, the Party has rigorously abided by and consistently applied in practice the basic principle of democratic centralism. The great merit of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha is that they have not allowed the process of socialist construc-

tion in Albania to be transformed either into a bureaucratic-administrative process, as in the Soviet Union, or into a liberal-anarchic process, as in Yugoslavia. Socialism in Albania has been and is the living deed of the broad masses of the people, it is built for the good and with the direct participation of the masses. This has made it invincible.

Our enemies may slander our socialist reality as much as they like, may stick any labels to it, such as «Stalinist», «primitive», «totalitarian», or «isolated» socialism. But our people are convinced through their own life and experience about the blessings which this order has brought them and its superiority over the old capitalist order. They see that the variants of «socialism» of the modern revisionists have suffered grave defeats and bankruptcy and are supported only with the force of arms and with the alms of imperialism and social-imperialism. Poland and Yugoslavia, not to mention other countries, the «socialist» regimes of which are going through very difficult days, and have gone into a deep crisis without a way out and with grave consequences for the broad masses of the people, show quite clearly where betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism leads to.

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The road traversed by our Party and people for the liberation of the country and the construction of socialism has by no means been an easy one. On the contrary, they have had to overcome great difficulties and obstacles, have

had to fight tooth and nail against many savage internal and external enemies, open and disguised.

The struggle against the fascist occupiers and local traitors and against the Anglo-American threat to Albania, the annihilation of the gangs of wreckers and saboteurs and the suppression of the resistance of exploiting classes and their leftovers, the heroic struggle against modern revisionism and, especially, against Titoite, Khrushchevite and Chinese revisionism, the exposure and smashing of internal enemies and their plots down to the gang of the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu, constitute brilliant pages in the history of our Party. This great struggle, waged always from principled Marxist-Leninist positions and with rare boldness and resolve, has been vital for the destinies of the freedom and independence of the country and for the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania. For this our people will be forever thankful to our glorious Party and their great son, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Party knew how to discover and expose all the enemies one after the other, to reduce all their plans and plots against socialism and the freedom of the Homeland to dust and ashes, because it has always been vigilant, has loyally followed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and has strongly relied on the broad masses of the people. The unity of the people around the Party has been and remains that inexhaustible source of strength which has made and makes Albania invincible.

From its founding the Party called on the people to unite, and it was the Party which for the first time in the history of the people realized, in a complete manner, this unity, unrivalled as

to its breadth and cohesion, its vitality of organization and high political awareness. On this question the Party relied on the universal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the centuries-old experience of our people who, in all their efforts for freedom and independence, for justice and social progress, saw the road of salvation in the unity of their own ranks. However, this unity was never complete in the past because it was impeded by the great powers and the reactionary ruling classes of the country. Such attempts at impeding unity have been made by the external and internal enemies during the National Liberation War and after the liberation of the country. Even in our days, one of their main aims is precisely to disrupt the unity of the people around the Party. But these attempts have failed and will fail ignominiously, because the unity of the people has deep roots in Albania. At its foundations lie the close alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the socialist ownership of the means of production, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and it is embodied in a sound organizational form, the Democratic Front, which is led by the revolutionary party of the working class.

The unity of the people around the Party has shown its strength and vitality in all battles, historical events and processes of the last four decades. The liberation of the country, the defence of freedom and independence of the Homeland, and socialist construction are the heroic work of our people united around the Party and under its leadership. Foreign aid, which we accepted in the past, because we believed that we had to do with Marxist-Leninist comrades and friends, has represented but a very small part of the in-

vestments which our people have made, and consequently, it was not foreign aid that kept our people alive, but the source of all the successes and victories achieved has been their struggle, their work and their toil. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «In order to liberate this small country only Albanian blood was shed. In order to reconstruct it on the ruins of the war and to build socialism in this small country only Albanian sweat was poured.»

In all its activity the Party has rigorously abided by the great revolutionary principle of reliance on the forces of the people and the country, a principle which it has worked out, concretized and persistently implemented in life. Albania is the only country occupied by fascism during the Second World War which liberated itself with its own forces, without a single soldier of the anti-fascist coalition setting foot on its territory. The Party has followed such an economic policy as has made our country completely independent, able to walk on its own, without enslaving aid and credits from foreigners, to develop at high rates and raise the well-being of the people continuously. Our country has today a sure and unbreakable defence which does not rely on military alliances or the «atomic umbrellas» of the superpowers, or on changing international circumstances. Standing guard on the sacred borders of the Homeland and the gains of socialism is an entire people equipped with the necessary weapons, military prepared, politically enlightened and ready to give the deserved answer to any aggressor. Albania today is in a position to solve, with its own people prepared in its own schools, the most complicated economic

and social, technical and scientific problems, to design and build mines, plants and factories, hydro-power and thermal-power plants, seaports and ships, large-scale irrigation and land improvement projects, roads and railways, many-storied palaces and important socio-cultural buildings.

Our Party and state have never been and are not for a closed policy and the autarkic development of the country, on the contrary they have been and are for relations of equal collaboration and mutual advantage with all those countries which want such a thing. The fact is that our country has today diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with tens of countries in the world. Those who accuse us of being isolated, alone, want us to open our doors to the flow of foreign capital, the multinational companies, to extend our hand to the bourgeoisie and imperialism for aid and credits, to leave a free field to the spread of degenerate culture and way of life, to unite ourselves with and lose our identity in the capitalist-revisionist world. But these wishes and hopes of our enemies will never be realized in Albania.

Our people want to live free and independent on their own land, and they want the same for all peoples. They are for sincere friendship and collaboration with others, but have never asked hand-outs of them. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Begging is only in the nature of those who have sold themselves to capital, but not of the Albanians who have never held out the hand to anyone, but have been able to earn their bread honourably, with the sweat of their brow.» We want to defend the democratic, patriotic and revolutionary traditions of our people, their culture

and way of life, just as we appreciate and respect everything good and progressive in the history and culture of other peoples. Our Party and people are against social and national injustice and oppression, therefore they vehemently defend the legitimate rights of the Albanian brothers who live on their own territories in Yugoslavia and indignantly condemn the barbarous suppression, persecution and savage terror exercised against them by the Serb and Yugoslav chauvinists. We want our own socialist system, want to march on our road, and this we do not impose on others, but do not accept their discredited and bankrupt systems, either.

There is nothing nationalist or chauvinist in the activity of our Party. On the contrary, it has provided many brilliant examples of genuine proletarian internationalism. The founding of the Party on November 8, 1941 and the National Liberation War it led constituted not only an objective need of our people in those difficult historic moments which they were going through, but were at the same time a powerful expression of proletarian internationalism. At that time the very fate of our people, just as that of many other peoples enslaved by fascism, and in particular that of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, the powerful base of world revolution and the great hope of proletarians of all countries, at that time was in great danger. From the beginning of its existence the Party linked the liberation war of our people with the great Patriotic War of the Soviet peoples led by the great Stalin. During the Second World War it made a clear distinction between the forces of the anti-fascist coalition and never con-

fused them or placed the Soviet Union on the same footing as the Anglo-American allies, because their aims in the war were, of course, different.

The war of the Albanian partisans in Yugoslavia for the liberation of our Albanian brothers and the other peoples of Yugoslavia is another lofty expression of the consistent internationalist stand of our Party and people. The Albanian partisans fought there with rare heroism for the strengthening of friendship between our two peoples, a friendship which the Titoites have rejected and replaced, for their own misfortune, with chauvinist hate against Albania and the Albanian people.

Whenever the occasion arises to defend and support those who fight for the freedom of the people and for the cause of revolution, our Party has never hesitated to make great sacrifices, to jeopardize even the interests of its own country. Such was the support our Party and entire people gave the Greek partisans in 1949, resisting with success the serious provocations of Greek reaction and saving thousands upon thousands of lives of the valiant sons and daughters of the friendly Greek people from the horrible slaughter that awaited them. And this took place at a time when the Yugoslav Titoites betrayed them, left them in the lurch and closed their border to them, whereas our people, although they were going through great difficulties in those years, shared their daily bread with them with the sense of hospitality that characterizes them.

The great struggle of historic importance against modern Titoite, Khrushchevite, Chinese and Eurocommunist revisionism constitutes a

brilliant page of the lofty internationalist stand of our Party. Lenin has said: «An adherent of internationalism who is not at the same time a most consistent and determined adversary of opportunism is just phantom, nothing more.»¹ In this legendary struggle our Party has never proceeded from narrow national interests and positions and has never waged it out of a fancy idea or stubbornness, as the present-day revisionists accuse us. Our Party has seen the struggle against modern revisionism as an inseparable national and international task, as a question of vital importance for the destinies of the revolution and socialism in Albania and the revolutionary cause of the proletarians and the peoples of the world. It has waged this struggle in an exemplary manner, unmatched by anyone, with rare courage and spirit of principle, in which the figure of Comrade Enver Hoxha as a great revolutionary, outstanding Marxist-Leninist and consistent internationalist, rises in all its greatness.

Great is the contribution of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha also to the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces which emerged from the struggle against the revisionist betrayal, in working out the revolutionary strategy and tactics and in strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the Party of Labour and in socialist Albania the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces have always found and will find a powerful support for their just struggle. Our Party has never

1. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 21, p. 160, Alb. ed.

considered this aid and support for these parties and forces as a burden, but as an internationalist aid, just as it has appreciated their solidarity with socialist Albania as a great source of strength and inspiration.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always been at the vanguard of the struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, these two arch enemies, the most dangerous enemies of the peoples of the world, against all the forces of reaction and fascism. It has powerfully exposed the warmongering plans of the superpowers, their policy of aggression and enslavement of the peoples, their attempts at achieving world hegemony and domination. The Party has always supported and backed up the just cause of the proletarians and peoples, their struggle for freedom, independence, democracy and socialism, with determination, and has made its valuable contribution to the defence of peace and international security against the threat of war.

This is the internationalism of our Party in deeds. It is this correct, open, courageous and principled policy that has raised the name of socialist Albania, its prestige and authority in the world higher than ever, which has made it a powerful base of the revolution and socialism, an irreducible bastion of triumphant Marxism-Leninism.

Although a small country with a small people, Albania has become today a great example which fills the hearts of our people and of every Albanian with pride, which breathes joy and inspiration in all its many friends and well-wishers in the world. It was the Party of Labour with

Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, that made it such, it was the struggle and work of its own valiant, hard-working and freedom-loving people that made it such, it was the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which illuminates its road, inspires and leads it, that made it such.

Prof. STEFANAQ POLLO

THE DEFENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF THE REVOLUTION BY THE PLA

The Party of Labour of Albania and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, remaining loyal to the end to the spirit and revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, have always considered the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution a compass and inexhaustible source of inspiration in their whole revolutionary activity. They have developed it in a creative manner in the practice of our democratic and anti-imperialist and, then, socialist revolution, and in their analyses, assessments and theoretical generalizations of the present international events and phenomena. At the same time, they have defended it against the general onslaught of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. In this struggle for the implementation and defence of the theory of the revolution, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have developed it further, enriching it with theses and conclusions drawn from the

practice of the revolution in our country and other countries of the world. The national and world experience in this field is analysed and theoretically summed up in the many volumes of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, and in particular, in his major Works of the recent years. They are a valuable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist thought and a powerful weapon in the revolutionary struggle for social and national liberation.

The great contribution of our Party to the implementation, defence and development of the Leninist theory of the revolution can be seen in its two fundamental aspects: in its carrying out of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution and the socialist revolution in Albania and in its analysis of present-day imperialism and its study of the problems of the revolutionary strategy and tactic.

* * *

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War and its transformation into a people's revolution, the transition from the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution to the socialist revolution and its successful development are an embodiment of the creative implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the uninterrupted revolution and the role of objective and subjective factors in it, on the national and peasant question, on the class struggle and the problem of political power, on people's partisan war and armed uprising, on alliances on a national and international plane, etc.

The concrete, internal and external conditions in all the stages of our revolution imposed original solutions of problems and new forms of organization in the framework of the general Marxist-Leninist line which kept intact the absolute priority of the fundamental interests of the working class and the working masses and the prospect of the socialist revolution. From Comrade Enver Hoxha's analysis of these stages and their distinctive features in our country and from the conclusions he draws on this basis clearly emerges the great and new revolutionary experience, of major theoretical and practical value, which our Party has contributed to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

The fascist occupation of the country and the struggle for national liberation faced the Party with a number of theoretical and practical problems of a political, organizational and military character on whose solution depended the fate of the struggle and the revolution. The liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power prove best that these solutions were correct, responded to the needs of the country and the requirements of the time.

The formulation of the program of the Party after its founding posed the problem of the definition of the character of the war which, for its part, was conditioned by the definition of the main contradiction created after the fascist occupation. In this case ready-made schemes and models were unutilizable. Right at the beginning Comrade Enver Hoxha rejected the wrong views of some communists who called for the organization, not of the National Liberation War, but of the socialist revolution, after the Albanian

proletariat was created and had grown thanks to the capitalist development fascism would bring along. In the new situation, said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «...the internal class contradictions had passed to the second plane and the external contradictions, those between the Albanian people who fought for their freedom, independence and sovereignty, and the Italian and German occupiers of our country, had become the main ones.»¹ Hence, the war would have an anti-fascist national liberation character. However, the Party could not be for any national war and even less for a bourgeois national movement, as had happened in the past, when the people's masses achieved the victory and its fruits were reaped by others. Right from the beginning it gave the war for independence a democratic content which was expressed in its first Resolution which called for «... a people's democratic government in an Albania liberated from fascism.»² Abiding rigorously and to the end by the demands for a war of national liberation, the Party, with its wise policy, knew how to deepen its social content more and more with each passing day gradually giving the war the character of a people's revolution which prepared the ground for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat immediately after the liberation of the country.

In its time the problem had been dealt with theoretically by V.I. Lenin who worked out the thesis that the bourgeois-democratic revolution

1 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 36, pp. 329-330, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 27, Tirana 1983, second Alb. ed.

can and should be transformed into a proletarian revolution.

In Albania this idea found its creative application in the conditions of foreign occupation and the struggle for national liberation. As early as 1943, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared: «At present the CPA fights at the head of the National Liberation Front (or in a common front against the occupier), for the liberation of the country and for a new democratic Albania. This is the first phase of our struggle. But this does not mean that we are not working for and preparing the second phase. The first phase is the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.»¹

The interlacing of national with social tasks, which transformed the national liberation movement into a people's revolution, was not done instantly, but gradually, in the process of the war, through political methods, tactics and organisms which are an original and successful combination of theory with the concrete reality of Albania.

Right from the beginning the Party made it clear that national and social liberation would be achieved through armed struggle, through revolutionary violence against the foreign occupiers and their collaborators. This was the war of a small people against powerful enemies. It is true that in this field there existed a brilliant tradition from the past when our people did not hesitate to rise even alone against the rule of huge empires and the anti-Albanian policy of

1 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 248, Tirana 1983, second Alb. ed.

coalitions of great states. And just as in the past, now, too, there was no lack of pressure and «arguments» to convince us to maintain a wait-and-see attitude, to spare the human and material resources of a poor country, as the great who fought against fascism would allegedly bring us our freedom. And if the Party chose the road of uncompromising armed struggle, it proceeded not only from historical experience, from theoretical considerations and its internationalist tasks, but also from the fact that it was well aware that only in the process of the armed struggle led by it, and not from backstage political dealings, would the revolutionary forces of the nation which would be the main support of the independent Albania of people's democracy emerge, would the political unity of the people be realized, would the armed forces be created which would serve not only for the liberation of the country but also for the defence of the gains of the revolution, would the organs of the state power be set up without which the building of the new Albania could not be imagined. From this stand-point, the national liberation movement of our people remains a model for the solution of the fundamental problems posed by the struggle for freedom and independence, which create, at the same time, the premises for deep-going socio-political transformations in the future. The uncompromising armed struggle against the foreign occupiers was a touchstone for the social classes and strata of the country and served as a catalyst to bring out their true political physiognomy, their patriotism or anti-patriotism, their democratism or anti-democratism. It was not accidental that the Party insisted on

its demand for participation in the armed struggle as a condition of its collaboration with Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti. And truly, their shirking the struggle and eventually aligning themselves openly with the occupiers was a powerful and convincing argument of the betrayal by the big landowners, the big bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry of the interests of the Homeland and the people.

The fact that the main exploiting classes joined the regime of occupation and were destroyed together with it was another important objective factor which favoured the transformation of the National Liberation War into a people's revolution. However, this transformation cannot be conceived without the operation, without the role, and decisive at that, of the subjective factors, and, in the first place, of the Communist Party. The people's revolution could not develop and be carried out through to the end, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the far-sighted Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party, without the outstanding contribution of its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the first place, the leadership of the people and the revolution on the part of the working class and its Party had to be ensured. In the conditions of our country this problem was difficult and complex and had its peculiar theoretical and practical aspects.

The working class was small in number, but was the more advanced class from the standpoint of its social position, it had some experience of organization and struggle against capitalist exploitation and fascism. No other class, apart from the working class, was in a position to shoulder

the historic mission of leading the war. And it performed this mission through its vanguard detachment, the Communist Party. The affirmation of this role was due to the fact that the Party placed the ideology of the working class, the realization of its national and social aspirations, which were the same as those of the entire people, at the foundation of its program and its whole activity.

However, the working class and its Party could not carry out the revolution alone, without allies. In the war years Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that this «... is no struggle of cadres, but a struggle of the broad masses inspired and led by the Party.»¹ In this case, too, the Party had to find the most appropriate ways to link itself with them, to mobilize and lead them in the war.

Abiding by the national liberation character of the war, the Party called on all the patriotic forces of the country, without distinction of classes or political convictions, to take part in it. Among the allies of the working class, the peasantry, which was the largest class in number, with a great patriotic and democratic potential, came first into consideration. «In the conditions of our country,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «the war would be won by that class which had the peasantry on its side.»² The working class and the peasantry would give each other what they lacked separately. Through its Party, the working class would give the peasantry its political, ideo-

logical and organizational leadership, and the peasantry would give the working class and the national liberation movement its massive physical strength.

The alignment of the poor and middle peasantry under the banner of the Communist Party is one of the most interesting pages of the National Liberation War. It was the result of an intensive and varied work on the part of the Party through the communists and patriots, not to arouse in the peasantry patriotic sentiments, which it had never lacked, but to expose the anti-communist demagogy and propaganda of Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti which, relying on the rich peasants and utilizing influential people, had managed to deceive part of the peasant population. With its tireless work of agitation and with the bravery it had displayed in the encounters with the enemy, the Party convinced the peasantry about the correctness of its line and turned it from a reserve of the bourgeoisie, as it had been in the previous liberation movements and as Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti wanted it to remain, into a reserve of the working class. The countryside became the main base and the peasantry the main force of the liberation war. Thus in the process of struggle were laid the foundations of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and one of the basic principles of the Leninist theory of the revolution, which had decisive importance for the final victory, was realized. However, the Party, and herein consists one of its and Comrade Enver Hoxha's great merits, did not consider the peasantry merely as an army of the movement, but educated it and made it a great and conscious profoundly democratic political and

1 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 293, Tirana 1983, second Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 17, p. 434, Alb. ed.

ideological force from whose ranks it recruited thousands of communists and trained the military cadres which would lead the units of the National Liberation Army.

A distinctive feature of the work of the Party for the establishment of close links with the masses was the mobilization and organization of the youth and women in war, one of the main tasks it had set itself right from the first days of its founding.

History has shown that in all revolutionary movements of our people the youth have always been in the forefront of battle, and women have always stood beside men. These social forces could and should become a powerful support of the struggle and revolution, the more so as a Marxist-Leninist party stood in the leadership. The Party had unflinching confidence in their heroism and capabilities, organized them and charged them with difficult and glorious tasks, whereas the youth and women saw in the leader of the struggle the embodiment of their finest ideals of national and social liberation.

In the conditions of our country a particular role was played by the school youth, the majority of which came from the ranks of the petty and middle bourgeoisie of the city and the rich peasantry. Right from the beginning the Party assessed its patriotism and energies, imbued it with its revolutionary ideology and threw it into action. As the more educated part of the youth, it became a tireless propagandist of the line of the Party among the broad people's masses and a means to bring the influence of the Party to the social environment to which it belonged, the strata of the petty and middle bourgeoisie of

the city which joined the national liberation movement or, at least, did not oppose it.

It is known that the organizational capacities of the leadership play an important role in war and revolution. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha distinguished themselves as outstanding organizers who knew not only to create the organisms that were to become the props of the war, but also to give them a content which responded to the demands of the revolution. They also worked out the theoretical bases of the fundamental structures of the war.

One of them was the National Liberation Front, the best and most effective form found by the Party for the political union of our people. The originality of this broad mass organization consisted in the fact that the Front was no coalition of parties, that at its foundation lay the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, that it represented all the patriotic and democratic forces of the country «without distinction as to religion, region, or idea» under the leadership of one party, the Communist Party of Albania.

Proceeding from the Leninist thesis that the fundamental problem of any revolution is that of state power, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha linked the National Liberation War closely with the seizure of state power by the revolutionary people's masses. The road followed for the setting up of the new state power and the forms of its realization were based both on the historical traditions of our worker movement and on our people's national traditions, whereas its content lay in the new class ratio created in

the process of the war and in the aim to bring the people to power.

In his war-time writings and later Comrade Enver Hoxha has clearly defined the peculiarities of the new revolutionary state power. The national liberation councils, as organs of the war and revolution and bases of the democratic regime, were set up, extended their activity to the whole country and were consolidated in the war against the occupiers and traitors and their reactionary regime as well as in the process of the work for the solution of urgent administrative problems posed by the time. The process of the affirmation of the new state power and destruction of the old regime went on for some years. Through the fundamental stages of this process — Peza, Labinot, Përmet, Berat¹, which ended with the liberation of the country, «... the will of the people for the transition of the whole state power into their hands, the creation of the new Albanian state, the construction of the new people's demo-

¹ Reference is made to the Conference of Peza (16 September 1942) which set up the National Liberation Front and laid the foundations of the people's power; to the 2nd National Liberation Conference of Labinot (4-9 September 1943) which centralized and consolidated the democratic people's power as the only political power in Albania, to the first Anti-fascist Congress of Përmet (24-28 May 1944) which laid the foundations of the new Albanian state of people's democracy, and to the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Berat (20-23 October 1940) which created the Democratic Government of Albania.

cratic Albania was fulfilled»¹, says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The people's uprising called for the creation of the National Liberation Army to smash the armed forces and the state power of the occupiers and their collaborators. Just as the state organs, the Party created, raised and educated the armed units of the revolution in the process of struggle, in fire of the battles with the enemy. This was a new army, with moral and political features which reflected the profoundly popular character of the war and the revolution, an army destined not only for national but also for social liberation. The source which swelled the ranks of this army with fighters, which maintained it and helped it in all circumstances was the people. The National Liberation Army preserved to the end its attacking character, carried out the requirements of partisan warfare skilfully, and produced its commanders and commissars from its ranks, from among those who had proved to be the bravest and the most capable in the encounters with the enemy. Unlike what had occurred with it in the past, when after the victory over the enemy, the bourgeois chiefs sent the people's fighters home so as to be able to form another army with the moral and political features of their class, the Party did not disband the National Liberation Army after Liberation, but maintained it and strengthened it so as to have a powerful and irreplaceable support for the defence of the victories achieved and the uninterrupted development of the revolution.

The new, profoundly anti-imperialist and po-

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 36, p. 336, Alb. ed.

pular, democratic content the National Liberation War assumed was reflected in the foreign policy, in the relations with the participants in the anti-fascist coalition where the Party also applied its class criteria. While remaining consistently beside the Anglo-Soviet-American anti-fascist alliance, the Party maintained a differentiated stand towards it, leaning clearly towards the Soviet Union and all those progressive forces which the tasks of the anti-fascist war linked with the tasks of social transformations. Whereas the Soviet Union led by J. V. Stalin was for our people's revolution not only a war ally, but also a class ally which sustained the main burden of the war, while not losing sight of the revolutionary perspective, either. Britain and the United States of America, as comes out clearly from Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania», revealed their imperialist nature and openly or in disguise sabotaged the movement led by the CPA with the aim of restoring the former anti-popular regime.

The National Liberation War posed for solution also one of the most difficult and acute problems — that of the national question, in general, and of Kosova in Albanian-Yugoslav relations, in particular. The treatment and solution of these questions did not call merely for the creative application of the principles of historical materialism in the national question, but also the elimination, on this basis, of the negative burden history had left in the relations between the Albanian people and their Yugoslav neighbours, the more so as this burden was exploited by the fascists and local traitors to present themselves with the banner of national union. The platform of our Par-

ty, as it emerges from Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «The Titoites», proceeded from the idea that for the enmities inherited from the past the Serb and Montenegrine and, later, the Yugoslav monarchies, not the peoples, were to blame, that the dismemberment of Albania in 1913 was a great historical injustice¹, that «the greater Albania» under fascism was no solution of the national question, but a deception of the nazi-fascists for the purposes of their policy. On the basis of these premises the Party found the correct solution to this problem: only uninterrupted war against the fascists led to the solution of the national question whose component part was also the putting right of historic injustices by applying the right of self-determination up to secession also to the Albanian population of Yugoslavia.

As is known, the platform of our Party on the national question, although it was just, principled and responded to the vital interests of the anti-fascist war in the two neighbouring countries and was aimed at turning Kosova from an apple of long-standing discord into a region of the affirmation of the friendship between the peoples and their fraternization in struggle, was rejected

1 At the London Conference of Ambassadors in 1913, the territories of Albania were used by the Great Powers as tokens of barter to satisfy the chauvinist appetites of the neighbouring countries and the imperialist powers which stood behind them. The Dukagjin Plateau, Kosova and the Albanian territories in Macedonia were unjustly severed from the trunk of Albania and passed under the foreign Serb-Montenegrin yoke. More than half the Albanian population was left outside the borders of Albania.

by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia which had not only inherited the chauvinist tradition of the Great-Serb bourgeoisie, but also raised it to a coherent line of its policy.

The major socio-political processes that developed during the war and gave it the character of a people's revolution created the premises for the uninterrupted development of the revolution. The triumph of the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and democratic revolution marked the beginning of the socialist revolution, and with the adoption of the first Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania «... the process of the political organization of the order of people's democracy as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was completed».¹

The socialist revolution, as an uninterrupted revolution which develops through fierce class struggle at the base and the superstructure marked a new epoch in the history of the country, an epoch in which the Party opened up new roads and paths for the construction of the socialist society.

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The Party has always considered the triumph of the socialist revolution in our country as a component part of the world revolutionary process. In itself the war to break the chains of the imperialist system has an internationalist character, constitutes a single and, at the same time,

¹ *The History of the PLA*, p. 202, Tirana 1981, second Alb. ed.

varied revolutionary process of which not only the socialist revolution, but also national-democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and national liberation revolutions are component parts.

So the Party could not stand idle in the great ideological war for the principled and resolute defence of Marxism-Leninism in general and the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution in particular against the frontal onslaught of world capitalism and modern revisionism.

After the Second World War, with the vigorous and extraordinary upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the peoples of the whole world, the attacks of the imperialist bourgeoisie were stepped up and became more savage and, after the revisionist betrayal, a new anti-socialist alliance launched itself avalanche-like into an unexampled ideological crusade to darken the perspective of the revolution and to prevent by all manner of means its outbreak.

In order to deny the need for the socialist revolution the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists followed in the foot-steps of their predecessors, capitalizing on the so-called «radical changes of situations» so as to present the Leninist theory of the revolution as outdated and inadapted to the new conditions, to «the consumer society», «the new industrial society» and «the society of the technical-scientific revolution».

To the Party of Labour of Albania fell the heavy task, but also the great honour, to oppose itself to this bourgeois-revisionist avalanche and re-affirm with the strength of its logic and scientific argumentation the universal values of Marxist-Leninist theory on the revolution, to expose all the distortions of this theory and uncover the

counter-revolutionary, chauvinistic and hegemonistic aims hidden behind them and, at the same time, to re-affirm once again the determination to march on the Leninist road as an indispensable condition of success for any revolutionary movement in our time.

The question was posed whether the theses of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on imperialism and the proletarian revolution were valid or not in our time, too, whether the changes that had occurred in the modern world invalidated or made still necessary the revolution for the transformation of society on socialist lines, whether or not there existed the conditions to carry out the revolution, whether it could be done on the peaceful road or revolutionary violence was still necessary.

In his work «Imperialism and the Revolution» and other writings Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a scientific analysis of the present political, economic, social and cultural reality of the capitalist and revisionist countries. He reveals the profound contradiction between labour and capital, between the peoples and imperialism, as well as the inter-imperialist contradictions which continue to exist and operate with force in our time, too.

True, world capitalism has undergone changes, especially following the Second World War. Comrade Enver Hoxha dwells especially on the new features, forms and national and international organisms of imperialism, such as the further concentration of capital and the development of state monopoly capitalism, interstate unions such as the European Common Market, the Comecon, etc., neo-colonialism and multi-national companies as its proprs, the polarization of the main

forces of exploitation, aggression and war with the creation of the two imperialist superpowers, the fascist tendencies manifesting themselves in a number of countries, etc. These new phenomena not only have not altered the exploitative, reactionary and aggressive nature of imperialism, but on the contrary have deepened its more negative aspects and its more destructive tendencies and made it more anti-popular, more counter-revolutionary and more war-mongering. They not only do not and cannot lead to the integration of capitalism into socialism, but make the revolution as the only means and road for the transformation of society along socialist lines even more necessary, indispensable.

Proceeding from this analysis, Comrade Enver Hoxha arrives at the conclusion that «...imperialism of our days fully retains those same characteristics that Lenin described, ...the Leninist definition of our epoch as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution remains unshaken...»¹

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have also made a valuable contribution to the analysis and theoretical summing up of the consequences the exacerbation of the fundamental contradictions of present world capitalism has brought along. The question is about the grave economic and financial, political and military, ideological and moral crisis which has swept the capitalist and revisionist world, shaken its structures and superstructures to their foundations and deepened the general crisis of the capitalist system even

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, p. 70, Eng. ed.

more. This crisis has greatly increased the dissatisfaction of the people which has found its expression in the mass strikes of workers, in the various movements and manifestations of popular protest, in armed uprisings, etc. This crisis, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, has sucked into its maelstrom the ruling classes, the monopolies, governments, parties, international alliances, the economic, political and military blocs. It has created in the world a revolutionary situation which cannot be overcome or put down either with the capitalist economic and political re-organizations and the armaments race and all-round war preparations, or the sermons of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, because it springs from the exploitative and oppressive capitalist order itself.

On the basis of this analysis of the current world process and proceeding from the Leninist theory, the 7th Congress of our Party put forward the thesis that «The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution.»¹

This important conclusion of our Party poses a concrete actual task and opens up a clear perspective not only for the socialist revolution, but also for the democratic, anti-imperialist and national liberation revolution, that is, for all those movements that attack the capitalist structures and contribute to the speeding up of revolutionary processes.

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 159, Eng. ed.

This thesis refutes all those bourgeois and revisionist views which, through the deliberate distortion of the objective reality, try to prove that the conditions for the revolution do not exist, as the working class, as the Eurocommunists claim, is being deproletarianized and transformed into a «co-administrator» of enterprises; as the present world, as the Titoites preach, is allegedly going spontaneously towards socialism; as any revolutionary spark, as the Khrushchevites say, may spark off a world war, hence allegedly peaceful coexistence is a world strategic principle; as there is no revolutionary situation in the world, the place of the revolution and liberation wars, as the Chinese revisionist claim, should be taken up by the struggle against the threat of Soviet social-imperialism, etc.

By emphasizing the objective factors of the present revolutionary situation, our Party has not neglected the subjective conditions which are just as necessary for the revolution to break out and, even more, to achieve victory. And among these conditions, the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party and, together with this, the definition of its revolutionary strategy and tactic occupy a place of first-rate importance.

The teachings of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the Marxist-Leninist leadership and its preparation of the revolution assume a particularly great importance if we keep in mind the fact that revisionism affected and liquidated precisely this leadership, the revolutionary parties of the working class, in the first place, while denying the hegemonic role of this class in the revolution at the same time.

These teachings comprise a broad range of problems to which our Party has given adequate solution in keeping with the Leninist theory of the revolution and the concrete conditions of different countries, while relying on its experience of many years. Among these problems, the main one is that connected with the building of the proletarian party itself «... without which the revolution cannot be carried out, the national liberation struggle cannot be waged correctly through to the end and the bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be deepened, and go over to the proletarian revolution,»¹ as well as the problem of drawing the working class into everyday economic and political actions which raise its class consciousness, strengthen its organization and unity, link it with the other masses and place it at their head.

One of the more important, but also the more delicate and acute problems of revolutionary strategy is that of ensuring the internal and external allies, of the utilization of the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, the youth and the other popular strata as a large reserve of the revolution, liberated from social-democratic, revisionist and anarchist influences, having as a guiding thread the precedence of the socialist revolution in all cases.

With these forces, said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the Party, the communists «... build joint alliances on different issues and for definite objectives,»² and «In any alliance

and front the party safeguards its own individuality even when, for objective reasons, it does not lead the front itself.»¹

Our Party attaches great importance to and considers an imperative task the creation of these alliances and, on this basis, of broad popular fronts, especially in the conditions when the fascist danger has become imminent in many countries, the pressure and interference of the superpowers against all the countries have increased and the national moment assumes ever greater importance.

Our Party has made a theoretically fully substantiated defence, which is also supported by the whole history of mankind, of the idea of the revolution through violence which, according to Lenin's expression «... is the basis of the whole doctrine of Marx and Engels.»² Precisely for this reason this aspect of the Marxist theory of the revolution has been and remains the most disturbing for the bourgeoisie and the revisionists and, hence, the most contested on their part. They have swamped the world with their «theories» which are supposed to prove that, due to the radical changes that have taken place in the world, the problems of the revolution can and must be solved in the peaceful way. And for this they come out with their prescriptions for «peaceful economic competition», «complete and general disarmament», «transition to socialism through social reforms within the framework of the capitalist order» or in the parliamentary road, etc.

1 Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism*, p. 253, Eng. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 263, Eng. ed.

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 264, Eng. ed.

2 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 473, Alb. ed.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have the merit to have revealed not only the utopian character, but also the great danger of these sermons which capitalize on the aspiration of the peoples for peace and on the spectre of an exterminating thermo-nuclear war. They have uncovered their true essence, their true aim which is to save not mankind, but the capitalist order and imperialism from the violent revolution of the exploited and oppressed and to make it more applicable to the new situations.

Summing up the national and international revolutionary experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha has proved that, as long as imperialism not only has not altered its character, but, on the contrary, has raised to the cube its more monstrous aspects, the revolution through violence remains a general law of the present world development. Far from giving up its weapons, the bourgeoisie is constantly strengthening its machine of oppression and violence against the peoples. Indeed, it is the first to resort to violence, and it is using it everyday to put down the resistance of the peoples. This forces the working class and masses to take to arms, to respond with revolutionary violence to reactionary violence, as is happening in many countries of the world today.

«The Marxist-Leninist communist party,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is not afraid of civil war, which the savage oppression and violence of the bourgeoisie lead to . . . The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat must lead to the violent seizure of state power.»¹ The fascist coups in Indonesia

and Chile are eloquent proof of the failure of the revisionist theories of the peaceful and parliamentary road of transition to socialism.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have paid particular attention to the highest form of revolutionary violence — the armed uprising, which has become an important phenomenon of our time. It is not by chance that the 8th Congress of our Party emphasized the extremely serious stand of the Marxist-Leninists towards it. They never play with the armed uprising, but put it on the order of the day only when the revolutionary situation is completely mature.

The Marxist-Leninist treatment of this problem helps combat both nihilistic stands and, on the other hand, those based on petty-bourgeois adventurism. Only in the light of this treatment can one see the harm caused by the Maoist views on the «encirclement of the city by the country» and the concept of the armed uprising as an endless and perspectiveless process or the pseudo-Marxist theories which negate the decisive role of the people's masses in the struggle and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. The thesis of our Party which considers the close linking of the struggle between city and country under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party as the basis of the armed struggle refutes the Chinese revisionist theory which considers the countryside as the only basis of the armed uprising, while leaving aside the city which it considers as a fortress of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism*, pp. 259-260, Eng. ed.

The democratic and anti-imperialist and socialist revolution in our country, as well as the whole current world development prove the correctness and validity of the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution defended and developed by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. History has charged the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces with the glorious mission of keeping aloft the banner of the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism, the banner of national independence, democracy, socialism and peace. There is no doubt that sooner or later this struggle will be won. The future belongs to the revolution.

**THE PLA AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ON
THE PARTY AND ITS LEADING ROLE**

The triumph of the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the successful construction of socialism and the victories achieved in these years of the Party in all fields are clear proof of the ability of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha always at the head, to defend Marxism-Leninism and implement it in a creative manner in all fields and on such cardinal question as that of the party, of its building and role.

It is the great merit of Comrade Enver Hoxha that he rejected with determination the Trotskyite, anarchist and archeo-Marxist views that circulated in some communist groups of the time and laid the basis of the new Communist Party of Albania on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism in keeping with the Leninist demands for the building of the party of the new type.

From its creation to this day, during the war and after Liberation, our Party has always re-

mained loyal to these principles, and in its struggle and efforts to resolve the concrete problems emerging in each situation, has gained and summed up a rich experience in the field of the building of the party, of its place and role, which constitutes a valuable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party.

I

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have scientifically proved the absolute necessity of the party of the proletariat and its vanguard role in the revolutionary transformation of society, the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism, and have worked out a whole doctrine on this question.

The Marxist idea on the party and its leading role is defended in all the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Likewise there is fresh proof that without a communist party, without its leadership there, the triumph of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism cannot be achieved.

In struggle for the implementation and further development of our doctrine on the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha has exposed and strongly criticized the manipulations of the revisionists of all hues who deny the vanguard role of the party, who preach the possibility of the transition to socialism and its construction without the leadership of the party of the working class but in coalition with the parties of the bourgeoisie, and even without any party of the working class, only under the leadership of the trade-unions. He has reveal-

ed the anti-Marxist essence of the revisionist «theories» which consider the party «only a political factor», «a purely ideological force» or «a merely economic element», and has proved that all this is only an attempt at preventing the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, sabotaging the construction of socialism and prolonging the life of capitalism.

An enrichment of Marxism-Leninism in general and of its doctrine on the party of the proletariat in particular is the theoretical thought put forward by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and implemented in our revolutionary practice that **the creation of the Marxist-Leninist communist party and the ensurement of its leading role in the organization and successful development of the people's war and proletarian revolution are possible and absolutely necessary also for a country with a working class small in number and still unformed as an industrial proletariat.**

In order to affirm and implement this thesis, the Albanian revolutionary communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, had to wage a resolute struggle to refute the opinion that circulated in some communist groups that first the working class had to grow numerically and the industrial proletariat had to be created and then the communist party could be formed and the class struggle against the bourgeoisie commenced. Some went so far as to consider the occupation of the country by Italian fascism as a positive factor, because this was supposed to step up the development of capitalism.

Contrary to those nihilistic views, Comrade Enver Hoxha defended the thesis that the work-

ing class could play its historic role even when it was small in number, and that it could play its role through its own party which adheres to the ideology of its class.

Comrade Enver Hoxha based the urgent need for the creation of the Party on Lenin's analysis of imperialism as a phase of the development of capitalism in which the chain could be broken at its weakest link provided, of course, that all the subjective factors, and the more important among them — the party of the working class and its leadership, exist. Comrade Enver Hoxha argued the necessity of the creation of the party in our country at that time also, considering the concrete situation of the country which put forward the founding of the party of the working class and its placing itself at the head of the people as an historical necessity and imperative demand of the moment. When he made the historic proposal of the founding of the Communist Party of Albania at the Meeting of the representatives of the Communist Groups, on November 8, 1941, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «This is what the objective needs, the working class, the communists, the historical moments the country is going through, the people who demand that we join in their struggle, call for. Comrades, we cannot postpone this main task even for a moment.»¹

Proceeding from the experience of our Party and the analysis of the international situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha drew the general conclusion of great theoretical and practical value that

¹ Enver Hoxha, *When the Party Was Born* (Memoirs), pp. 176-177, Tirana 1983, Third Alb. ed.

now the creation of the Marxist-Leninist communist party of the proletariat as the leading party of the working class, even if this class was small in number, not only was possible, but also absolutely necessary everywhere, in every country of the world, regardless of its degree of economic and social development.

Of great importance is also the experience of our Party, which in those conditions **knew to put itself at the head of the masses in struggle and revolution, to win their confidence and to make itself accepted as their only and undisputable leader.**

True, in our country at that time there was no other political party, something which could not fail to facilitate the work of the Party for linking itself with the masses and putting itself at the head of them. But this could not be achieved spontaneously. The experience of our Party, summed up by Comrade Enver Hoxha in many of his reports, writings and speeches, shows that for this at least three fundamental conditions are necessary:

— definition of a correct line which should express fully the vital interests of the working class, as a consequence, all the other working masses and respond to their demands and aspirations;

— the personal example of the communists to put this line into practice and defend it up to complete self-abnegation;

— the patient and gradual conviction of the masses, through their own experience, about the correctness of the line, directive and slogans of the Party.

By proceeding on this road it was possible to

foil the attempts of the enemies to win, through their reactionary organizations, certain strata of the population to their side and to weaken the influence of the Communist Party of Albania on the masses. As a result, the Party became the only leading force of the people at war and remained always such.

The experience of forty and more years of the Party has also proved true the very important teaching of Marxism-Leninism that also in the period of the construction of socialism, until classes die out and communism is built, the existence of the Party of the working class and its leading role in society remain absolutely necessary.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have rejected the revisionist idea of «political pluralism» in socialism, the idea of the preservation of other political parties and collaboration with them also when socialism is being built. They say that at the beginning of the construction of socialism the existence of some other party could be accepted, provided that the independence and vanguard role of the party of the proletariat is guaranteed, however, with the passage of time, with the construction of the economic base of socialism and the disappearance of antagonistic classes, the preservation of other parties is utterly unnecessary and a theoretical absurdity. The interests of the two friendly classes — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, and of the stratum of the intelligentsia which has emerged from them, are represented and defended by the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class better than any other party. Where other parties are retained and there is talk about the necessity of other parties in socialism, there is no socialism,

because the preservation of the antagonistic classes defends the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Following the process of the great work for the construction of socialism, drawing lessons from the degeneration of the parties in the revisionist countries and fighting with all the internal enemies who tried to undermine the leadership of the Party by creating «exclusive fortresses» in the sectors in which they operated, Comrade Enver Hoxha enriched the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the leading role of the Party in the period of socialist construction with the important idea that **the more the process of socialist construction advances and the more tasks increase, the more the leading role of the Party is enhanced.**

There is and can be no limitation to this role. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that the Party leads everywhere. It leads the state and its all-sided activity, including the foreign policy, the army and security. It leads the ideology, education, culture and science to implant the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the communist morality and the broad socialist culture. It leads the economy by demanding that the objective economic laws of socialism are always kept in mind, that the economic policy of the Party is implemented and the state plan realized. It leads the organizations of the masses and, through them, the entire people in the construction and defence of socialism.

Nothing important is or can be done in our country without the leadership of the Party. In order to dispel any misunderstanding Comrade Enver Hoxha has declared at the 8th Congress of the Party: «No problem, simple or complicated, current or of the future, can be solved without the leadership of the Party. This has been and

remains a law with us»¹. This leadership guarantees the successful construction of socialism, ensures the centralized direction of all the work that is done in our country for one aim, prevents the possibility of distortions of the line and of unlawful and hostile activities, safeguards socialism and the victories achieved.

Is there any «arbitrariness» and «violation of democracy» here as the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the different revisionists pretend? Quite the contrary. The leadership of the party guarantees that everything is solved only in the interests of the working class and the working masses. This is true democracy, democracy with deeds, and not with words. Only there where the interests of the people are trampled underfoot there is arbitrariness and violation of democracy.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have worked out and further developed the question of the roads and forms that should be followed for the practical realization of the leading role of the Party. The Party leads, in the first place, with its line, by defining its policy for every sector of state, economic and social activity. It leads through its members who are found there where work is done for the implementation of the line and policy of the Party and, especially, where tasks are greater and difficulties more numerous. But it leads, and this is stressed with particular force by our Party, through its basic organizations which not figuratively, but really are the foundation of the Party, because they are found everywhere to convey the line of the Party to the mas-

ses, to organize its implementation and control it without any wavering or distortion. In this direction, with its successive demands and with the competences it has given the basic organizations, the Party of Labour of Albania has enriched the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party with very valuable theses.

The working out of the general line of the Party and its policy for every sector is the work of the whole Party. Its more important directives in the form of drafts are taken up and discussed in all the basic organizations. Lenin's famous formula that every party member must participate in a party organization is supplemented in our Party with the demand that every party member, regardless of his post and function, should not only participate regularly in the work of the party organization, but also fight actively for and render precise account about the implementation of the line of the Party. Likewise, our Party has broadened Stalin's thesis that the basic organization **in economic enterprises** should be given the right to controlling the activity of the administration by giving this right to **all** basic organizations. In the Constitution of the PLA it is said that «The basic organizations in the enterprise, agricultural cooperative, military unit, institution, local and central administration, etc., lead and supervise the whole activity and life of the sectors in which they operate.»¹

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have rejected the technocratic and intellectualist views spread by the different enemies of the Party that

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 68, Eng. ed.

¹ *Constitution of the PLA*, pp. 119-120, Tirana 1977, Alb. ed.

the basic organizations in the army, the ministries, the state security, art and culture and science cannot lead these sectors because this role belongs only to specialists. It supports and implements the idea that all the communists, all the basic organizations in which they operate should be specialists in the line of the Party. The basic organizations are responsible and should fight for the defence and correct implementation of the line of the Party and its directives. On the other hand, nothing prevents the basic organizations, indeed it is an elementary principle of their work, from drawing in the opinion of non-party specialists and of the entire working people as broadly as possible. However, to prevent sliding into technocracy, to respect principles and look at everything from the political angle, in the first place, it is at the same time absolutely necessary to ensure everywhere the leadership of the basic organization of the Party, to solicit always its opinion and to see to it that it always exercises its control over everything.

II

The Party finds the strength and capability to perform its leading role properly at any time not only in its Marxist-Leninist ideology, its correct line and policy, but also in its sound organization according to the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms which regulate its inner life. In this direction the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have worked out and implemented a number of new ideas and practices which have enriched the doctrine on the party.

Not only the constant care to strengthen the party and to maintain it always revolutionary, but also the great revisionist betrayal which led to the degeneration of the former communist parties into parties of the bourgeoisie faced the Marxist-Leninists with the need for the examination of the implementation and the enrichment of Leninist principles and norms which regulate the inner life of the party, because grave violations which had caused and hastened their revisionist degeneration had occurred in this field, too.

The contribution of international value which the Party of Labour of Albania and, in particular, Comrade Enver Hoxha have made in this field, consists not only in the profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation, mistakes and shortcomings of those parties which allowed themselves to be dragged into the mire of revisionism, but also in the definition of a series of very important measures which maintain the party always revolutionary, vigilant and irreconcilable with any deviation from the Marxist-Leninist road.

The requirements for the further revolutionization of the Party constitute the scientific summing up of a long and great, positive and negative, experience, accumulated both inside and outside the country.

Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward with particular force the idea that **for the party of the working class to be always a revolutionary party it is not enough for it to have a proletarian ideology, but it must also have a proletarian composition of its ranks and its leading organs.**

Drawing the appropriate lessons from its experience, the Party has stressed that a revolutionary party is made up of revolutionary com-

munists who are chosen individually for their high political and moral qualities and abilities at work from the ranks of the working class in the first place, especially from among those who work and struggle on the more important and more difficult fronts of production and, then, from among the cooperativist peasantry and the office workers and intellectuals.

There is always a danger for a party in power that career-seeking elements may try to sneak into its ranks and even climb to its leading instances. In order to ward off this danger, the Party, proceeding from the concrete proposals of Comrade Enver Hoxha, has worked out a series of norms and rules to test in all aspects those who apply for admission to the Party. Nobody can be admitted to the Party without first seeking the opinion of the working masses in the midst of which he or she works and lives. All those who apply for and are given admission to the Party go through a long period of probation as candidates for party members, appointed to work in difficult sectors, whereas those who come from among the office workers and the intellectuals, are engaged for a certain time in direct production work amidst the working class or the cooperativist peasantry. There is no privilege for the communists whereas the tasks they shoulder keep constantly growing. «... The law of the Party and its members,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «must be that they should live all their life in battles and sacrifices, and this is a duty and a great honour for them... It is a law and it becomes a law for us communists that we should remain revolutionary in spirit to our last breath.»¹

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 33, pp. 198, 203, Alb. ed.

Considering democratic centralism as the leading principle of the building of the party for all times and in all fields, as it is in reality, our Party has not only defended it, but also found original forms and ways for its practical implementation.

It has combated and refuted the liquidatory theories of the different revisionists who proclaim the principle of democratic centralism as «historically overcome», who advocate the existence of opposite lines in the party, as well as those of the Soviet revisionists who, although they accept the principle of democratic centralism in words (they have it written in the Constitution of their party), in fact have transformed it into bureaucratic centralism, erasing all traces of proletarian democracy in the party and putting it under the bureaucratic rule of the apparatuses.

The establishment of a broad proletarian democracy in the Party through the establishment of obligatory and verifiable norms for the free debate of opinions about all questions that are taken up, for limitless criticism of everybody, regardless of their ranks, merits or titles, and for the condemnation, up to the expulsion from its ranks, of all those who try to impose their personal will, to stifle criticism, etc., has created the best possible conditions for the conscious observation of an iron discipline in the Party, for the unified and centralized activity of the whole Party. Drawing a lesson from the bitter experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made a special demand that everybody should know that it is not enough to accept the principle of democratic centralism and the other principles and norms

which regulate the inner life of the Party and talk about them. It is of capital importance to see to it that they are applied with precision and without concessions in practice.

Experience shows that a communist party degenerates not only when it departs from the Marxist-Leninist ideology, but also when it does not implement the organizational principles and norms on which it is built.

In its great and careful work for the implementation of these principles and norms the Party has come up against two dangers — liberalism and bureaucratism. It has waged a resolute struggle of principle against liberalism which engenders disorder, undervalues order and discipline, lowers the feeling of discipline of the organizations in general and of each communist in particular about the implementation of tasks, produces formalism and indifference in party work, as well as against bureaucracy which fossilizes and stifles the inner life of the Party, develops arrogance, suppresses democracy, criticism and self-criticism, initiative and independent action. This principled struggle, carried out not formally and by administrative methods, but with concrete actions and initiatives, for the precise implementation of all the Marxist-Leninist organizational principles and norms, has greatly increased the organizational force of the Party and its leading role.

A fundamental demand for the implementation of democratic centralism, which is at the same time a basic factor for ensuring the leading role of the Party in the whole life of the country, has been and remains the political, ideological and organizational unity of thought and action in its ranks.

Our Party has always considered unity as the basis and source of its strength and invincibility and loudly declared that «...it has not allowed and will never allow the existence of factions within its ranks. It has had and has one line, only, the one Marxist-Leninist line, which it has loyally defended and resolutely implemented.»¹ Only the parties which renounce the revolution and the revolutionary struggle for the construction of socialism and which, understandably, have no need for unity, can preach, as the Titoites, the Eurocommunists and the Chinese revisionists do, «coexistence with ideological adversaries in the midst of one party», «correction and rehabilitations of anti-party elements within the party», etc. The true Marxist-Leninist parties can accomplish their mission and lead the proletariat towards the revolution and socialism only when they ensure, first of all, a steel and militant unity in their ranks, a unity of revolutionaries.

Proceeding from this principle, our Party has purged with an iron broom its ranks of enemies, beginning with Sadik Premte and Koçi Xoxe and ending with Beqir Balluku and Mehmet Shehu and Co. The fear lest with the expulsion of factionists the Party may be weakened is an opportunism with very dangerous consequences for the Party, which may bring about even its liquidation. There can be no conciliation with and concessions to the enemy. As the life of our Party has proved, expulsion of the enemies from the Party not only has not weakened it, but on the contrary has strengthened it further, because by

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 80, Eng. ed.

so doing it has been cured of a lethal malady and, at the same time, has been tempered in battles.

The experience of the PLA, which has waged the struggle for the smashing of the views and activities of anti-party elements together with the whole Party and jointly with the people, has very great importance. A true plebiscite has been carried out in the Party and among the people on any occasion when a hostile activity has been discovered. The whole Party and all the people have condemned the deviationists and their treacherous work.

III

It is known that, particularly in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat when the Party is in power, the relationship between the Party and the working class and between the Party and the masses assumes special importance.

The problem is that the Party must without fail be at the head of and lead the working class and the broad working masses, but, on the other hand, it must also without fail be linked closely, like flesh to bone, with them and never for a moment detach itself from them, or put itself above them. Its Marxist-Leninist program, its correct line which stems from it and its all-round work to improve their material and cultural well-being constitute the granite-like basis of the unity of the Party with the working class and all the working people.

It is the merit of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head

that during its whole history it has known not only how to observe the great principle of the linking of the Party with the masses, but also how to find original ways and apply correct methods of action so as not to allow any deviation from it.

Particular attention has been paid especially to the creation in the Party and among the working class and the broad masses of a clear concept of the function and role of the working class as the class in power in socialist society, and of the people as «the masters of the country». At the same time all the measures have been taken to ensure the conditions for the realization of this role.

Among the fundamental lessons which our Party has drawn from the bitter experience of the Soviet Union, where liberalism has engendered the indifference of the masses, and bureaucracy has stifled their initiative, is that the working class and the masses should seize the destinies of socialism in their hands and concern themselves constantly about the conducting of affairs according to the line of the Party.

For this purpose the Party has had to work persistently in two main directions:

On the one hand, for the communist education of the working class and the working masses, taking them as they are, as Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs, and making them as they should be. Neither the leftovers and the influence of hostile ideologies can be eradicated at once, nor can the communist ideology and morality be implanted in the consciousness of people instantly. The question is about raising the consciousness of the masses to the level of the tasks that face them

by means of persistent, all-round and constant work. This increases the participation and effectiveness of the working class and working masses in the running of the life of the country and in the successful construction and defence of socialism.

And, on the other hand to create all the possibilities for the masses to take an actual part in the administration of the country and to be trained everyday, for this purpose. «The entire life of our country,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «the organization and management of the state, the economy, education, culture and defence has been constructed in such a way as to ensure and require the active participation of the working masses.»¹ Therefore, all the people elected to the elected organs, all state organisms from above down below, must, first of all, work as efficiently as possible to combat formalism and not allow the people of the administrations to act as it suits them. That is why in the everyday practice of our work, all important problems of a political, economic and social character are taken up with the people and their opinion is largely solicited about them. For the same reason, finally, activities in all fields, in one manner or another, are put under the direct and complete control of the working class and the other working masses.

As early as the first years of the construction of socialism the great Lenin forcefully stressed the need for the direct control of the working class and the working peasantry and left this as one of his more important instructions.

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 123, Eng. ed.

Our Party has applied this instruction of Lenin's creatively and successfully. «The Party regards this control, which is exercised under its leadership over all state and social activity, as a universal and permanent principle of our socialist society in all its spheres and links, as an expression of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. Worker control is one of the vital aspects of the class struggle to ensure the triumph of socialism, to prevent the degeneration of the socialist order, and is a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class and the other working masses.»¹

In the strengthening of the links of the Party with the masses the stand of cadres towards them has great importance. These links suffer great harm, which may lead even to the degeneration of the socialist order, when the mutual trust between the masses and cadres is lost, when administrative methods are used instead of convincing people about the correctness of the line of the Party and the necessity of the fulfilment of the tasks it sets, when cadres impose themselves on the masses by means of orders or through the authority stemming from their functions in the Party or state.

The bitter experience of the revisionist countries in the degeneration of which the degeneration of cadres and their isolation from the masses has played a particular role, prompted our Party, among other things, to work out and take a series of measures to preserve the cadres and

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, pp. 128-129, Eng. ed.

maintain them always revolutionary. The Party pays particular attention to the training of the future cadres at schools so that they acquire not only general culture, learn a profession, but also are formed ideologically and politically to understand that «...they are the direct and indirect assistants of the working class and not its leaders»,¹ it educates them constantly, both during their school years and later to link themselves with production and work jointly with the workers and peasants.

The periodical circulation of cadres, constantly combating the inflation of staffs, bringing people from production into the central administration and sending the mass of cadres as close as possible to production amidst the working class and the working peasantry and, together with all this, the obligation of all cadres, especially those of the state administration, to work directly in production for a period of time each year, as an important measure for their tempering and drawing closer to the people, have been and remain other very effective and life-tested means to defend the cadres from degeneration and maintain them always revolutionary and in the service of the people.

Of particular importance in this direction is the constant education of the cadres with Marxism-Leninism in many forms, as well as the all-round control of the basic organizations and the whole Party over their entire activity.

However, the establishment of a system of concrete measures for the cadres to render account

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches — 1969-1970*, p. 310, Alb. ed.

regularly before the working masses, to place themselves under their direct control, to listen to the voice and criticism of the people, insisting that the cadres, whoever they may be, come out openly and fearlessly before the masses with self-criticism for their shortcomings at work, has particularly assisted the revolutionization of cadres. «Looking always with a critical Marxist-Leninist eye at problems and results,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «draws the Party and the communists, closer to the masses.»¹ If properly taken, all these measures not only cultivate among the cadres simplicity and modesty, and recall to them that they are the servants of the people, but also help them concretely so as not to fall into errors, or to correct them quickly, if they have committed them, and not let them fester. At the same time, in this manner the incorrigible bureaucrats and arrogant officials, all those who try to avail themselves of the trust of the people and of their posts for their narrow personal interests, who violate the line of the Party and the laws of the state, commit injustices or grant undue favours, are put in their proper place.

All these measures and forms of work, elaborated and applied by the Party, have greatly helped the formation of the unshaken confidence of our people that they are the masters of their country. The Party leads on their behalf and in their interests.

An important role in the permanent and indissoluble links of the Party with the masses is played by the organizations of the masses — the Democratic Front, the Trade Unions, the Labour

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 39, p. 413, Alb. ed.

Youth Union and the Women's Union. There is a rich and original experience of the work of the Party with these organizations as well as of the work of these organizations themselves.

Unlike many other countries, the mass organizations in our country have all without exception been formed by the Party. They all were organized with the initiative and according to the instructions of the Party. Hence, they did not inherit tendencies of «trade-unionism» or «avant-gardism», were not subject to the influence of social-democracy, etc. The organization of the Democratic Front and that of Women have been organized and function in an original manner. They are not merely alliances of parties or representative forums, especially for international relations, but true organizations of the masses, with a regular membership and concrete activity, which play a very important role as assistants of the Party for the communist education and the organized mobilization of the masses for the implementation of the program of the Party.

All the organizations of the masses which include the whole people in their ranks, serve the Party as powerful levers to convey its line to the masses, to educate them with its ideology, to mobilize them and throw them in an organized manner into revolutionary movements and concrete actions for the fulfilment of the tasks of socialist construction, at which they are also tempered.

At the same time they bring to the Party the voice of the masses, their opinions, observations and proposals which are indispensable to verify its directives in practice and to resolve all problems correctly, in the interest of the people.

Seizing on the terms used by Lenin and Stalin about the function of the organizations of the masses as «levers» and «transmission belts» of the party, terms which they put in inverted commas, the modern revisionists rose against the content of their role as assistants of the party and against the leadership of the party in these organizations, preaching the «neutrality», «partnership», and «independence» of the organizations of the masses from the party.

The experience of our Party has proved that only by working for the implementation of the line of the Party and under its direct and constant leadership can the organizations of the masses realize the aims and aspirations of the working masses organized in their ranks. Only the Party of the working class which places the interests of the working class and as a consequence, also the interests of all the working masses above everything, is in a position to lead them, to organize them and to show them the concrete objectives of their work and struggle. In the realization of the line of the Party, which is done under its leadership, all the masses see the fulfilment of their highest interests. Hence, they accept the leadership of the Party in their organizations as something absolutely necessary. Their «neutrality» and «independence» from the party of the working class, as advocated by the revisionists, would bring about the disintegration of these organizations and put them in the service of the bourgeoisie as is happening in many countries of Europe and the world today.

Naturally, the organizations of the masses, for their part, do not apply the line and decisions of the Party mechanically. In the struggle to

implement the line and directives of the Party they display a broad spirit of creative initiative which enables a powerful outburst of the revolutionary drive and the inexhaustible energies of the masses.

Our Party sets tasks to the masses organized in their social organizations, while at the same time striving to ensure ever better conditions of work and living for them. Comrade Enver Hoxha demands that the sternest measures be taken against those bureaucrats and technocrats who take care of everything, cogwheels and iron scraps, but forget man whose education and conditions of living constitute the aim of all the work, line, program and plans of socialist society. The Party thinks and works for the people, and does what the people want. The people, for their part, struggle and work with a high sense of duty for the implementation of the line of the Party, do what the Party tells them to do. This is the basis of the steel links, the unshakeable mutual trust existing between the people and the Party in our country, which represents the surest guarantee for the present and future successes of our socialist society.

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The determined defence and creative implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory, in general, and of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party and its role, in particular, have made our Party invincible and capable of overcoming all difficulties and emerge always triumphant. They have given it the strength and ability to

resolutely withstand the pressure and intrigues of modern revisionists and all other internal and external enemies, to stand like an unshaken granite rock on its Marxist-Leninist positions and march always resolutely and proudly on its road, being the model of the true communist party of the proletariat in the present conditions of the struggle for socialism.

THE POLICY OF THE PLA AND ITS EXPERIENCE OF THE BUILDING OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY

Looking back on the glorious road traversed in the four decades of our new and free independent life we see the great leap forward of epoch-making proportions and value which socialist Albania has made under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, in the political, ideological, economic and social fields, reveals itself in all its splendour. The Albanian people with legitimate pride call their present epoch the epoch of the Party, the epoch of their revival. History has no precedent of a small country, with centuries-old backwardness, reduced to poverty and destruction by successive invasions and wars, a country which, within a relatively short time, has made such a colossal and rapid progress, has been transformed into a socialist country with a multi-branched economy, with advanced industry and intensive agriculture, a country which marches non-stop forward on the road of socialism relying on its own forces.

The construction of socialism in Albania is a confirmation and triumph of the general laws of Marxism-Leninism, as a whole, and of the Marxist-Leninist economic theory, in particular. It is at the same time a creative application of these laws and theory by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the concrete historical conditions of Albania and in the extremely complicated circumstances created especially after the great betrayal of the modern revisionists. The theoretical thinking of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, which is a new contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, was developed and enriched in the process of the heroic struggle and work for the construction and defence of socialism.

The theoretical work of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the field of the economy is extensive and profound and many-sided. Indeed, it is difficult to reflect it in all its proportions in a single paper. Therefore, here we shall stop to dwell only on some of the main problems in which the contribution of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the creative application, development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist economic doctrine appears more clearly.

The triumph of the people's revolution in a backward country, as was our country, and its direct introduction into socialism

Rejecting the views of the opportunists of the 2nd International, according to which the model of the development of capitalism in the

West-European countries is indispensable also for the development of all the other countries, V.I. Lenin pointed out: «...The general development of the whole history of the world according to given laws does not exclude, but... presupposes separate periods of development, which have their specific originality, both in form and in the order of this development.»¹ In conformity with this important scientific conclusion, Lenin put forward the thesis that in the epoch of imperialism, when the world system of the capitalist economy has been created, when the possibilities for the socialist revolution have matured as a whole, the economic backwardness of a given country is no longer an insurmountable obstacle to the triumph of the democratic revolution and its rapid transformation into a socialist revolution.

This was a major achievement of the Marxist-Leninist science, which time would justify. The transformation of this theoretical conclusion into a reality in a small country with pronounced economic and cultural backwardness, as was Albania, represents one of the most important moments of the creative application, of the development and enrichment of the treasury of Marxism-Leninism by the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that the experience of the revolution in our country proved «...the practical and real possibility of the direct transition of backward countries from the old feudal order to socialism, by-passing the stage of developed capitalism.»²

1 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 33, p. 536, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 20, p. 128, Alb. ed.

The merit of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha stands in the linking and combination of the war for national liberation closely with the struggle for social emancipation, for the simultaneous solution of the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the tasks of the socialist revolution. This connection and combination of these two major tasks is seen in content and in form as early as the time of the Anti-fascist National-Liberation War, concretely: in the leadership of the revolution and its army by the Party of the working class (the Communist Party of Albania); in its decisive social strength which stemmed from the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, led by the working class, in the setting up of the power of the national-liberation councils, which became the embryo of the future power of the people's democracy (a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat); in the profound class differentiation which took place during the war, resulting in the creation of a social ratio in favour of the socialist revolution.

With the complete liberation of the country from the fascist occupiers, with the overthrow of the old exploiting classes and the establishment of the people's state power, a number of problems of theoretical and practical importance, which demanded solution, emerged. What was to be done? Should the transformations of a democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist character which had been put on the order of the day from the time of the war, be carried out first, or should these transformations be carried out in combination with the socialist transformations of the economic relations? Should we wait until

the productive forces developed and then carry out the socialist transformations or let the establishment of the new relations open the road to the development of the productive forces? Should we wait till we trained our cadres and gained experience of the organization and management of socialist economy, or should we gain this experience in the course of action and create the socio-economic conditions to put the country on the road of socialist development on the basis of unified state plans?

After a penetrating analysis of the concrete conditions which had been created in the country, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the orientation that these tasks should be carried out in combination, that our socialist revolution should solve also the tasks of the democratic revolution, which had remained unsolved.

Of decisive importance for the consolidation of the victory of the revolution and carrying it further forward was the correct policy the Party pursued immediately after Liberation for the application, on a broad front and in a radical manner, of a series of measures against the economic and political positions of the internal and external bourgeoisie, for the establishment of complete national sovereignty on the natural assets and economic wealth of the country, for barring the road once and for good to the economic exploitation of Albania by foreign capital, for the transfer of the principal means of production, in possession of the internal capital, into the hands of the working people and many other measures which opened the road to more socialist transformations on a still broader scale, in town and in countryside. In the efforts to achieve these

objectives, a special place belongs to the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania held in February 1946, which exposed and defeated the hostile activity of Sejfulla Malëshova, an activity which in the final account spelt capitulation before the pressure exerted by the overthrown classes and external reaction. «The existence of our state and its future,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out to this Plenum, «are closely connected with the existence and strengthening of the state sector and cooperatives... Private capital must be deprived of all the possibilities of developing and strengthening itself.»¹ Comrade Enver Hoxha insisted: «Everything for the strengthening of the state sector; merciless struggle against private capital... The expansion and strengthening of the state sector is on the order of the day, is one of the most important tasks that have been placed before us.»²

In this context, the road, methods and rates of the economic expropriation of the local bourgeoisie, the extraordinary taxations on war profits, the liquidation of foreign banks and the formation of the Albanian State Bank, the enactment of the monetary reform, which was a heavy blow against the possessors of large amounts of banknotes and stabilized its buying power, the liquidation of foreign capitalist concessions, etc., are of original value. The decisive step towards economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie was the conclusion in 1946 of the nationalization of the most important enterprises and

1 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 3, pp. 269-270, Alb. ed.

2 *Ibidem*, p. 272, Alb. ed.

the creation, in this manner, of the state sector of the economy in industry, in constructions, in trade, in transport, and partially in agriculture. The socialist nationalization of the main means of production in Albania has its own distinguishing feature: it was applied through confiscation without compensation, without intermediary forms or co-ownership. It was carried out at very rapid rates, without interruption and without time-limits dividing the tasks of the democratic revolution and of the socialist revolution.

It was this policy of the Communist Party of Albania, it was these all-round revolutionary measures against foreign imperialist bourgeoisie, as well as against reaction, the local bourgeoisie and landowners, which brought about significant changes for the creation of a qualitatively new political, economic and social situation in Albania, which was entirely different from the situations in many countries of the former people's democracy in which half-way measures were adopted without transcending the framework of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, leaving untouched many of the economic and political positions of the bourgeoisie. Such is the Albanian experience of putting the country on to the true road of socialism and that new contribution which the Party has made in this field and which has been scientifically summed up in the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Our reality confirmed once again the fact that the capitalist private property has an historical transitional character, just like all the other forms of ownership which are based on the exploitation of man by man, that it is not per-

manent, as the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists try to make out. The theoretical thinking of our Party and the practice of the socialist socialization of the means of production in our country are diametrically opposed to and in struggle with the bourgeois and revisionist views and practices of all variants. In the period of the grave crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world, the enemies of communism have thrown themselves still more fiercely against socialism and the socialist socialization of means of production. With many and sundry slanders and preachings, the revisionists strive to «prove» that nationalizations which are enacted in different capitalist countries are allegedly of a socialist character and are aimed at the integration of capitalism into socialism. This is a great deception for the working masses, and the day-to-day reality in the world of capital gives the lie to it. In his time Engels exposed these views which were born together with the capitalist nationalizations. «If the state monopoly of tobacco means socialism,» wrote Engels at that time, with irony, «then Napoleon and Meternich must absolutely be placed among the ranks of the founders of socialism.»¹

In our time the Yugoslav revisionists and others who toe their line by minimizing socialist state ownership, preach that the group ownership of «self-administration» is the highest form of socialist ownership, which, allegedly makes the workers «owners, managers, and administrators

1 F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Tirana 1974, p. 317, Alb. ed.

of means of production and of the fruit of their work.» In fact these theorizings are a borrowing from the reactionary views of the «worker opposition» of the anarcho-syndicalists that were exposed by V.I. Lenin in his time and go back to Proudhon, the supporter and advocate of the petty bourgeoisie.

One of the important theoretical and practical problems, in which the profoundly Marxist-Leninist revolutionary policy and the original line of our Party come out more forcefully, is the agrarian question, the stand towards the nationalization of the land and the road followed for the implementation of the Land Reform. Whereas the road that must be followed with regard to the landowners and the big bourgeoisie of the countryside was clear, i.e., the road of instant expropriation, the stand that must be taken towards the working peasantry was a delicate problem that required careful consideration. The Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha explain very clearly that in the conditions of our country, in which the patriotic peasantry had dreamed of and fought for the land in the centuries, in the conditions in which the peasantry was the main ally of the working class and the base of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and at a time when the Party had promised them that, upon the liberation of the country, it would give the land to those who tilled it, the nationalization act could not be carried out instantly, but the revolutionary land reform had to be carried out instead as the initial act towards the solution of the peasant problem. Here too, however, it has decisive importance to see how this reform was conceived and treated and what measures

were adopted to enact it. It was carried out under the central slogan, «The land belongs to the tiller». From the beginning the buying and selling, leasing and alienation of the land were prohibited by law, the use of hired labour was also prohibited and a limited acreage of land was assigned for use. All these measures taken together went a long way towards narrowing the possibilities for the capitalist development of the countryside. The carrying out of the Land Reform on these revolutionary bases was a precondition for socialist transformations in the countryside, and in fact it was accompanied as early as that time, with the beginning of collectivization of agriculture. That is why Comrade Enver Hoxha has described the Land Reform as the first revolution in the socio-economic relations of our countryside.

The revolutionary democratic and socialist transformations that were carried out in all sectors brought out forcefully the need for the organized and planned management of the economy by the people's state power which carried out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was by no means an easy task, but another major difficult battle which must be won at all costs. Cadres were few and inexperienced. The traditions, the old habits and practices of organization and administration had to be overthrown, the former aim of production had to be replaced by the socialist aim of production: the ever better fulfilment of the growing needs of the working masses; the many material and technical shortages had to be overcome, the activity of the internal and external enemies smashed, the plots and behind-the-scene deals of

the Titoites and their agents inside and outside the Party defeated.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha issued the orientation that, just as during the war, in the years after Liberation, problems would be solved by revolutionary ways and methods, as was done in fact. The people went into the building of the new life with enthusiasm, showed a high level of consciousness and made innumerable sacrifices. The working people, under the leadership of the Party, took part en masse in the great political, economic and social action of nationalizations, which brought about major socio-class transformations; took the control of production and distribution in their hands. The poor peasantry became the mainstay of the work to carry out the Land Reform and the socialist collectivization of agriculture. In this revolutionary process class consciousness was further enhanced and new habits of organization and management of the economy without capitalists and against them, were acquired. From the ranks of partisans, workers and participants in the voluntary actions emerged hundreds of cadres of the economy. They were tempered and formed in struggle with the difficulties of growth and the internal and external enemies. So, in the field of organization and management of the economy, in our experience, summed up and synthesized in the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, we find that creative thinking, that original road and practice which was followed in Albania, relying powerfully on our own forces.

The construction of the socialist economic base and the question of the complete construction of socialism in Albania

Taking into consideration the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, in the conditions of our reality, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha gradually worked out a broad and comprehensive theoretical conception of the economic base of socialism and the road for its construction. Our historical experience shows that the social ownership of the main means of production, as the basis of socialist relations, should be established and further developed not only in the city, but also in the countryside. This task became still more imperative in the conditions of a backward agrarian country, as was the case of our country, in which the working peasantry constituted the majority of the population. In the city, too, along with the socialist nationalization of the main means of production, an important problem which remained to be solved was the socialist socialization of artisan production and small merchants.

From this standpoint the main problem in the complete construction of the economic base of socialism was the stand that should be maintained towards small producers in general, and especially those of the countryside. On this major issue, the Party took account of the fact that small producers of town and countryside were allies of the working class. From the first years following Liberation, differentiating the two different forms of private ownership, the Party supported the small producers who relied on their work, while hitting and expropriating the landowners and the

bourgeoisie who relied on the exploitation of others. This clear class distinction became the foundation stone of the correct stand of the Party towards the working peasantry, handicraftsmen and small traders. However, the forward march of socialism raised the need for this form of private ownership to be transformed, too.

On this problem of strategic importance for the destinies of socialism, the Party followed the Leninist road of cooperation. Comrade Enver Hoxha underlines: «It is clear to the Party that our state cannot base itself for a long time on two different economic bases: the socialist sector of the economy in town and the private sector of small producers in the countryside. Therefore, the creation of the socialist sector of the agricultural economy, too, is an historical imperative for the triumph of socialism.»¹ From an analysis of this road we reach the conclusion that the theoretical-scientific treatment of this road and the manner in which the socialist transformation of the small producers was carried out in practice on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory, the conditions of the Albanian socio-economic terrain, constitute one of the main specific features of the revolution in Albania, one of the most important aspects of the political maturity and correct line of our Party for carrying the socialist construction forward.

In this field, too, the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania has its own original characteristics. It has to do with the selection of the most appropriate form of organization of cooperatives, through the direct transition to the form of the

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 12, p. 422, Alb. ed.

socialist-type cooperatives, without going through the lower forms of cooperation; with the unwavering adherence to the Leninist principle of conviction, voluntarism and gradualness, without temporizing on this process, but also without hastening it in an artificial manner, carrying it out almost over two decades. The socialist collectivization of agriculture in our country took place simultaneously and parallel with the creation of the artisan cooperatives and the consumer cooperatives, which later, with the free will of their members, were transformed into state economic enterprises. Complex economic and financial relations came into play also in regard to the assistance which our socialist state gave the new cooperativist order.

The conclusion of collectivization in general in 1960 marked one of the most important historic victories — the triumph of the second revolution in agrarian relations, the triumph of socialism in the countryside, too, and the completion of the construction of the economic base of socialism in Albania. This brought about the transformation of the old structure of classes. Speaking at the 4th Congress of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The most characteristic and fundamental feature of the structure of classes in our country in the present stage is the existence of two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, their alliance under the leadership of the working class and the strengthening, on this basis, of the moral-political unity of all working people.»¹

One of the original distinguishing character-

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 20, p. 124, Alb. ed.

istics of our revolution in the economic field is that the Party did not wait till the productive forces developed in order to carry out the socialist transformation of the ownership of the main means of production in town and countryside. If a waiting attitude had been adopted, it would have spelt death for the revolution itself and for the construction of socialism. On the contrary, acting in a revolutionary spirit, on the road which was followed and the methods used, i.e., with the establishment of the socialist relations in town and countryside, a free field was created for the development of productive forces.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have exposed the modern revisionists, who with the «theory» of peaceful integration of capitalism into socialism, preach the road of the spontaneous development of the countryside, of the coexistence of state ownership with the private sector in town and countryside. It has maintained the same stand towards the «theories» and practices of the Yugoslav revisionists who also try to «prove» the possibility of this coexistence, describing the socialist collectivization as the mere expropriation of small producers! These «theories» and practices of the revisionists have nothing in common with scientific socialism, but are another expression of capitalism which flourishes in the revisionist countries. It has been proved both in theory and in social practice that if small-scale production is left free for a long time it begets, as Lenin said, «... capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, every day, every hour, in a spontaneous way and on a large scale.»¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 8. Alb. ed.

The establishment of the socialist ownership of the main means of production is a very important aspect of the problem of the victory of the socialist relations of production and the liquidation of old relations. The other very important aspect, about which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always shown special concern, is the continuous preservation and ceaseless strengthening of the socialist character of ownership of the means of production, as the foundation of the economic relations and social equality of the working people. The great work which has been done and the fierce class struggle which has been waged for the establishment of socialist ownership in town and countryside, the great work which has been done and continues to be done to bring cooperativist ownership closer to the ownership of the entire people, are well-known. In all this revolutionary process, the Party has not backed down before difficulties and obstacles, because it has worked out a correct Marxist-Leninist line, has unshakeable faith in the people and has proceeded with clear perspectives, always in the service of the fundamental interests of the broad working masses. Therefore the masses have followed and supported the Party unwaveringly. The opposite happened in the revisionist countries, where the former communist parties, infected with opportunism, liberalism, and revisionism, dodged the difficulties, submitted to the pressure of the bourgeoisie and imperialism and abandoned the processes of the transformation of ownership on the socialist road half-way, thus preparing a favourable ground for stagnation, for degeneration and for going back to capitalism.

The 4th Congress of the Party drew the balance of the construction of the economic base of socialism in Albania and gave the programmatic orientation for the transition of the country to the stage of the complete construction of socialist society. The Party conceived and treated the question of the complete construction of socialist society as an all-round process and defined the factors that would come into play for carrying out this process gradually. It issued clear orientations as to the steps and rates of the construction of the material-technical base of socialism, the order and priority of work in this process, the road and forms of perfecting the socialist relations of production in all fields, the consistent development of the class struggle, the development and deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, etc. Experience has shown that the tasks of this stage are carried out over a period longer than that of the construction of the economic base, through the all-sided combination of political and socio-economic problems.

The socialist industrialization of the country has been defined by the Party as the main strategic link of the work for the construction of the material-technical base of socialism. In order to attain this objective, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have provided the theoretical and practical solution to a number of problems such as those of the transformation of Albania, through certain stages, from an agricultural-industrial country into an advanced industrial-agricultural country; the harmonized development of industry and agriculture; the creation of a multi-branched industry based on local primary materials and energy sources, defining the order and priorities of

the development of the branches of industry; the ways and means of securing the necessary sources of accumulation; the distribution of industry in all the territory of the country and, as a consequence, of the working class, too, as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which would grow and multiply along with the development of industry.

The merit of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha is that they not only found the optimal theoretical solution, given in clear and accurate formulations and ideas, but also carried them out in practice consistently. A central place in all our industry is occupied by heavy industry and within it the mining and power industry, especially the oil industry, the coal industry, and the electric power industry, mainly with hydro-power plants. Of particular importance for the present and the future of our socialist Homeland is the orientation of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for the gradual development of metallurgical industry and the strengthening and modernization of engineering industry as the basis for the maintenance and regeneration of all the existing productive capacities, as well as for the extension of its activity in machine building. The development of heavy industry with priority has been accompanied with the development of light industry in order to meet, in the first place, the needs of the population and the internal market for broad consumer goods. At the 8th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The creation and strengthening of our multi-branched, heavy and light industry, based firmly on our own resources and assets and with clear prospects of development, is a monumental deed

of our Party and people, achieved with great toil, sacrifices and unrivalled heroism, a deed of historic importance for the present and future generations.»¹

Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the logic of the Marxist-Leninist thinker and leader, has formulated scientific ideas and theses, has given orientations and insisted that the industrialization of the country should necessarily be connected closely with the construction of socialism in the countryside, with the development of agriculture, with the needs of its modernization and intensification. For our economy to become strong and independent it must be based on both feet, on industry and in agriculture, he has stressed.

The orientation of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for the development of agriculture in all the zones of the country, through the intensive and extensive roads, giving priority to intensification, and by setting up industry and other economic and social activities more extensively in the countryside, is an orientation of strategic importance and farsightedness for the overall development of the country and for the narrowing down of essential distinctions between town and countryside. On the basis of this orientation now the former primitive one-sided agriculture has yielded its place to the developed multi-branched, complex agriculture which develops on sound, scientific bases. The achievement of the country's self-sufficiency in bread grain and other staple agricultural and livestock products is a major political and economic vic-

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 18, Eng. ed.

tory, a first-hand factor for the strengthening of independence, for the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. Our achievements in this field are another proof of the vitality and superiorities of our socialist order at a time when a series of regressive processes have taken place in the capitalist and revisionist world, where the countryside is abandoned and agriculture suffers ceaseless degradation.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made an outstanding contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism through their very important decisions, theses and theoretical orientations of the 8th Congress of the PLA and the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, «On the 7th Five-year Plan», for perfecting the socialist relations of production in the present stage of the complete construction of socialist society in our country. In this context, clear horizons have been opened to bringing group ownership closer to and transforming it into the ownership of the entire people. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: «... This process should be carried out in such a manner as to gradually extend the sphere of the relations of state ownership and narrow down the sphere of the relations of cooperativist ownership.»¹ The orientations issued and practices applied for the setting up of the higher-type cooperatives and for the transition of some of them into state farms, for intensification of agriculture in the plains zones with priority, combining this with the perfecting of economic relations, for narrowing the cooperativists' personal plot and the form-

¹ Enver Hoxha. *On the 7th Five-year Plan*, p. 185, Alb. ed.

ation of collective herds, thus proceeding towards the extinction of the personal plot through the ceaseless development of the cooperatives and socialist agricultural production and the better fulfilment of the growing needs of the cooperativists, are combined to serve this aim.

Of special importance for the continuous strengthening of the socialist order are the generalizing ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the ways and means of perfecting the relations of distribution and narrowing down distinctions in this field, without slipping into positions of petty-bourgeois egalitarianism and without permitting large differentials of incomes. These far-sighted and other measures are indispensable for preventing the emergence of privileged strata or classes.

Socialism is the order of the continuous uplift of the material well-being and cultural level of the broad working masses, which is realized in conformity with the fundamental economic law of socialism. In the documents of the Party and in the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha this question has found a complete theoretical scientific and practical treatment, conceived in a revolutionary dialectical manner as well-being for all, which constitutes the main aim of socialist production. In the framework of this revolutionary conception of well-being in socialism, the ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the establishment of correct relationships between the moral and the material incentives, giving priority to moral incentives, about the harmonization of the interests, always giving priority to general interests and placing the collective interest above the personal interest, the interest of the perspective

above the momentary interests of today, have their importance.

Guided by the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and implementing them in a creative manner, summing up the revolutionary experience of socialist construction in our country, and drawing lessons from the negative experience of the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made a contribution of great theoretical-scientific and practical value to the conception and treatment of the problems of the complete and final victory of socialism. These cardinal questions have been conceived and connected closely not only with the external factors but also with the internal factors. Apart from the external factors, such as the imperialist military aggression and the counter-revolution of the old exploiting classes, the PLA has pointed out the possibility of the restoration of capitalism from within, both in the political and ideological field and in the economic and social field.

By pointing out these dangers and their sources, however, our Party does not regard them as something fatal and unavoidable. On the contrary, proceeding from the experience of Albania, which loyally follows and develops on the road of socialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha has proved with argument that the re-establishment of capitalism is by no means a fatality, but only a possibility which can be avoided if the genuine Marxist-Leninist party pursues a revolutionary proletarian policy, wages a correct class struggle against all the causes which may bring about the degeneration of the socialist order into capitalist order.

On the basis of the assessment of the situations that have developed and the conclusions drawn from its class standpoint, the Party has adopted a series of measures, which are already known and have been carried out in practice, for the consistent continuation of the socialist revolution and barring the roads to the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, and which are known under the general term of the further revolutionization of the Party, the people's state power and the entire life of the country. Our Party has exposed and rejected with argument the anti-Marxist thesis of the Soviet revisionists that after the liquidation of the exploiting classes the victory of socialism is final and the class struggle dies away. This they do in order to negate the class struggle and the indispensability of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to justify their propaganda about the «state of the entire people» behind which the savage fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie is hidden.

The planned development of the economy on the basis of the economic laws of socialism

An important place in the theory and practice of the socialist construction of our country is occupied by the problems of the planned development of the economy, the use of economic levers, and especially the problems of the relationship between the plan and the market. A fierce struggle has always been waged between Marxism-

Leninism, on the one hand, and revisionism, on the other hand, over these problems. In the final account, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, the question here is about determining what is and what should be the regulator of production, distribution and consumption, the management through the single general state plan or the market with its laws of anarchy, spontaneity and competition.

The stand of our Party has always been clear-cut: «The Party has always considered the single general state plan of the economy as the decisive means for the management of the economy in a centralized manner. Based on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the social ownership of means of production, the Party has fought to put into practice all its program for the socialist construction of the country through a single plan of the economy.»¹

By exposing anti-Marxist theorizings and practices our Party has proved with argument that the socialist economy, by its nature is not a market economy and has not made profit as its main aim, that production in our country has a direct social character and is guided by the aim of fulfilling the material and cultural needs of the working people. The economic categories of demand and supply as well as the market relationships are used by the socialist society as levers for the planned management of the economy, for measuring and saving social work, for educating the working people with the feeling of socialist stand towards work and towards common property, for the ever better management of the economy.

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 34, p. 96, Alb. ed.

The implementation of a correct economic line and policy has always ensured that the law of value operates in a limited and rigorously controlled area in our economy. It does not play the role of the regulator of production. Such a stand has strengthened and continuously strengthens the stability of our economy, has barred the paths to inflation, spontaneous development, crises and unemployment.

It is known that the socialist economy is directed and develops on the basis of economic laws, and by its own nature, excludes spontaneity and inflation. However, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that these laws do not operate in an automatic manner, they find application through the activity of people, and when their demands are not properly known and complied with, the danger arises for the emergence of partial phenomena of spontaneity and inflation in the socialist economy. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha has continuously stressed the need for everyone to thoroughly know the demands of the economic laws of socialism and to apply control on the amount of work and consumption rigorously. He considers these as the two main keys to the true socialist economy. From this point of view, planning should not be limited only to material production, but should cover its value and effectiveness, the distribution and consumption of material blessings, which, in the final analysis, are decisive for and determine the distribution of work, the material and financial means, to the branches and sectors of the economy, the position which the classes, strata and individuals occupy in the appropriation of material blessings created.

From the documents of the Party and the

Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha it emerges clearly that the management of our economy has always been characterized by unwavering implementation of the great principle of democratic centralism. This principle which is indispensable for the socialist economy, stems from the nature and character of the socialist economic relations, from the economic-organizational function of the socialist state. The Party has pursued and continues to pursue a policy which has enabled the state to concentrate in its hands the main links of the economy: means of production, financial sources, internal and external trade, the system of wages and prices, monetary circulation, which in the long run, are the main pillars supporting the centralized management of the economy.

Our Party has always taken account of the Leninist thesis according to which, in order to judge about the economic relations we must not proceed from juridical forms, but from the real economic relations. Our socialist economic and social relations are such that open the broad road to the active participation of the masses in the management of the economy, as in the entire life of the country. Therefore centralism in our people's economy, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, is «... profoundly democratic, socialist centralism which best combines unified state management with organized initiative and participation of the masses.»¹ This broad and effective participation of the masses in the socio-economic life of the country is fresh proof of the fact that the working people are masters in their own country.

The theoretical thinking of our Party in these

1 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 34, p. 94, Alb. ed.

fields and the practice of socialist construction in our country refute with arguments and concrete facts both the anarchic-syndicalist preachings about the decentralization of the economy and the renunciation of its management by the socialist state, which the Yugoslav revisionists have spread, and the bureaucratic preachings and practices of the Soviet revisionists about the alienation of the masses from the management of the economy.

Self-reliance — a basic principle for the construction of socialism

The PLA has considered the principle of self-reliance as a law that operates permanently and in an all-round manner in the liberation wars, in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution, in the construction and defence of socialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha has the merit not only of having affirmed this principle in the conditions of a small country encircled by savage imperialist and revisionist enemies, as our country is, but also of defending it in face of attacks of all the scribes of the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism, who try to justify both the predatory ambitions of the superpowers and the economic and political submission to international capital. According to this principle, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that, «...the internal factor in the revolution and the socialist construction is decisive, and the people should rely on their own forces in every action.»¹

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1969-1970*, p. 214, Alb. ed.

Our experience shows clearly that any independent, sovereign socialist state should mobilize the entire people and define its economic policy correctly, should take all the measures in order to exploit all the assets of the country and administer them properly and most rationally in the interest of its own people, without permitting others to plunder them.

Our Party has worked persistently and systematically in order to ensure that the principle of self-reliance does not remain a general slogan, but finds concrete application in all the work of our socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 8th Congress of the Party that Albania is the only country in the world which develops and marches ahead on the road of socialism without any kind of aid and credit from abroad, because we have worked in time for this decisive step. Our internal and external enemies, in agreement and collusion with each other, have tried through pressure and sabotage to put us off this correct road of salvation, have tried to impede and sabotage the development of the key branches of the economy, especially the oil and mining industry, metallurgy and agriculture. But they have broken their necks against the correct line of the Party and have never managed to displace the axis of its economic policy.

On the basis of this policy which our Party has followed consistently and unwaveringly, in these four decades of the people's state power, Albania has marched steadily on the road of independent economic development, of strengthening the defence capacity and the political independence of the country. Such development has

nothing in common with autarky, as those who have never wished socialist Albania well accuse us and have tried without success to impede and subjugate it. By economic independence our Party understands and realizes in practice, ensuring of the things indispensable for the extended socialist production such as oil and electric energy, steel and spare parts with its own forces, with internal accumulation; ensuring the products needed for the living of the people such as bread, food and clothing, with its own forces; ensuring occupation with work of all the active population within the country, ensuring the balance of exports and imports which are in a position to support the dynamic development of the economy.

The sanctioning by Constitution of the refusal to take any kind of aid and credit from the capitalist-revisionist countries, from their international organizations and from monopolies, is by no means seclusion, but an objective imperative for any genuine socialist country. The facts have shown quite clearly that all those former socialist countries which accepted aid and credits from the imperialists failed to safeguard their political and economic independence.

The historical experience of our socialist construction shows that thanks to the correct and bold orientation of the Party to rely on our own forces, our country has coped with success with the savage economic blockade and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, has preserved its complete national independence and sovereignty. The Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, have never been caught unprepared and have never kowtowed before the imperialists, the Yu-

goslav, Soviet or Chinese revisionists, but have continued the monumental work of the construction of socialism triumphantly.

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Marxism-Leninism teaches that practice is the criterion of truth also for the laws of development and the line and policy pursued. This truth is as clear as the light of day in the reality of our socialist economy which flourishes and develops ceaselessly day by day. This reality is a complete confirmation in practice of the correctness of the economic line and policy worked out with wisdom and farsightedness by our glorious Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha, is the result of the titanic struggle and work of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and all the working people of our country for the consistent implementation of this ever triumphant Marxist-Leninist line.

ON THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN ALBANIA

In implementing the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner and summing up the rich experience of our own practice and the international revolutionary movement, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have worked out, as for all the other problems of scientific socialism, also a number of problems of capital importance which lie at the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle. The generalizing value of these problems consists not only in the defence, argumentation and further deepening of the theses and ideas which the classics of Marxism-Leninism have placed at the foundation of their work, but also in their concrete implementation in the life of our country. The practice of socialist Albania is a complete confirmation of the theoretical thinking of the PLA and a brilliant example of the

Marxist-Leninist logic with which it has analysed problems, situations, objective and subjective factors, and the dialectics of our social development.

It is likewise a merit of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha that, with Marxist-Leninist maturity, with revolutionary courage and creative ability, they have posed the problem of the cognition and summing up of the regressive process that took place in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, from which the Party has drawn the conclusion that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established as a result of the socialist revolution, but it can also subsequently degenerate and be liquidated through revisionism, the main weapon of the peaceful counter-revolution. However, the experience of socialist Albania proves that the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the return to capitalism are not decreed by fate. If the teachings of Marxism-Leninism are defended and consistently implemented, the cause of socialism becomes unconquerable and the dictatorship of the proletariat can withstand all storms.

I. The PLA on the indispensability and ways of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat over the whole historical period up to communism

Considering the problem of state power as the fundamental problem of the revolution, our Party from its creation has paid particular attention and made a new, theoretical and practical

contribution to the solution of this problem in the revolutionary road and in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country.

In its content and organization, the revolutionary state power in our country followed the example of the Paris Commune and the Soviets, but it also bore an original stamp which stemmed from the anti-imperialist and democratic character of the revolution and the particular function of the national liberation councils as organs of the union and struggle of the people and organs of the people's democratic state power. A peculiarity of this state power was that, in its character and essence, it did not represent simply a democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary forces, but also a state power which had the dictatorship of the proletariat in its embryo.

The deep-going revolutionary socio-political processes that took place in our country during the National Liberation War and which led to a profound political and class differentiation between the people and the exploiting classes, to the complete and final destruction of the political power and the reactionary organizations of these classes, also created the objective premises for the new democratic state power to carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat immediately after the liberation of the country. The correct political line of the CPA was the decisive subjective factor in this field. The Party knew not only how to exploit these premises in favour of the revolution, but also, as the only leading force and the direct organizer of the National Liberation War, never accepted to share its leadership with any other organization or

elements of the bourgeoisie, and resolutely fought against the pressure and attempts of the internal and international reaction, and especially Anglo-American reaction, which tried to bring the representatives of the reactionary landlords and bourgeoisie back to power.

The originality of the creation and development of the revolutionary state power in our country, compared with some countries of Eastern and South-eastern Europe, is that our state, which emerged from the people's revolution, has been right from the beginning a dictatorship of the proletariat, but realized in a new political form, that of people's democracy, the discovery of which marked a new contribution to the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fact that the state power of people's democracy as early as the National Liberation War relied on a broad social base which included in its structure the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the other patriotic and democratic forces of the country, a structure conditioned by the broad political platform of this struggle, by the anti-imperialist and democratic character of the revolution, represents another important peculiarity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The experience of our country shows that the degree of strength and solidity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in countries in which the peasantry constitutes a considerable mass of people depends on the solidity and constant strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. The deep-going revolutionary transformations of a socialist character which have been carried out in our countryside thanks to the correct line and

policy of the Party, have given the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which has become a socialist class, a new content which has led to a new qualitative strengthening of the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, besides this alliance, which lies at the foundation of our socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat with us relies on a broader base, the unity of the people as a powerful motor force, which has gone on constantly broadening and strengthening parallel with the essential changes of a socio-economic and ideopolitical character that have taken place in the base and the superstructure of our society, especially with the transition to the complete construction of socialist society. From this standpoint, the polemic of our Party against the theorizings and practices of the Chinese revisionists who, while distorting the class character of the dictatorship of the proletariat, attribute to it an alien, anti-socialist base which includes even the national bourgeoisie, is of particular importance of principle.

The PLA has defended and developed further the Marxist-Leninist concept of the political system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of great generalizing value is especially its experience in the creation of a broader and more comprehensive concept of the role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only leading political force of the state and society. The fact that in this system the Party of the working class stands on top of the pyramid, as a particular affirmation of the principle that without its direct, sole and indivisible leadership there is and can be no dictatorship of the proletariat, represents not only a fundamental

law and demand of Marxism-Leninism, but also the fundamental guarantee of the class content of the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the very existence of democracy in the socialist state.

The theorizings of the Yugoslav revisionists who conceive the Party as a «merely ideological factor» and not as a «state factor» under the pretext that otherwise the decisive role of the masses of producers would be negated and the party bureaucratized, or of the Soviet revisionists who declare that in the conditions of «developed socialism» the party loses its class character and is transformed into a «party of the whole people», are nothing other than attacks from anarcho-syndicalist and anti-Marxist positions on the leading role of the proletarian party in socialist society, attempts at justifying the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party has also refuted the bourgeois-revisionist concept of so-called «political pluralism» in the conditions of socialism, which is preached by the revisionist parties of the West as opposed to the «Stalinist» thesis of the «only» party, under the pretext that it is allegedly in contradiction to socialist democracy, etc. In exposing the falseness of this theory, Comrade Enver Hoxha considers the existence for a long time of other political parties in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat nonsense, absurdity and opportunism, especially after the construction of the economic base of socialism because of the fact that such a thing would serve only the enemy, the representatives of the exploiting classes or their leftovers, to share state power among themselves and bring about the

degeneration and liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the theoretical thinking of our Party stands out the profound scientific argumentation of the organic link existing between dictatorship and democracy, and the defence of this relationship in the present ideological struggle. In affirming this dialectical unity, our Party points out that the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be conceived without true democracy for the masses, just as the broadening of socialist democracy cannot be conceived without the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party considers the deepening of socialist democracy as a fundamental political condition for the realization of the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the general road for its defence and ceaseless strengthening, and the broad participation of the masses in governing the country as the fundamental direction of democracy, as one of the more important factors for the defence of our state and society against the threat of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

Adhering to these principles, our Party has rejected the views of the revisionists who create a gap between dictatorship and democracy under the pretext that there can be no democracy without doing away with the dictatorship of the proletariat. For their part, the Yugoslav revisionists consider the dying away of the socialist state as the main road for the development of the so-called «direct democracy», while the Soviet revisionists consider the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a condition sine qua non for the development of socialist democracy. However, the weakening and, then,

liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and in other former socialist countries led not to the strengthening, but to the liquidation of socialist democracy.

The development and broadening of socialist democracy, the ever more active participation of the masses in the governing of the country, does not exclude the use of force on the part of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat against the enemies of socialism. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have pointed out the absolute necessity of this function, along with other functions, of the dictatorship of the proletariat also after the liquidation of the exploiting classes. Despite the limitations which this function is subject to, and this is obvious, it does not disappear but lives on during the whole period of transition to communism, not only to quell the resistance of the leftovers of the exploiting classes and any other hostile activity of the external and internal enemies, but also to combat the new bourgeois and anti-socialist elements that emerge in the process of the class struggle within the country. This function becomes even more important in the conditions of the great, savage and all-round pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world encircling us.

The links and mutual conditioning between dictatorship and democracy find their concrete expression in the implementation of the principle of democratic centralism. Our Party has devoted particular care to the correct understanding and implementation of this principle, not only because it is the fundamental principle of the construction and functioning of the socialist state and social mechanism, but also to prevent any misunder-

standing and distortion that may emerge in the relationship between centralism and democracy. Life has proved that any absolutization of centralism and underevaluation of democracy leads to bureaucratic centralism, to sectarianism and political adventurism, as happened in the Soviet Union where the revisionists established their bureaucratic dictatorship as a weapon for the rule of the new bourgeois class over the masses. Any absolutization of democracy and underevaluation of centralism leads to opportunism and anarcho-syndicalist liberalism, disintegration and degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The example of the so-called self-administration of the working people and «direct democracy of the masses», which the Yugoslav revisionists preach, shows what abandonment of proletarian centralism leads to.

The implementation of the line of the masses and their many initiatives and movements in diverse fields of social activity have served, and continue to serve, not only as an active revolutionary method for the implementation and practical verification of the political line of the Party, but also as an indispensable condition for the process of socialist construction not to be transformed into a bureaucratic-administrative process, but to remain always the living and conscious deed of the creativeness of the masses led by the Party.

A great merit of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha is that, while defining the struggle against liberalism and bureaucracy as «one of the more important directions of the class struggle», they have made an important contribution to the understanding of their essence and the objective

and subjective causes of their emergence, of their class andgnoseological roots as world outlooks and methods, as idealist and reactionary ways of thinking and acting which are in flagrant contradiction with the interests of the people, and with the nature and historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The PLA has not allowed the creation of a gap between acceptance in theory of the threat of bureaucracy and liberalism and the practical struggle against them. The principal aim of this struggle has been and remains the establishment of correct relations between cadres and the masses, the placing of people, and especially cadres, in such conditions as to prevent their degeneration, the taking of such practical measures as to prevent the fossilization of the Party, cadres, and state administration so that the state power not only gains ever greater leading and executive abilities, but, shaking off the dust of liberalism and bureaucracy, draws ever closer to the masses, is placed under their full control, while allowing no apathy and indifference, old concepts and prejudices on the state, the people in the state administration, and their competences to strike root among the masses. The definition of the position of cadres not only from above, but also from below, the raising of their giving account to a general norm and the placing of their entire activity under the rigorous control of the working class and masses, the narrowing of the gap between lower and higher wages, the systematic participation of cadres in production work together with the masses, their circulation from the centre to the base and from the base to the centre, the abolishment of military ranks, etc.,

all this speaks of a new historic experience which has already affirmed itself with us and which enriches the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the control by the masses from below and, in the first place, on direct worker and peasant control constitute a contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism for the development of socialist democracy and the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party has demanded and demands that this control should be understood ideologically and politically, not only as an objective law and principle of our social and state life, as a vivid expression of socialist democracy in action and an active revolutionary method to carry the implementation of the decisions and directives of the Party through to the end, but also as an effective means to oppose bureaucracy and liberalism, and as one of the main guarantees to ward off the danger of revisionism and a return to capitalism.

The PLA defends and develops further the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the highest and final type of state in the history of mankind. Through the summing up of the positive experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also of the negative experience of its revisionist degeneration in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries, in the theoretical thinking of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha the scientific Marxist-Leninist conclusion is reaffirmed that the question of state power remains the fundamental question of the revolution, not only when the struggle goes on for the seizure of power and

immediately after its seizure, but also when the struggle is waged for its defence and consolidation over the whole period of the construction of socialism until the complete and final triumph of communism on a world scale.

The existence and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat during this whole historical period is linked with the existence of classes and the class struggle within the country and on an international scale, with the existence of the contradiction between the socialist road and the possibility of a return to capitalism, and with the need for its solution. The Soviet revisionists try to justify their theory according to which «the dictatorship of the proletariat ceases to be necessary before the state dies away» and the transition to communism is achieved, not through the dictatorship of the proletariat, but through «the state of the whole people», a state which, according to them, loses its class character. However, the thesis they put forward in order to defend their theory, namely, that with the disappearance of the exploiting classes the socialist state ceases to be a weapon of the political rule of one class over the other, does not mean in the least that the rule of the working class over the various enemies of socialism ceases to exist, that its leadership over the other classes of the socialist society ceases to exist, because there is no state above and outside classes, there is no classless state. The «state of the whole people» suits the Soviet revisionists to justify the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its replacement with the new bourgeois state, because, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, the state in the

Soviet Union «...is no longer of the people, but a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie».¹

Comrade Enver Hoxha has uncovered and exposed the anti-Marxist and anarcho-syndicalist essence of the concepts of the Yugoslav revisionists on the «self-administrative» socialist state as a capitalist theory and practice. He has refuted the views that separate socialism and the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the notion of the state, the anarchist absurdity of considering the «rule» of the working class as a rule which should not take state form, being only one of the so-called phases socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat go through, initially as «state socialism» and «bureaucratic state» or «bureaucratic etatism» and then as «genuine humane socialism» and «direct democracy», etc. Regardless of the unscrupulous demagoguery resorted to by the Yugoslav revisionists, their «self-administration» and the organs they have set up for its realization are nothing other but an attempt to split the working class and pit its diverse detachments up against each other, a big hoax, as Comrade Enver Hoxha characterizes it, about the working class being in command, while in fact it only toils for the new bourgeoisie of officials, bureaucrats, and others who lead and rule.

Likewise, the theory of the Chinese revisionists on «the continuation of the revolution in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat» preached by Mao Tse-tung and his followers, a theory which is based on the existence of an-

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 241, Eng. ed.

tagonistic classes until communism is built, is nothing but a justification of the wrong opportunist line pursued in China and which has led not to the liquidation of the old exploiting classes, but to the emergence of a new bourgeois class.

As for the Eurocommunists, they have abandoned the term «dictatorship of the proletariat» even formally and advertize the theory of a pluralist «socialist» democracy, a «transformed» and «reformed» bourgeois state which is based on the army, police and other organs of bourgeois oppression, which allegedly are democratized, etc. However, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in his work, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», to claim that with such a hybrid state one can oppose the monopolies and open the road for democratic and socialist transformations is not only an absurdity but also a complete political and ideological distortion which is intended to condemn the proletariat and the other working masses to perpetual slavery.

II. The PLA on the class struggle as an objective law and the main motor force in socialist society

The transition of our country to the new phase of the complete construction of socialism, which after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such is characterized by a new class structure comprised of two socialist classes — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the new socialist intelligentsia, posed

a number of new problems linked with the class struggle at this stage to which the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have found solutions that represent a creative development of the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Among the more important conclusions drawn by our Party from the summing up of the experience of the class struggle on a national and international scale, and especially from the retrogressive process that took place in the Soviet Union and in other former socialist countries, is that the class struggle remains an objective law also after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such, up to communism, the main motor force that drives forward the revolution and the construction of socialism, that defends the Party, the state and the whole country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the re-establishment of capitalism, that purifies the consciousness of the working people and strengthens their proletarian spirit. The affirmation of this Marxist-Leninist thesis refutes the views of the modern revisionists who have proclaimed the class struggle in socialism obsolete and overcome under the pretext that, as the exploiting classes have been liquidated as such, there is allegedly no object for the class struggle and, as a consequence, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, either.

The uncovering by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha of the sources and causes of the class struggle in socialism, of the interlacing of objective and subjective factors, has particular importance. The existence of the leftovers of the exploiting classes, the hostile imperialist-revision-

ist encirclement, the leftovers of the past in the consciousness of people and the emergence of new anti-socialist elements represent some of the objective premises of the class struggle in socialism which also determine its main directions. *«As long as the class struggle continues, as long as the hostile bourgeois pressure from within and without exists,»* says Comrade Enver Hoxha, *«the danger of the emergence of new enemies and of their activity against socialism continues to exist.»*¹

The liberal stands towards alien bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences until they grow worse and turn into a regressive ideological trend, the creation of ever greater differentials in income and the ever greater deepening of socio-economic distinctions between classes and types of work, represent some of the political, economic and ideological factors which were present and active in the life of the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries and which led to the emergence of the retrogressive process, the privileged strata and a new bourgeois class in those countries. However, this danger is not decreed by fate, it can be avoided. And this is fully proved by the experience of socialism in Albania where not only have the exploiting classes been liquidated long ago, but with the revolutionizing measures that have been taken and are constantly being taken, a great struggle has been and is being waged to create such conditions as to block all paths to the hostile activity of the enemy and to prevent the emergence of new exploiting classes.

It is the merit of the PLA and Comrade

¹ Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 111, Eng. ed.

Enver Hoxha to have pointed out the necessity and importance of the formation of a more complete and broader concept of the class struggle in socialism as a struggle which is waged not only against the external and internal enemy, but also amidst the people and in the party, as a struggle which must be waged constantly, everywhere and by everyone.

A Marxist-Leninist or revisionist, a revolutionary or opportunist stand towards the class struggle in socialism is connected with the interpretation of the two types of contradictions: antagonistic and non-antagonistic, in socialist society. A correct conception of this question has great importance to wage the class struggle correctly, without falling either into opportunism or sectarianism. Our Party accepts that in socialism there are two types of contradictions — antagonistic and non-antagonistic. However, only the non-antagonistic contradictions are typical. Their non-antagonistic character stems from the nature of the socialist order as a social order based on common ownership of the means of production, on the community of the fundamental economic and political interests of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, on relations of mutual aid and collaboration existing between them, on the unity of the people around the Marxist-Leninist Party. At the same time, our Party supports the thesis that antagonistic contradictions do not disappear with the liquidations of the exploiting classes, but they continue to exist along with non-antagonistic contradictions. They do not stem from the socialist relations of production, but are a product of the vestiges of the old bourgeois society within the country and of

the pressure of the capitalist-revisionist encirclement outside it.

Negating antagonistic contradictions after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, as the Khrushchevite and other revisionists do, is in complete contradiction with the objective reality and represents nothing but a variant of the well-known opportunist theory of the «dying away» of the class struggle and the «peaceful integration» of capitalist elements into socialism, which suits the revisionists in order to cover up their opportunist line of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to justify the revisionist counter-revolution.

Hence, the class struggle must be waged both against the enemy and amidst the people. It must not be forgotten that non-antagonistic contradictions in socialist society, if they are not dealt with and resolved correctly, may turn into antagonistic contradictions. This depends also on the methods employed for their solution. The contradictions with the enemy are resolved only through the method of violence. To try to resolve them by other means is sliding into idealism, religious softness and opportunism, renouncing the class struggle. The degree, forms, and sternness of the violence and suppression depend on the resistance and activity of the enemy.

In the documents of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha the main ways and forms for the solution of non-antagonistic contradictions are defined, with the method of conviction being particularly emphasized, according to the principle that the malady, the alien ideology, must be combated while doing everything to heal the patient. However, the use of the method of persuasion is not the «golden key» to the auto-

matic solution of all problems. Persuasion and education, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, are not sufficient in themselves and, according to the case, must be accompanied also with organizational, administrative, technical and economic measures.

The correct solution of social contradictions is closely linked also with the question of the unity of the people. This unity is not in contradiction with the class struggle, on the contrary, it is tempered and strengthened through the class struggle against the enemy and amidst the people. Outside the class struggle and without the class struggle neither the overcoming of contradictions nor the strengthening of unity can be conceived. To take the question of unity outside the class struggle, to deny the class struggle and non-antagonistic contradictions in socialist society, for the sake of unity as the opportunists of all hues do, means to lull the political and ideological vigilance of the Party and the working people to sleep, to undermine unity and the cause of socialism.

By opposing one-sidedness in the waging of the class struggle in socialism, the PLA affirms the thesis that after the liquidation of the exploiting classes the class struggle is directed not only against the external enemy, as the revisionists make out, but also against the internal enemy, which must not be forgotten, both when the question is about the leftovers of the overthrown exploiting classes and about the new enemies. However, the external enemy and the influence of the imperialist-revisionist world which encircles us must not be undervalued, either. It is the great merit of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to

have done a great and persistent work for the correct understanding of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, considering it a real, hostile and active threat which exercises constant and all-round pressure on our country. In particular, the Party has pointed out the threat of the ideological pressure as a direct means for the realization of the peaceful counter-revolution. The essence of this aggression, as defined by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is the incitement of liberalism all along the line which is the more concentrated expression of political and ideological opportunism which, through the renunciation of the class struggle and its replacement with peaceful coexistence and a hostile ideology, has as its main aim to bring about the degeneration of the Party, the state and the whole socialist order. This conclusion of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha is among the more important theses of the theoretical thinking of our Party and its very valuable contribution to the enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the class struggle.

Likewise, the PLA supports with scientific argument the thesis that there exist a close connection, co-ordination and collaboration between the internal and external fronts of the struggle of the class enemy, based on the common anti-communist ideology and the need for mutual assistance in the struggle against the Party and the socialist order. This was proved once again by the uncovering of the links and collaboration between the capitalist and revisionist states and the hostile groups of putschists and plotters condemned by the Party, especially the recent uncovering and smashing of the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu and his gang. At the same time, to face up to

this united front of the enemies, the Party has issued instructions and taken all the necessary measures to strengthen our internal front in all directions — in defence and the economy, in policy and ideology, while always consistently waging the class struggle.

By upholding the view that in socialism the class struggle develops in an all-round manner, interlaced in its three main fronts — political, economic and ideological, the Party opposes the thesis that, with the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the class struggle develops only or mainly on the ideological front. Experience shows that at this stage, too, the struggle on the political front remains always at the centre of the class struggle. This struggle has decisive importance because it is a struggle for state power, a struggle over the question whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be maintained and strengthened, or it will degenerate and be liquidated. Regardless of the fact that in different stages particular forms of the class struggle become more acute, it must be waged simultaneously on the three fronts political, economic and ideological. Its toning down on one front spells deviation from the Marxist-Leninist theory, because it brings about the weakening of the whole class struggle.

In the theoretical thinking of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha the argumentation from Marxist-Leninist positions of the struggle on the ideological front occupies the main place. The great conclusion they draw from historical experience is that the victories of the revolution in the political and economic fields cannot be considered guaranteed without the triumph of the revolution in the ideological field as well. The

successful waging of this struggle has decisive importance because, in the last analysis, it has to do with the question whether socialism and communism will be built and the restoration of capitalism avoided, or the doors will be flung open to the spread of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and the return to capitalism will be allowed.

The revisionist theoreticians, even when they are obliged to talk about the need for the ideological struggle in socialist society, treat it in an academical and one-sided manner, as a struggle which is waged only amidst the people against some unimportant leftovers of alien ideologies which do not constitute any threat to the socialist order. However, underevaluation of the struggle against alien leftovers and stains in the consciousness of the working people had catastrophic consequences for the Soviet Union and some other countries. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have pointed out that this is the broadest and most complex front of the class struggle, because it develops in the economic, social and political fields, both against enemies and amidst the people, both amidst the working class and within its party. Peaceful revisionist counter-revolution begins, as a rule, in the ideological field and arrives then at the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the capitalist degeneration of the whole socialist order.

To prevent this retrogressive process from developing, our Party has not only made clear the ideological sources, the social roots and the social danger of alien manifestations and stands, but has also organized the work and struggle in such a way as, as Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs, «...to

create amongst people and in society such a world outlook, customs, feelings, tastes, ethics and revolutionary philosophy as to allow neither the revival nor the spread of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois concepts.¹ At the same time, it has always kept alive the spirit of mass actions and great ideological movements which have scored great successes in the struggle against the ugliest manifestations of alien ideologies.

The class struggle is carried out also in the ranks of the party of the working class. As a living political organism, the Party is characterized by unity which is the source of its strength and invincibility. However, without the struggle to overcome the contradictions that emerge in its bosom, there can be neither true unity and revolutionary development of the Party, nor genuine revolutionary education of communists. In this aspect, the class struggle in the Party for preserving and strengthening its unity is not only an inevitable objective phenomenon, but also an absolute necessity for the very existence of the Party, for the continuation of its leading role and constant revolutionization.

The class struggle in the Party is waged in two main fields; on the one hand, against anti-party deviationist and factionalist elements and disguised enemies who are the main cause of the weakening of unity in the party and, on the other hand, against the influence and leftovers of alien ideologies among communists, which are in contradiction to the line, principles and proletarian norms of the Party and harm its unity.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has refuted the Maoist

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1974-1975*, p. 79, Alb. ed.

thesis considering the party as an arena of classes and class struggle between two roads, as an organization in which both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, «the proletarian staff» and «the bourgeois staff», participate and in which two lines exist. Characterized by a monolithic unity of thinking and action, the party has and cannot have a line other than the Marxist-Leninist line.

The PLA supports the thesis that the class struggle in socialism does not develop on a straight line, but through zigzags and ups and downs. The ups and downs in the class struggle take place within the objective development of the class struggle and their degree of intensity is linked with the questions over which this struggle is concretely waged, with the particular moments, with the internal and international situation, with objective conditions and subjective stands. We are against both the artificial toning down and the artificial exacerbation of the class struggle. Nor do we forget that the enemy, even when it keeps a low profile and makes a temporary retreat under the shattering blows and heavy defeats it suffers, never renounces its aim to wipe us out. On the one hand, this calls for the class struggle, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us and as our Party has done during its whole revolutionary life, to be developed not with empty sentimental slogans, but with an iron hand and heart, with maturity and proletarian partisanship, not with empty moralizing and in silence, but with revolutionary thoughts, judgements and vigorous actions. On the other hand, it demands that we should ceaselessly strengthen our revolutionary vigilance and that, in the development of the class struggle, keep the initiative always in our

hands so as to be always in positions of attack and constantly deepen the revolution, while undermining more and more the positions of the enemy, and this not in defence, in passivity, awaiting for the enemy to strike.

These conclusions of our Party are directed against both the opportunist and the sectarian stands in the development of the class struggle. These stands are equally dangerous for the destinies of the revolution and socialism, especially when the danger is undervalued and the struggle against either of them is toned down. As a whole, these teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha are a dialectical reflection of the class struggle, which helps develop it always correctly and consistently.

The revolutionary experience of the PLA and the negative experience of some other parties indicate that it is of vital importance for the class struggle to be waged, not only from above, by the party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also from below, by broadly and actively drawing the masses into this struggle, by implementing the line of the masses. This is the surest road to block all paths to the threat of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, as well as to ensure the revolutionary education and tempering of the masses themselves. Waging the class struggle only from above, even if the working class wields state power, is fraught with dangerous consequences, because it throws the masses into political indifference and apathy, as shown by the experience of the Soviet Union and some other former socialist countries.

The class struggle in socialist society represents an objective law. But it must not be left

to spontaneity, on the contrary, we, the Party, the state power, the working class and the masses, carry it out in a conscious manner. Here the leadership of the Party has decisive importance. The fact that our Party has faithfully abided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the laws of development of the class struggle has resulted in our struggle not knowing any defeats, but developing always successfully and carrying our socialist society always forward.

THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE WORK OF THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

The successful development of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country is one of the major achievements of historic importance of the Party of Labour of Albania. The road of this revolution, like the entire work for the construction of our socialist society, has been illuminated by the immortal teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the theoretical work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The great experience of our country in the development of the ideological and cultural revolution is an important contribution of national and international value which our Party has made to the theoretical treasury of Marxism-Leninism. The theoretical work of Comrade Enver Hoxha throws light on all the fundamental problems connected with the historical indispensability of the ideological and cultural revolution, its contents and functions, the roads and methods of its development and direction. In all its struggle for the socialist transformation

of the culture and ideology of society, our Party has considered the ideological and cultural revolution as one of the general laws of the construction of socialism.

From its founding and throughout the whole of its existence our Party has attached special attention to the problems of the spiritual life of the people, their education, culture and its development. The questions of the ideological work and culture have always been considered and assessed, in the theoretical platform worked out by the Party, in their close connection with the revolution and its tasks. These questions arose in all their sharpness from the time of the National Liberation War. Since then Comrade Enver Hoxha showed that one of the preferred means of the foreign invaders to keep our people under their yoke were ideological diversion and cultural aggression, in order to fight the national culture of our people, to keep them in great cultural backwardness. Our Party showed that the only road to raise the people out of their deep economic and cultural backwardness, to win freedom and independence, to emancipate them spiritually and to introduce them into the broad road of all-round progress, was the road of the National Liberation War, the road of the popular revolution. During the National Liberation War and especially after the establishment of the people's state power, the Party fought to introduce the revolutionary ideology among the masses of working people, worked for the education of the new man with the new proletarian world outlook and morality and took a series of measures for the development of education and culture. On this question it has been guided by the Marxist-Lenin-

ist principle that without inculcating the socialist ideology in the consciousness of the masses and without creating a new culture, the cause of the construction of socialism in Albania could not be carried forward. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «Our people need more bread, but they also need more culture and education. This culture and education should no longer be a valueless ornament, but must serve the general interest, in order to produce more and better, to raise the standard of living in our country. We need that culture which makes people more capable of working and producing; and we must make this culture and education a weapon of the broad working masses.»¹ It is noteworthy to point out that Comrade Enver Hoxha points out this historical necessity in the beginning of 1946, when Albania was still in the old rags of ignorance and poverty, when it had just begun to heal the wounds of the war.

A profound ideological and cultural revolution, which has radically changed the physiognomy of the spiritual life of society, has taken place in the process of the construction of socialism in our country. In the course of it a rich experience, which our Party has summed up theoretically, has been accumulated.

The ideological and cultural transformations have been always seen by our Party as an inseparable intrinsic part of the general process of the revolution and socialist construction. The struggle to destroy the old ideologies of the exploiting classes and to equip the masses with the socialist ideology, to eradicate the old psychology and

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 3, p. 305, Alb. ed.

mentality and backward traditions and customs, to cultivate and inculcate the new socialist psychology and mentality instead of them, has emerged in the first plane in all this. Along with it, the wiping out of illiteracy, the raising of the educational level of the masses, the training of the new intelligentsia, cadres and qualified specialists for all fields, the flourishing of literature and arts, the advance of science and modern technique, the creation of a broad network of cultural institutions are closely connected with all the revolutionary socialist transformations, with the economic and social progress, with the formation and education of the new man, with the build-up of the creative intellectual potential of the masses and with the emergence of talents from their bosom.

In the formation of the new man of the epoch of socialism the Party has seen the essence of the great overthrow which the ideological and cultural revolution brings about in the entire spiritual life of society. Only our socialist society, the great epoch of the Party, has created real possibilities for man to be completely liberated and emancipated, for the flourishing of his all-round personality, his inexhaustible talents and creative potential, which the society with exploiting classes smothered and trampled down. The all-round communist education of our new man, his equipment with the bases of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, his broad scientific and cultural formation of contemporary level, the implanting of the fundamental features of communist morality, his formation with sound aesthetic taste and with the new civic education live like revolutionaries», serves this aim.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, by continuously drawing attention to these problems, by analysing our concrete conditions in which these tasks are carried out, have laid stress especially on the great importance of the all-round revolutionary tempering of the new man, his arming with the revolutionary ideals, the embodiment of these ideals in his entire political and social, family and individual life and activity, at work and in life, in everything and everywhere. The militant slogan with a deep and all-round communist content, «We must think, work, and live like revolutionaries», serves this aim.

Guided by this motto, our Party has raised the great problem of education, that the man of socialist society should be guided in life and work by the great interests of the cause of the revolution and socialism. Hence, strong stress has been laid on the problem of the correct combination of the general interest with the personal interest, of material incentives with moral incentives, placing the general interest above the personal interest, giving due priority to moral incentives. These ideas have not remained in the stage of theoretical speculations or propaganda slogans. They have been transformed into a guide for action, rousing all the working people of our country to numerous uninterrupted revolutionary actions.

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The Party has always considered the socialist revolution in the field of ideology the greatest overthrow in the spiritual life mankind has ever

seen, as an historical necessity during the entire period of socialism and the transition to communism, indeed as a necessity which occupies a very important, special place in the struggle for the final victory of the socialist social order. By working out the thesis that a protracted all-round class struggle on a broad front is waged during the period of the complete construction of socialist society, it has underlined the Marxist-Leninist idea on the complexity and acuteness of the ideological class struggle. At the 5th Congress of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: «... as the complete victory of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture has not been secured, the victories of the socialist revolution in the political and economic field cannot be secured and guaranteed, either. Therefore, the struggle on the ideological front, for the complete smashing of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, has to do, in the final analysis, with the question whether socialism and communism will be built and the restoration of capitalism averted, or the door will be opened to the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, and the return to capitalism allowed.»¹

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have reached this conclusion relying on the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and by analysing in a critical manner and comparing the new historical development and experience of our country with those of the other former socialist countries in which the modern revisionists snatched state power from the hands of the working class. The educational work of our

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 34, p. 163, Alb. ed.

Party, built on correct Marxist-Leninist bases and embodied in an all-round fighting action, serves the sure advance towards the deepening of the socialist revolution, at a time when the opposite occurred in the Soviet Union and the other countries in which state power was usurped by the modern revisionists. In his analysis of these processes Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out the bureaucratic spirit and sclerosis in the ideological life of these countries, its divorce from life, from practice, from action, the divorce of the word from the deed. These negative phenomena, too, prepared the terrain for the revisionist bourgeois counter-revolution. The merit of our Party is that it has fought such tendencies always and ceaselessly, in the embryo, never allowing them to crop up.

It is for all these reasons that our Party has been impelled to attaching ever greater attention to the problems of the deepening of the ideological class struggle, to seeing them in the context of the present and future development of the socialist revolution in our country and in the world. On this basis, working out a comprehensive program for the deepening of our socialist revolution, for the all-round revolutionization of the entire life of the country, it has especially dwelt on the need of deepening the ideological revolution together with the cultural revolution, of carrying out the revolutionization of the whole of educative and cultural work, the school, literature and art, etc. It has treated these questions amply in theory. However it has defined, at the same time, the practical measures for gradually putting into practice the tasks that emerge. Therefore it is correct to say that in all these theoretical

considerations and respective actions, the originality of the thinking of our Party and of the revolutionary practice of the socialist construction of our country stand out with special strength. They have found an especially profound and all-round treatment in the last two decades in the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Party has worked out extensively in theory and from the angle of the practical tasks that emerge there from the frontal character of our ideological struggle, its range and its various sources. To do this it has proceeded from the internal conditions of our country and the present-day world development.

In our country socialist ideology is implanted and flourishes in struggle against the many and various forms of the alien ideology of the exploiting classes: patriarchal and religious, feudal, petty-bourgeois, bourgeois and revisionist. This is determined by the historical development of our country in the past and the imprints they have left, especially in the spiritual life of society, by the peculiarities of the development of the revolution and our socialist construction, as well as by the pressure of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement on us.

In these conditions, the socialist ideology affirms itself in struggle against the alien ideological influences of the old and new, internal and external, exploiting classes. Our Party calls this a struggle on both flanks, against conservatism and liberalism. It is a struggle which begins with healing the social and ideological ulcers that come from the depth of centuries and continues with the attack against the confusing and degenerating influences of the present-day bourgeois

and revisionist world, its ideological diversion, a weapon which imperialism and social-imperialism use in order to slowly erode and degenerate our healthy revolutionary body, to take our impregnable socialist fortress with cunning.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has extensively treated the most fundamental problems of our present ideological struggle. The Party has launched the masses into the struggle against all alien ideological manifestations and liberal stands towards them. In this struggle the masses have been ever better armed with the socialist ideology. Marxism-Leninism has practically become the dominant ideology of our society, set the tone for the entire life of the country. This major victory has been sanctioned by law also in our new socialist Constitution. Marxism-Leninism is penetrating ever more deeply in all social milieus, in all the cells of society. But the struggle against alien leftovers and influences will be long and complicated, because there are a number of internal and external factors which foster and nourish them. On account of the social composition of our country in the past and the danger which the pressure of the petty-bourgeois tide poses to socialism in general, the influence of ideology and, especially of the petty-bourgeois psychology, appears to be acute and notnegligible. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has described them, they are the bridgehead which connect and combine all the alien, old and new, internal and external, ideological influences.

In our ideological revolution, especially in the last two decades, the theoretical consideration and practical solutions of some major and complex, historical and present problems, which have al-

ways preoccupied all the peoples of the world, have emerged with special strength and originality.

A unique manifestation, unknown in the history of mankind, is our struggle against religion, our achievements in this field. With the free will of the people, through a powerful and lightning ideological action, all religious institutions in Albania were closed and, subsequently, the activity of the clergy paralysed, thereby creating very favourable new conditions for narrowing the influence of religious ideology, this centuries-old opium for the masses. The new reality created conditions for these achievements to be sanctioned in the new socialist Constitution as profoundly democratic and revolutionary principles, on the basis of which the state recognizes no kind of religion and religious propaganda and activity are prohibited and condemned by law.

Accompanied with the struggle against old prejudices and backward, patriarchal and conservative customs, the smashing of the religious institutions and the religious ideology helped restore and further revolutionize the spiritual life of our people. Nevertheless, the only Marxist-Leninist treatment of the problem is that which puts the stress on the need of continuing, without underrating, the struggle against the manifestations of religious ideology in any form and any kind of leftover, so much more when they are interconnected with old customs that die hard.

The treatment which our Party has made of the problem of the all-sided emancipation of woman is also of great value. Obviously, this is not just an ideological problem, but rather a complex political and economic, social, ideological and cultural problem. However, in the course of

the work for the solution of this problem, the mentality of the exploiting classes about woman as the slave to and proletarian of the man, becomes a Gordian knot. By resolutely cutting this knot, by opening the broad avenues of life to the woman, the Party created the preconditions for the all-round and free development of the personality of woman and for her treatment as the real equal of man in society. It proved with argument the need of dealing a powerful blow especially to old canons, an idea that was followed by a powerful revolutionary movement.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has also dwelt on the idea that in socialism everyone must live to be free and with dignity. This, for its part, requires the creation of a healthy atmosphere of social life, the cultivation not only of the new way of thinking but also of a new way of life, the penetration of the revolutionary ideals also into family relations, the building of correct relations between generations, especially the education of the younger generations with a healthy spirit. All these are fields of life into which the present ruling classes, the bourgeoisie and revisionists in the world want to introduce a morbid spirit, confusion, the poison of degeneration, through all kinds of speculation and forgery. Our Party has proved the necessity that, in this sphere, too, while fighting against the old and patriarchal attitudes, we must also fight any liberal stand towards the present-day noxious influences of a bourgeois and revisionist character.

In its activity the Party has seen the problems of educative work not only from the angle of their content, but also of the methods of their solution, that is, not only as something theoretical,

but also as something concrete. Here the fundamental idea is the linking of the educative activity with life, its realization in the living revolutionary practice. Outside revolutionary practice the educative process becomes academic and illuminist, formal and bureaucratic, becomes sterile theorizing. Proceeding from these considerations in the ideological class struggle the Party has thrown the communists and the masses into action, working out the method of action as a fundamental method in communist education. Actions have served and continue to serve as great schools of the revolutionary tempering of the masses. Through them the masses have learned in practice the concrete roads of realizing the revolutionary ideas, have had a broader and more profound insight of the various practical aspects of life.

The Party has always striven for the implementation of the line of the masses in the ideological struggle and in the educative work, working out the respective forms of its embodiment in life. Criticism and selfcriticism, regular rendering of account before the masses, various confrontations, free discussions and public debates, when used with fruitfulness and not formally, go a long way to engaging the masses actively with the ideological life and developing the ideological class struggle themselves.

This way of approaching and solving the problems of method in the educative work, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have considered as effective means for the application of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses are not only the object of the ideological revolution, but also the subject of it.

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Comrade Enver Hoxha has proved with argument the close connection between the ideological revolution and the cultural revolution. «Our cultural revolution develops and is deepened in unity with the ideological revolution and directly serves it,»¹ he has pointed out. The new socialist culture develops on the basis of the socialist ideology, the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. Outside this base, the place in culture is left free for idealist and anti-scientific, nationalist and cosmopolitan, conservative and liberal deviations and distortions. At the same time, the educational, cultural and scientific activity of a socialist character directly serves the inculcation of the socialist ideology and the Marxist-Leninist world outlook in the masses. These connections are thoroughly proved by our ideological and cultural developments.

The theoretical thinking of our Party has thrown light on the fundamental features, character and physiognomy of our new culture. In the course of the struggle to overcome the cultural backwardness and to ensure the advance of the country in this field, to make this cultural wealth the property of the working people, the Party has always been guided by the fundamental aim of creating a culture with a socialist character with a clear proletarian class content, guided by the Party of the working class, placed completely in the service of the socialist revolution, the struggle for the destruction of the old exploiting society and the construction of socialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 34, p. 176, Alb. ed.

the socialist character is not an outside label of our culture, but one of its essential attributes.

Socialist content, reliance on Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the close connection with the problems of the socialist construction of the country, irreconcilable struggle against alien ideological manifestations, are the fundamental features of our culture. The strengthening of the fighting class spirit of our culture has been realized through continuing struggle against all alien influences, against hostile, opportunist and Trotskyite, liberal and conservative, chauvinist and cosmopolitan, views.

Fighting for the development of new socialist culture, our Party has consistently and creatively applied the Leninist thesis on the revolutionary critical stand towards the values of the world and national cultural heritage of the past and present, in the concrete conditions of our country and the present international developments. It has connected this stand with the strengthening of the national character of socialist culture, which is in complete conformity with the specific features of the period we are going through, which is not a period of the extinction but of the all-round flourishing of nations and their national cultures. In the conditions of the cultural aggression of the superpowers, the bourgeois-revisionist ideological pressure for the «internationalization» of culture, the efforts for the liquidation of other peoples' cultures, especially of the smaller peoples, the teachings of the Party and their concrete application in practice have been of vital importance for our new culture.

According to the teachings of the Party, the

national character of culture is strengthened through the reflection of the original features of our socialist nation, the life of our people in the concrete conditions of the development of socialism. The Party has seen the national character in movement: it develops and is enriched together with the new qualities and features which our socialist nation acquires. On the other hand, the Party has seen the national spirit in close connection with the socialist content.

Our Party has enriched the Leninist idea that inside every culture of the exploiting order there are two cultures, with new generalizations which stem from the concrete conditions of the building of our new culture. Analysing the contents, functions and aims of the cultures of different social classes, it has adopted different stands and has worked out materialist-dialectical, scientific criteria.

Of special importance are the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the stand towards our culture of the past and its traditions, which have carried and transmitted, from generation to generation, the democratic, patriotic and revolutionary aspirations and ideals of the people, have authentically expressed our national being and identity. He has pointed out that our people owe their very existence not only to the armed resistance, but also to the life-giving strength of their material and spiritual culture, which has been one of the means to resist the assimilating pressures of the cultures of foreign invaders and chauvinist states. He has emphasized that in the history of our people, in their culture, as a result of successive foreign invaders and of their wars against them, progressive, patriotic and freedom-

loving traditions have objectively predominated, that these have set the tone for original national developments. For all these reasons, he explains that, «The Party has continuously stressed the need for us to rely on healthy traditions and to cultivate them further. It has brought into relief the great values of the best cultural traditions, the patriotic and democratic popular spirit of them.»¹ However, respect for the positive old traditions of our national culture, their integration and development along with the new socialist culture, are by no means «romanticism», «national narrowness» and «fetish of old ideas», as the ideologists of the superpowers and of the chauvinist forces of every hue, try to make out. This respect is connected with the values of this culture, as an expression of the originality of the national life, the ethnic and class resistance of the working people, their ability to develop along with the new socialist conditions, and in conformity with them.

The process of the building of the new socialist culture and strengthening of its national character implies a two-sided attitude towards the cultural traditions of the past: both the critical appropriation of its positive, progressive and revolutionary aspects, and the irreconcilable struggle with all the negative, old and conservative phenomena, which have expressed the ideology and interests of the reactionary classes. Through this dialectical class stand the new socialist culture has been able to gain an outstanding vitality, based on the assimilation of the positive cultural

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1972-1973*, p. 315, Alb. ed.

heritage of the past, which brings sound values to the socialist culture of our people.

The Party has never conceived the development of the socialist national culture as shutting in its own shell. In its documents the Party has made Marxist-Leninist generalizations about the critical assimilation of progressive world culture. In this context, our Party has always been guided by clear orientations which rely on the illuminating teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the great need for the struggle both against xenomania and xenophobia.

The Party has exposed general retrogressive and reactionary trends of the bourgeois and revisionist culture, and has analysed the phenomena of its degradation and degeneration and its idealist and reactionary class content. Exposing the efforts of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists to cover up and disguise the reactionary content of the degenerate bourgeois-revisionist culture with «modernist» slogans, Comrade Enver Hoxha has proved that in our time to march forward, to support progress and culture means to support, to develop and enrich a culture of a socialist, revolutionary, popular and national character. He has stressed the important conclusion that our culture has nothing to gain from the reactionary bourgeois and revisionist culture. «From this culture we not only have nothing to learn... but we must reject it scornfully and fight it resolutely,»¹ he says.

The Party has made a criticism, based on scientific arguments, of modern revisionists' views

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1972-1973*, p. 321, Alb. ed.

about the role of culture in present-day society, its contents and aims. The Marxist-Leninist analysis which has been made of the reactionary views of the Soviet revisionists, who deny the class struggle in culture after the building of the economic base of socialism, the theses of the Eurocommunists who interpret culture as a supra-class instrument and try to graft the proletarian ideology on the bourgeois ideology, or the theories of the Chinese revisionists about «the blooming of a hundred flowers and competition of a hundred schools», as well as the theories of the Titoite chauvinists who deny the national traditions of the culture of our people, our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia, especially, identifying it deliberately with the so-called «national romanticism», etc, constitutes an important contribution to the enrichment and development of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the present-day conditions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has also made an outstanding contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought in the treatment of the problems which have to do with the popular character of the new socialist culture, confirming the close connection that exists between the socialist character and the popular character of culture. Its popular character has its source in the fact that socialist culture is created by the broad working masses, expresses their fundamental interests, and is placed in their complete service. The popular character of our culture is due to the very democratic nature of our socialist order and the objectives of the socialist ideological revolution. The revolution is made by the masses, and culture is a weapon in their hands for the building of socialism. With their participation in the revo-

lution the masses enrich the socialist contents of culture and develop and consolidate its profoundly democratic spirit. Culture assists the masses to become more aware of their mission in the revolution, inspires them to actions and revolutionary creative activities. The whole process of deepening and consolidating the popular character of socialist culture embodies the orientations of the Party to make culture the property of the masses, a weapon in the struggle for the building of socialism. The democratic character of socialist culture stands out qualitatively in comparison with the democratic spirit of the progressive culture of the past, because it merges into one with its socialist contents. Socialist culture is irreconcilable and opposed to élite, aristocratic forms of culture and to the pseudo-democratic spirit of the so-called «standard», «massive» culture which dishes up a poor cultural substitute, instead of genuine cultural values, to the masses. The Party has established the fundamental features of that new relationship which socialism has created between culture and the masses, according to which the masses are not only the object of culture, but also the active subject of it. It has been proved already that the free participation of the masses in ever greater proportions not only in the consumption of cultural values, but also in their creation, is a law of the development of our socialist society.

At its 6th and 7th Congresses our Party has further worked out the idea of a more comprehensive understanding of culture and the cultured man. Our struggle for culture includes, without exception, all the strata of population, the masses of town and countryside. It covers all fields of

social life. Culture has to do not only with some ethic-moral values and with the mastering of some learning. It implies material and spiritual values, knowledge and education, art and literature, science and technique, political culture and philosophical world outlook, folklore and the professional art. On this basis a many-sided struggle is waged in our country for raising the level of the revolutionary political awareness of the masses, their educational level and their professional culture. All forms of artistic culture, professional and cultivated art, amateur and folklore art, have undergone a development which has no precedent in the past. Besides, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the role and the raising of the cultural level of the working class and about the socio-cultural development of the countryside, constitute a development and enrichment of the ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism about the narrowing of essential distinctions between town and countryside, between mental and physical work, about the role of the working class and the need for increasing its abilities to take part concretely in the direction of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. So, the development on a broad front of all aspects of culture is the great deed of the Party. This has given our new socialist culture its all-round democratic character.

The achievements of the popular education, our science and arts are integrated organically into the all-round flourishing of socialist culture.

In the continuity of the consistent Marxist-Leninist educational policy during the entire period after Liberation, the struggle for the further revolutionization of our school has always been

one of the great ideological and cultural actions of the Party. In this field it has worked out and implemented with success in practice a complete program, thereby further enriching and defending the Marxist-Leninist pedagogical thinking. Here stands out the especially great contribution of Comrade Enver Hoxha. He has laid the stress on the need for a consistent struggle to overthrow alien bourgeois and revisionist reactionary conceptions, old and new, about education and school, and to affirm, instead of them, new revolutionary and socialist conceptions. On this basis the task was set for the further all-round revolutionization of the school, the educational system in general and all its fundamental individual links, the contents of the all-round communist education and its main components, and the whole complexity of forms and methods of teaching and education. In the centre of all this process is the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis of the Party, the hard backbone of our socialist school. The roads to the embodiment of this axis in the teaching-educational activity of our school express the absolute priority of Marxist-Leninist ideological education in all the present-day system of communist education. The efforts for the consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of linking lessons with productive work and physical and military training, through new forms and ways, has special importance and original value not only in theory, but also in practice. The Party sees all the work for the further revolutionization of the school in its close connection with the struggle for its all-round qualitative strengthening, the ceaseless raising of the level and fruitfulness of the teaching-educative process.

An inseparable part of the socialist cultural transformations is the all-round scientific activity. A vigorous technical-scientific revolution is developing under the leadership of the Party in close connection with our ideological and cultural revolution, as an organic component part of the socialist revolution. Equipping the masses with the fundamentals of science and modern technology is connected with their application in socialist production and in all our life, with the all-round progress of the country at rapid rates, with the non-stop advance of science and technology, and with the broadening of the scientific and technical horizons and abilities of our new man. Our Party sees this technical-scientific revolution as the deed of the working masses, fighting any alien élite, technocratic and intellectualist influence, refuting especially the efforts of the bourgeoisie and reformists to make a fetish of it. The technical-scientific revolution can never replace the political and social revolution, cannot solve the ever growing contradictions in the present-day capitalist society. Only socialism, as the practice of our country shows, creates favourable conditions for the harmonization of the social progress with the scientific and technical progress.

Our art and literature develop with ideological purity, strongly relying on the methods of socialist realism and its principles, are revolutionized in harmony with the entire development of the life of the country, thanks to the great solicitude of the Party. This solicitude has brought about the flourishing of all genres of literature and art, a rich literary and artistic creative activity, which has never been seen before. The Party compares the value of this activity with

that of the hydropower plants and big factories. With the communist ideas, with the national physiognomy, with the popular spirit and the high artistic level of their works, our writers and artists have become aides of the Party for the communist education of the masses.

The principled struggle of the Party in defence of the method of socialist realism, both from manifestations of liberalism and schematism in our literature and arts, laying the stress on the dynamic character of this method, considering it in movement, in development, has had special importance in these achievements.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of March 15, 1973¹ and the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party of 1973, especially, have an historic importance for the development of our literature and arts on the correct Marxist-Leninist road, for the strengthening of their proletarian party spirit, for the consolidation of the popular spirit and national character, for averting alien influences of decadent and modern bourgeois-revisionist art. Hence, the further strengthening of the fighting spirit of our writers and artists will raise the ideo-aesthetical level of their creativeness higher and will impel them to treat the major themes of the time, the magnificence and heroic spirit of our new man more comprehensively and thoroughly.

Our Party has always been guided by the materialist-dialectical scientific understanding of the laws of progress in the field of culture. It has seen this progress in the close connections of

¹ See Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 4. The «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 785-811, Eng. ed.

culture with all the processes of socialist development, with its class revolutionary contents and the creative energies of the masses. Our Party has never seen the new culture as something complete and final, a hardened magma which is formed at a certain stage, but as moving lava, an uninterrupted development, a struggle between the old and the new. On this basis our culture has been regarded as a sum total of new values in all fields, but also, as a qualitative change always in development and growth.

Of great importance are Comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas on the special role of culture in the general progress of society, the all-round emancipation of the creative physical and spiritual energies of the broad masses. Very significant in this aspect are Comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas expressed at the 8th Congress of the Party, that «The development and progress of culture means the development and progress of the nation.»¹ Our socialist culture, with its growth and development, has become a great creative force of the people in their work for the complete construction of socialism. There is no sector of life in our society, in which socialist culture as an important and permanent factor of progress is not present. Its values have been materialized in all fields of life, in the new man which the Party has created and in the work of this new man.

The successes of our ideological and cultural revolution have not been the result of a spontaneous process, because the Party had led this revolution with firmness, step by step. Important

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 154, Eng. ed.

Marxist-Leninist scientific generalizations have been made in the orientations of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha about major problems of our spiritual life, and these orientations have been carried out in practice. In this unity between the Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice lies one of the causes which helps the ideological and cultural revolution, led by the Party, to march always forward. In this titanic march forward our aim is, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, to ensure that the ceaseless extension of education and culture and the further revolutionization of them and of all the spiritual life of society always serve the complete spiritual liberation of the working masses, the uninterrupted raising of their cultural level, the flourishing of the personality of our new man, developed in an all-round manner.

This is not the lot that fell to Albania in the lottery of the 20th century, but the lofty aim which our people, with the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha at their head, consciously and with unshakeable confidence, have taken upon themselves to achieve.

SIMON BALLABANI

**THE TEACHINGS OF THE PARTY AND
COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ON THE
LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND
THE DEFENCE OF THE SOCIALIST
HOMELAND**

Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the army and defence and in compliance with the concrete conditions of the country, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have worked out the military line of the Party as an inseparable constituent part of its general line. As a result of the implementation of this Marxist-Leninist military line, today we have a powerful defence, an entirely original military structural organization and a truly popular and revolutionary army with lofty ideo-political and fighting qualities, well trained and equipped with the necessary weapons.

1. The contribution of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of the armed uprising

In the war for the liberation of the country from the fascist occupiers and the triumph of the people's revolution, our Party has consistently abided by the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. It has proceeded from the idea that the decisive factor for national liberation and the triumph of the revolution even in a small country as Albania, both from the political and the military aspect, is the internal factor, whereas foreign aid and support play a secondary role; they only create the favourable external conditions. Summing up the historical experience of our country and of other countries from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA: «The principle of self-reliance has always been a guiding principle of our Party and people since the time of the National Liberation War when we fought under the slogan, 'Freedom is not donated, but won by the people themselves' ... Our Party has always defended the principle that self-reliance is not a temporary policy imposed by circumstances, but an objective necessity for every country, big or small, developed or underdeveloped, a principle applying both in liberation wars and the proletarian revolution, and in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.»¹

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, pp. 70-71, Eng. ed.

It is from this principle of self-reliance that our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha proceeded when they defined the people's general armed uprising as the only correct road for national liberation and for carrying out the people's revolution in our country, without sitting idle in the hope that someone from outside would bring them freedom and socialism. For this, the founding meeting of the Communist Party of Albania assigned the task that: «...we must prepare the people politically and militarily for the general armed uprising, by including all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces in the war.»¹ The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the Albanian people a leadership which realized the political and military unity of the masses of the people, gradually tempered them with a high political consciousness, created the main striking power, the National Liberation Army, as an imperative need for a stern life-and-death struggle which would lead to the liberation of the country and the triumph of the revolution.

As a real people's war, the armed uprising, according to the Marxist-Leninist concept of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, would include all the sound forces of the people and find support and develop in all the territory of the country, in town and countryside, in the plains and mountains.

Even though the war in the cities, in which the occupiers had concentrated their main forces and bases, appeared very difficult, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha attached great impor-

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 27, Tirana 1983, second Alb. ed.

tance, especially in the first phase, to organizing the armed struggle in the city through various fighting actions which had great political repercussions in the population. Apart from this, the city became the most important source of fighters and leading cadres and of various means that the partisan formations needed. However, taking account of the conditions of our country, in which the peasantry not only constituted the majority of the population but had outstanding patriotic and fighting traditions, as well as the advantages which the terrain of the countryside presented for our popular warfare against an enemy superior in men and military technique, the Party did not permit any sort of undervaluation in regard to the organizing of the armed struggle in the countryside, on the contrary, it made the countryside the main arena in which the popular armed uprising developed in the form of partisan warfare, in which the peasantry made up the largest force that filled the ranks of the National Liberation Army.

The teachings that derive from the experience of the close linking of the people's armed struggle in town and in countryside, without underrating any of them, are of great value today. This experience rejects both the Maoist preachings about the «encirclement of the city by the countryside», which put to the sidelines the role of the working class and the working masses of the city, and the practices of the various extreme left and anarchist groups which reduce armed struggle to some isolated sporadic and often adventurous actions in the cities.

By raising the people in the armed uprising against the fascist occupiers and local traitors,

the Communist Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha conceived this not as a series of spontaneous, anarchic and uncontrolled armed clashes, but as a struggle with a high degree of organization, with political and military aims clearly and well defined, which would combine the hurling on the broad masses of the people into the war with the fighting activities of the regular partisan formations, as units of a genuine popular revolutionary army united in a single trend.

The ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the experience of the Communist Party of Albania for the creation of the National Liberation Army of our people constitute an outstanding contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of the popular revolutionary war.

In this question our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha proceeded from the concept that, in order to lead the liberation war of our people and the revolution to victory, which would overthrow the old power of the reactionary exploiting classes and establish the state power of the people, it was necessary to have not just an armed force, but a regular army, politically conscious, as the armed wing of the revolution.

The decisive thing in this was the direct and undivided leadership of the Party in the National Liberation Army. This was realized by sending communists to the partisan formations and territorial commands, through the role of the organizations of the Party, the commissars and vice-commissars and the institution of political sections in them, their close connection with the regional party committees and through other forms. In his instructions to the political vice-commissars,

Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that «...without the organization of the Party in the army we cannot have an army as we want it to be, an army which should carry out its great and delicate mission.»¹ It was a question of great and principled importance that the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was at the same time Political Commissar of the General Staff and later, from the Congress of Përmet, Commander-in-Chief of the National Liberation Army of our people. The undivided leadership of the CPA in the National Liberation Army gave it the revolutionary political consciousness, brought about that this army, after the liberation of the country, was transformed into the armed force of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. During the years of the National Liberation War Comrade Enver Hoxha firmly opposed the views of the Titoites who described the party leadership of the çetas and partisan battalions as «sectarianism». Addressing himself to the envoy of Tito, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «...We do not in any way consider it a mistake, in fact we cannot even distinguish the mistake you see, when we link the çetas and other partisan units closely with the Party. Our Communist Party is the sole creator, the irreplaceable organizer and leader of them.»²

All the military operations of our National Liberation Army, from the fighting actions of the guerrilla units in cities, to large-scale battles of

¹ *Principal Documents of the PLA*, vol. 1, p. 199, Tirana 1971, Alb. ed.

² Enver Hoxha, *The Titoites*, pp. 50-51, Eng. ed.

the partisan forces, had always had a pronounced political character and were aimed not only at securing military victory, but also at achieving important political objectives, raising the political awareness of the popular masses and throwing them into the war, etc. An example of the point is the passage of the partisan divisions to the North, which led to the routing of the forces of reaction and defeated the plans for the partitioning of Albania.

As a revolutionary army with political awareness, led by the Communist Party, our National Liberation Army was also imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Clear testimony of this are its war and great sacrifices to help the peoples of Yugoslavia in the common war against the fascist invaders.

The army built by the Communist Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, which fought not only for the liberation of the country from foreign occupiers, but also for the establishment of a state power which belonged to the people, could not but be an army with a deeply popular character, an army which emerged from the ranks of the broadest sections of the people which filled its ranks more and more each day, an army linked closely with the people and their vital interests, which fought together with the whole people, which defended the people and found support and defence in the people. It was an inseparable part of the insurgent people. In the correct leadership of the Party and in these indissoluble links with the people lay the invincible strength of our partisan army, which gave it the possibility to emerge victorious from the hardest tests such as the great enemy operations. This

is an experience of great importance. In the very close connection between the National Liberation Army and the insurgent people we find the essence of the great idea of the fusion of the army with the whole armed people, which our Party would develop and concretize further in the conditions of socialism.

The National Liberation Army was created by the CP of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the process of the armed struggle of our people and, like the entire war and popular revolution, was built according to the principle of self-reliance, independently of the external factors: it relied on the people for food and shelter; it captured the weapons from the enemy without waiting until the Anglo-American allies dropped them, who contrary to expectations, tried to sabotage its war; its leading cadres were formed in the heat of the war. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha never permitted the units of our National Liberation Army to be placed to the dependence of others, did not let the foreigners make the law in the affairs of the war of our own people. They rejected both the attempts of the Anglo-Americans to transform the armed struggle of our people and our National Liberation Army into an appendage of the strategic plans of the Mediterranean Allied Headquarters, and the Titoites' attempts at creating the so-called Balkan Staff, which would have placed the army and the war of our people under Yugoslav control. Thus, we have to do with an experience of vital importance. Precisely because the war of our people and their revolutionary army were independent, from the military standpoint, from the foreigners, even when they were allies, it was possible to resist the many

pressures and interferences of Anglo-American imperialists and the Titoites, to liberate all our country completely with our own forces, to carry the popular revolution through to victory.

In the question of the creation of the National Liberation Army, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha based themselves on the idea that this must be done in compliance with the objectives pursued by our war and the people's revolution at that time. These major objectives, the development of the general armed uprising, the complete liberation of the country from the occupiers, the destruction of the old power to its foundations and the establishment of the people's state power, could not be achieved with isolated actions of some armed groups, but demanded the building of a true and well organized army on a national scale, with a centralized leadership and strong military discipline. In the implementation of this idea in practice, under the direct leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the National Liberation Army gradually grew from the guerrilla units of cities and the small partisan çetas of the beginning, to big units of a regular army: battalions, brigades, divisions and army corps, in which up to 70 thousand fighters were incorporated, and had its own General Staff (later the General Command) which led the whole army and its fighting activities in all the territory of the country, along with the process of organizing and extending the armed struggle of the people, and the advance towards the general armed uprising and its complete development. Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out to the Congress of Përmet, «The creation of our National Liberation Army in the very difficult conditions of a period

of terrible war is a rare example in history. From the small units without weapons or with old weapons, we succeeded in creating a whole army, armed and disciplined, which has become the terror of the occupier and traitors.»¹

In the course of the war, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, on the experience of the centuries-long wars of our people for freedom and independence, and on the experience accumulated during the development of our partisan war, Comrade Enver Hoxha worked out the strategy and tactic of the armed struggle, which were carried out with complete success by the National Liberation Army and which, later, would become one of the main sources for the creation of our Military Art of People's War for the defence of the socialist Homeland.

It was the strategy and tactic of an active war, always on the offensive, continuously attacking the enemy and avoiding its blows with skill, never accepting agreement and compromise with the occupiers, never giving them a moment of respite, without isolating the popular armed forces somewhere in some remote «support base», in inactivity and without contacts and clashes with the enemy, as was the case in different countries under the influence of the Maoist concepts of «protracted war».

Comrade Enver Hoxha's orientations in this field led all the actions of the armed struggle of the people and of the National Liberation Army, from acts of sabotage, fighting actions and attempts on the lives of enemies in cities, the tactics of the partisan battles, the creation of the

1 Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 2, p. 220, Alb. ed.

liberated zones in the villages, to the frontal war for the liberation of cities and the whole territory of the country. Being informed about the political and military situations that were created and after a deep analysis of them, Comrade Enver Hoxha solved important strategic tasks such as the plan to foil the enemy general offensive in the winter of 1943-1944, to take the initiative from the enemy and to throw the National Liberal Army into the strategic counter-offensive of the spring of 1944, to organize the operation to defeat the enemy offensive of June 1944, and to go over to the general offensive for the frustration of the plans of internal and external reaction, etc. In all these operations Comrade Enver Hoxha chose with clarity the political and military moment for the concentration of forces in the most suitable place and direction in which the main blow was to be given, the character of the manoeuvre, the tactic that would be used, etc. Neither the fascist occupiers and internal reaction, nor the interferences, pressures and behind-the-scene deals of the Anglo-Americans, the Titoites and their secret agents could impede the application of the strategy and tactics the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha had defined, could succeed in impeding the carrying out of the final task of the complete liberation of the Homeland through smashing all the enemy forces.

The ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the experience of our Party in the armed uprising the popular war and the creation of the revolutionary army have great value today, both for the question of the defence of our socialist Homeland and for the present revolutionary liberation movements, because they oppose, from Marxist-

Leninist positions, the various Maoist, Foquist, anarchic, terrorist, and other preachings and practices of the armed struggle, which have brought and continue to bring colossal damage to the cause of revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

2. Our military art of people's war — a creative application and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist military theory

Along with organizing the armed uprising of our people and the creation of the People's Army, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha attached great importance to working out our Military Art of People's War, which was completely developed in the years of the people's state power, as one of the most important factors for the defence of the socialist Homeland against any possible aggression.

Born from the military experience of our Party and people, which has been summed up in the theoretical thinking of Comrade Enver Hoxha, our Military Art of People's War constitutes the creative application and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist military theory in the concrete conditions of our country at the present time. It has the Marxist-Leninist principles in its foundations and is characterized by a series of original features that have derived from the needs of the defence of socialist Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, «Our military art and science are among the most modern ones, because we have

built them on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory, because we have built the strategy and tactics of our army in compliance with the lofty aims of the defence of the Homeland, because we have built them, in the first place, on the experience of our National Liberation War and all the wars which our people have fought in the past, taking account of the strategy and tactics of the enemy.»¹

In conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Military Art of People's War has been conceived by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha as a proletarian class military art, which has as its aim the defence of the gains of the revolution and our socialist Homeland. It is a military art applying only in a just revolutionary defensive war. From this point of view, it is quite the opposite of the military art of the imperialist, capitalist and revisionist states which responds to the conditions of the oppression of the popular masses inside the country and is adapted to launching unjust aggressive wars and invasions against other countries and peoples, which stem from the nature of the bourgeois-revisionist order and of imperialism.

Our Military Art of People's War, like the whole of the line of the Party for the construction and defence of socialism, is based on the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. This is an unshakeable principled position, but it becomes still more important and vital in the conditions of the complete imperialist, capitalist and revisionist encirclement of socialist Albania, when

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1976-1977*, p. 315, Alb. ed.

our country cannot expect foreign military aid. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have quite clearly stressed that we do not base the defence of the country on foreign aid, on international political contingencies, and less so on the «defensive umbrellas» of one or the other superpower and their military blocs which are nothing but traps to enslave the peoples of different countries, or on unprincipled alliances with this or that revisionist country, as the Chinese revisionists suggested. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: «... we base it on the force, heroism and steel resistance of the people, boldly led by the Party of Labour, on the military preparedness of the country to cope with any situation and aggressor.»¹

One of the most important characteristic features of our Military Art of People's War is reliance on and implementation of the line of the masses in the highest degree. It is a military art not of the war of an army isolated from the people, but of the active participation in war of the entire armed people, militarily trained and incorporated in the People's Army and other structures of the Armed Forces of the country. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that our military art should become the property of the entire people, should be assimilated by all, and the entire people should be trained militarily according to its laws, so that they put it into practice with complete efficiency in case of war.

Underlying the foundations of our Military Art of People's War, worked out by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, is the idea of the resolute defence of every inch of our Homeland,

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA*, p. 118, Alb. ed.

by means of an active positional warfare, until the complete defeat of the aggressor that will dare to violate the borders of socialist Albania. It is of vital importance for the destinies of the Homeland, socialism and our people that the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha exposed and rejected the efforts of external and internal enemies to introduce the so-called theory of slipping, strategic withdrawal to the mountains, into our army and military art, to induce us to give up the popular warfare on a regular front, which in fact, means betrayal and capitulation in face of the aggressor, opening the doors to the occupation of the country.

In our time, the imperialist powers, especially the two superpowers — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and the military blocs manipulated by them — NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, strive to spread a psychosis of fear and subjugation to the military strength and modern means of warfare in their possession. Our Party has firmly opposed this imperialist blackmail and has educated our people with the unshakeable confidence that they are in a position to successfully cope with any aggressor, however powerful it be. «The imperialist and social-imperialist enemies try to intimidate us with their numerous and powerful weapons. Real strength however, lies neither in the number of soldiers nor in the quantities and kinds of weapons. History has proven that the country and people, be it small and inferior in armaments, which fights for a just cause and is determined to defend it to the end, is invincible. There is no army that can outdo the armed and militarily trained people, and there is no weapon more po-

werful than the popular warfare, in the fire of which any aggressor is burned and defeated.»¹ Such is the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary logic of our Party, which is embodied in the Military Art of People's War.

Our military art, which has as its objective the smashing and defeat of possible aggressors, relies on the exploitation of a number of objective and subjective factors which are permanently in our favour. They have been accurately defined by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the basis of a realistic scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis, taking account also of the experience of the popular wars of our people and other freedom-loving peoples.

One of these factors is, first of all, the very just character of our war, as a war to defend the socialist Homeland against any foreign aggressor. This just character of our war, in case of aggression, will arouse and mobilize, in a conscious manner, the broadest masses of the people, will touch off a real mass heroism and will also ensure the solidarity and support of all the revolutionary progressive forces, the freedom-loving peoples of the world for socialist Albania against aggressors.

The strength of the struggle for the defence of our socialist Homeland is derived from the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party, which ensures the unity of the entire people to cope with aggression, the mobilization of all the human and material forces and reserves, the transformation of all sectors, the whole state and

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1974-1975*, pp. 35-36, Alb. ed.

social life of the country, into a single and harmonized machine in the service of the front of the war for the defeat of aggressors, creates the political consciousness which keeps the morale of our people high, shows them the correct road for the solution of all political, military, economic and other problems connected with the defence of the country.

The strength of our defence in case of aggression and war lies also in the moral-political unity and in the high socialist military patriotism of our people forged by the Party and in the political-military preparedness of the whole people for defence.

In complete opposition to the imperialist and bourgeois-revisionist military art, which is based on the thesis that the outcome of the war is absolutely decided by weapons and modern military technique, our Military Art of People's War is built according to the principle of the superiority of man over weapon. Our Party holds the view, proven by the experience of our people and other peoples, that «... it is not modern weapons, but the revolutionary consciousness of the people, which, in the final account, decides the outcome of the war, that modern arms united with the degenerate morale of a mercenary army which fights to oppress and plunder the peoples, are powerless in face of the strength of the popular war of the masses inspired by the great ideals of the revolution and the liberation of the Homeland.»¹ Thus, the Military Art of People's War is based on the idea that the strength of the war for the defence of our country, its ability to cope with and

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 34, p. 11, Alb. ed.

defeat any possible aggression, lies in the lofty political-military and moral qualities of our people, educated by the Party, in the understanding of the sacred duty of the defence of the socialist Homeland on their part, in their spirit of self-sacrifice and in their readiness to make still greater sacrifices, without sparing their lives if the need arises, for the sake of this duty, and in their all-round military preparedness for defence.

This does not imply that our Party and our Military Art of People's War, which it has worked out, underrate the role of arms and military technique in the war for the defence of our socialist Homeland. On the contrary, our Party and state have taken all measures to equip the Armed Forces of our country with the modern armaments and military technique necessary for coping with any aggressor with success. At the same time they show the greatest care so that our people perfectly master their use.

In our Military Art of People's War we take account of the fact that in case of an aggression against our country, the terrain is favourable for us and unfavourable for the enemy. The terrain is favourable for our war, because our forces have the all-round support of the entire people, whereas the aggressor will be compelled to fight in unknown foreign territory, in which death awaits him at every step. Besides, our uneven mountainous and fortified terrain, as well as the fact that our people know it like the back of their hand, constitute a very great obstacle to possible aggressors, to manoeuvres and the utilization of the modern military technique on their part, and a great facility for our popular war. Therefore, the Party has always given special importance to

the fortification of the country now, in time of peace, in which the army the people are actively mobilized.

The essence of the Military Art of People's War worked out by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, is that it shows the real possibility and concrete road of how a small country and people, like ours, with relatively limited forces and means, can successfully cope with any possible aggression from any quarter, and achieve complete victory over the aggressors in the battlefield, relying only on their own forces. Here lies the valuable contribution of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Marxist-Leninist military theory.

In all the great struggle of the Party for the creation and development of our Military Art of Peoples War as in all other fields, the work and achievements of our Commander-in-Chief, Comrade Enver Hoxha, stand out in all their magnificence. The profound Marxist-Leninist analyses and generalizations he has made in all his writings on military problems have become the illuminating beacon which shows the Party, the people and the army the road to ceaselessly carry forward the further strengthening of the defence of the country along with the work for its socialist construction. The many writings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on military questions, in which the fundamental ideas and principles of our Military art of People's War have been defined, have always served and will serve in the future the political-military education and training of all the structures of our armed forces, as a guide for action and a great source of inspiration for the ever greater strengthening of our socialist Homeland and making it

an insuperable defence lethal to anyone who would dare undertake an aggressive adventure against it.

3. The revolutionization of the people's army, the arming and military training of the whole people — the great creative work of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha

The large-scale process of the further revolutionization of the whole life of our country includes also the field of defence and the army. On the basis of the experience of the National Liberation War of our people, the development and further deepening of the uninterrupted socialist revolution, and drawing lessons from the experience of the transformation of the Soviet army from a revolutionary army of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a blind tool of the revisionist counter-revolution, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha made a new contribution of great value to the Marxist-Leninist military science, put into practice and carried Lenin's ideas on the army and the defence of the socialist Homeland further forward.

The teaching of the classics of Marxism-Leninism that one of the necessary steps in the triumphant proletarian revolution is the replacement of the classical army isolated from the people, of the «army of the barracks», with the people's army, as part of the entire armed people, making «every citizen a soldier and every

soldier a citizen» as Lenin said, has been put into practice in our country for the first time. Following the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on this issue, our Party has proceeded from a number of principled considerations connected closely with the concrete conditions of our country.

The defence of our socialist Homeland according to the principle of self-reliance makes this a first priority. For a small country as Albania the only possible and correct road to have a strong and unbreakable defence is the arming and military training of the whole people. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «For us to defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the victories achieved in the building of socialism, we must prepare an invincible force which consists in training the whole soldier-people right now.»¹ It is the broad masses of the people which fill the structures of our Armed Forces and which are trained militarily as close to the bases of production and work places as possible, so that, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, the people are instantly on their feet, to the assigned fighting post and ready to open fire. Every one in our country works, studies and is trained for defence, simultaneously.

On the other hand, experience shows that in order to avoid any danger of the isolation of the army from the people and its transformation into a means of domination and imposing itself on the people, the army of the socialist country should not be an army in the old meaning of the

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1976-1977*, p. 196, Alb. ed.

word, i.e., an armed force isolated from the people and which might be used against the people, but an army of the new type. Our army, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «... is not an army of barracks, a caste apart and isolated from the people and above the people, but an army united as one with the whole armed people.»¹

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha not only have provided theoretical argument to prove the indispensability and vital importance of the military training of the entire people, but have also defined the practical concrete way for its application. This is realized in the free military schools.

With his important orientations for the free military school Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a complete and systematic presentation of the Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party, defending and further developing the Leninist views on this question. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha clearly defined the aims, character and perspectives of the free military schools, basing their internal organization on these orientations. Their great aim, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, is to carry out the military education of the entire people. The free military school is not a school for amateurs, a facultative school, is not as any other civilian school, «but a military school in the full meaning of the word, a school with proletarian discipline, with high political-organizational discipline, organized into units in such a manner as to correspond to the organization of the army», Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us.

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA*, p. 120, Alb. ed.

The setting up and consolidation of free military schools was not an easy job. It was a new experience, and our Party had to explore untrodden paths, and at the same time fight to wipe out old, stereotyped and revisionist conceptions and practices about the army and military training, which the enemies and conspirators had cultivated. Assessing the role of the free military schools, the 8th Congress of the Party stressed that their «consolidation is making military training an intrinsic part of the life and activity of every working man.»¹

In the framework of the training of the entire people and preparation of the country for defence, our Party has always attached primary importance also to problems of state-civil defence as an inseparable part of this training.

Another important field, in which our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made a valuable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist military science of the defence of socialism and the socialist Homeland, is connected with the continuous revolutionization of our People's Army and its internal life. Experience shows that the creation of the revolutionary army of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not everything. It is essential that, along with the uninterrupted development of the revolution and socialist construction, it should be continuously strengthened, revolutionized and safeguarded against the danger of its transformation into a blind tool which might be exploited against the people and socialism, against the danger of its degeneration into a counter-revo-

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to 8th Congress of the PLA*, p. 102, Eng. ed.

lutionary army, as occurred in the Soviet Union and some other countries. In this field our Party has gained and summed up a rich experience, based on the unshakeable principles of Marxism-Leninism and our revolutionary practice.

«Leadership by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party is the decisive condition for the existence of a people's army», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «and the organization and direction of the defence of the socialist Homeland. Only the leadership of such a party makes the army a conscious and reliable weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.»¹ The weakening of leadership and control of the Party in the army is fraught with great danger. It is not an accident that all the putschist enemies who have acted in disguise in the ranks of our army, have directed the edge of their struggle against the Party, in the first place, in order to undermine its leading role in the army. In exposing and defeating this dangerous activity, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have laid the stress and have taken necessary measures for the further and continuous strengthening of the leading role of the organs and organizations of the Party in the Army, without permitting anyone to replace them, to place himself above them or to get out of their control. In our revolutionary army the Party is in command, and the army is not permitted to command the Party, as has occurred in revisionist China.

The army of the dictatorship of the proletariat can never be an apolitical army, on the

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 106, Eng. ed.

contrary, it is a thoroughly political army. Therefore, the Party has always given the greatest care to strengthening the ideological-political work in the army, consistently abiding by the principle of its priority over military work. «Political work makes the army always remain the loyal weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a vigilant guard of the victories of the people»,¹ says Comrade Enver Hoxha. However, the Party has made it clear that this should not be understood in a simplistic manner as underration of military work. Rejecting military technocratism, which minimizes ideological-political work, the Party has insisted on the importance of sound military training, the thorough assimilation of the Military Art of People's War, the perfect mastering of weapons and modern technique by the fighters, as the absolute condition to have a strong army, seeing this from the political angle of strengthening the defence of the socialist Homeland.

According to the view and experience of our Party, the revolutionization of the army goes through the struggle against bureaucracy, the spirit of military hierarchy, blind obedience, manifestations of arrogance and overbearing, the tendency to the creation of privileged military castes with dangerous putschist dispositions as well as against any spirit of liberalism and corruption of steel military discipline, which, if allowed to develop, leads to anarchy and disintegration of the army. The abolition of military ranks and a series of other measures our Party has taken, have served the strengthening of so-

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA*, p. 120, Alb. ed.

cialist social relations and sound unity in our army, and the implementation of a conscious steel proletarian discipline in its ranks.

The features of the revolutionary army of the dictatorship of the proletariat have been defined with complete clarity by Comradé Enver Hoxha, who says: «We need a strong army, linked closely with the working people, an army led by the Party, an army educated politically and ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist spirit, well-trained on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist military science, an army equipped with the most modern weapons, which should be always in readiness for the defence of our socialist Homeland, the victories of our working people, the dictatorship of the proletariat, against any external and internal danger... Such a popular army is, at the same time, an army with an internationalist character, which will never lay down its weapons until capitalism is destroyed for good, as long as there are still oppressors and enslaved.»¹

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Albania gives today a living and concrete example of how the socialist Homeland can be built and how it can be defended with one's own forces, without fearing imperialism and social-imperialism. The imperialists and the revisionists have trained their rifles on Albania, but we have trained our guns on them, says Comrade Enver Hoxha.

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 32, p. 109, 116, Alb. ed.

SOKRAT PLAKA

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PLA AND OUR SOCIALIST STATE — AN INDEPENDENT AND PRINCIPLED POLICY

The problems of foreign policy and international relations occupy an important place in the theoretical thinking worked out by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Our Party has always seen its foreign policy in the spirit of the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as a constituent part of the program of people's revolution, of the building of the new socialist society, in close connection with the discharge of the national and international duty of our Party, our people and our country.

The road traversed for the rigorous and consistent application of the line of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy and international relations has by no means been easy. Our Party has had to wage a stern and uncompromising struggle not only against the open enemies, the aggressors, the bourgeoisie, but also against their

various camouflaged secret agents. In the complicated conditions of the Second World War and later, when modern revisionism which usurped power in a series of countries emerged in the arena of the fierce class struggle between capitalism and socialism, our Party with its views, struggle and activity showed extraordinary maturity and ability, making a new contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism on questions of foreign policy.

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The platform of our Party and socialist state in the field of foreign policy has its origin in the creation of the Communist Party of Albania and the beginnings of the National Liberation War.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, considering the internal factor, the armed struggle of our people, as the decisive factor for the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution, made a correct assessment also of the problem of securing their foreign allies. In conformity with the international circumstances of the time, they lined up our National Liberation Movement on the side of the general front of the anti-fascist war of the peoples, the progressive forces and states which opposed the fascist powers. It was a double relationship. On the one hand, the struggle of the peoples and states of the anti-fascist coalition was, without doubt, a great aid for the successful development of our National Liberation Mo-

vement and constituted the favourable external factor for us. On the other hand, the war of our people made its contribution to the general anti-fascist war. According to the internationalist view of our Party, the Albanian people, like any people, big or small, who made their contribution to the anti-fascist war, must ensure that their legitimate right to have their say in the peaceful settlement of problems after the war, should be recognized.

A special merit of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the field of the foreign policy is that they relied strongly on the Marxist-Leninist class criterion in the assessment of the situations and in taking a stand in the very complicated circumstances of the Second World War. They orientated the National Liberation Movement towards the socialist Soviet Union and the peoples enslaved by fascism who had risen in war and who constituted the loyal and sincere friends of our people in the war for national liberation, in the popular revolution and on the road of socialism.

The Communist Party of Albania regarded its relations with the Anglo-Americans differently. They were only temporary allies in the war against the fascist states, and enemies of the revolution and socialism, who pursued their imperialist aims towards our country and in the world at large. Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed: «We know who the Anglo-Americans are and do not forget for a moment that they are capitalists, that they are opposed to communism, to socialism; they, too, do not forget who we are and nor do we forget who they are. Now we are in alliance with them against Italian fascism and

German nazism and we remain loyal to this alliance.»¹ The sharp vigilance, the clear and firm stands of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha towards them were vital, because they brought about the failure of all their plans in Albania and did not allow an Albanian «Var-kiza» which would have been of fatal consequences to our country.

In these stands in international relations the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha resolutely stuck to the principle of self-determination and sovereignty, opposing any interference and effort of the big powers to decide the fates of the peoples against their interests and will. The Communist Party of Albania did not permit anyone to interfere, from the years of the War, in the internal affairs of our National Liberation War and strongly opposed the efforts of the «allies» to land their troops in Albania. With the decisions of the Congress of Përmet it put an end to the existence of the monarchic-bourgeois state and its anti-popular, international relations, prohibited anyone from outside from deciding on the governing of the country and annulled all the enslaving treaties and agreements entered into by the Zog regime.

Our Party maintained at the same time an internationalist stand towards the problem of Kosova and other regions inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia, and rejected the attempts of the Titoites at creating the «Balkan Staff» and their idea of a «Balkan Federation» later. These stands of our Party defended the right of our

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 1, Tirana 1983, p. 548, second Alb. ed.

people and other peoples to self-determination, against the policy of the imperialist powers and chauvinist regimes for spheres of influence and domination in this region.

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The end of the Second World War created a new ratio of forces between socialism and capitalism and in the imperialist camp itself. A new situation was created in the world, raising a series of new problems in the field of international relations. In these conditions, our Party, which now was a Party in power, mapped out its own foreign policy which responded to the interests of our people, our socialist Homeland and proletarian internationalism.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha worked out our Marxist-Leninist concept of the relations between states in the post-war period, which could not be relations of inequality, of oppression and exploitation of other peoples by the more powerful, as were those established by imperialism and the fascist powers, but new relations. They made an important contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of international relations, resolutely defending the teachings of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist distortions and attacks and developing and concretizing them in many directions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha worked out a clear theoretical thinking which has found application in the practice of our Party and country over the most fundamental questions such as the relations between socialist countries, the stand

of the socialist state towards the revolutionary liberation movement, the relations between countries with different social systems, the stand towards imperialism, etc.

The triumph of socialism in some countries and the creation of the socialist camp put the question of the implementation of interstate relations of an entirely new type, of relations between socialist states, on the order of the day. Our Party has made a special contribution, in theory and practice, to the working out and implementation of these new relations, and to their defence against anti-Marxist and chauvinist distortions by the modern revisionists.

In the opinion of our Party correct relations between socialist countries can be built only on the basis of the consistent observation of the principles of friendship, fraternal collaboration of mutual benefit and internationalist mutual aid, complete equality, respect for national sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Striving for such relations between socialist countries, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made a destructive exposure of the preachings and practices of the Yugoslav, Soviet and Chinese modern revisionists who tried to impose relations of inequality and subjugation on our country and the countries which had set out on the road of socialist development, to the bigger. They have especially exposed the Soviet social-imperialists who have transformed the relations with the countries of the so-called socialist community into neo-colonialist relations of a specific form.

The PLA has made it clear, and here lies

its contribution to this issue, that aid and collaboration between socialist countries should never be accompanied with terms which violate and limit their independence, on the contrary they should strengthen the economic and political independence of every socialist country so that they march on their own. Our Party has refuted the theories of the Soviet social-imperialists about the «international socialist division of labour», about «economic integration» of the socialist countries, etc., which aim at reducing the other countries to dependence on and economic exploitation by the social-imperialist Soviet Union, transforming their economies into appendages of the Soviet economy. It has proved with argument that the fusion of the economies of the socialist countries into a common international socialist economy, about which Lenin has spoken, belongs to a later period, whereas the Soviet social-imperialists distort this thesis of Lenin's for their expansionist and neo-colonialist aims.

From these principled positions, our Party and country strongly exposed and denounced also the Warsaw Treaty¹ and its transformation into an aggressive instrument in the hands of Soviet social-imperialism for the subjugation of the «socialist» countries or even their military occupation allegedly in the name of the defence of socialism, as it did with Czechoslovakia. The

¹ On 5 September 1968 the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA adopted the decision on with drawing from and denouncing the Warsaw Treaty. This decision was sanctioned by special law of the People's Assembly at its session of 13 September 1968.

sanctioning in the Constitution of the PSR of Albania that the establishment of bases and deployment of foreign military troops in the territory of our country is prohibited, is an original vital measure.

The common interests of the socialist countries and their collaboration cannot be in opposition to complete sovereignty and independence of every socialist country, whereas the defence of the latter cannot be considered as «narrow nationalism», as the Soviet social-imperialists present the issue in order to further their oppressive and neocolonialist policy and ambitions. Therefore our Party has exposed the theory and practice of «limited sovereignty» which the Soviet social-imperialists apply in their relations with the other countries of the so-called socialist community.

As for the relations of the socialist countries with the capitalist countries, our Party consistently abides by the ideas of Lenin and Stalin on peaceful coexistence between them. It has defended, developed and further concretized them in irreconcilable struggle against revisionist views.

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not comprise all the content of the foreign policy of a socialist country and does not constitute its fundamental principle, as the Khrushchevite revisionists make out, speculating with the slogan of peaceful coexistence in order to justify their collaboration with the imperialist powers, especially with American imperialism. These anti-Marxist positions were confirmed once again by the Political Bureau of the Soviet revisionist party, headed by Andropov, when he declared that the

«course of the peaceful coexistence and the development of relations of mutual benefit with the United States of America on the basis of equality remains the general line of the Soviet policy» (TASS, June 10, 1983. News bulletin of the ATA). The foreign policy of the socialist countries has proletarian internationalism as its fundamental principle and includes, in its main aspects, collaboration and mutual aid between socialist countries, support for the revolutionary liberation struggles of other countries, peaceful coexistence with countries of a different social system, struggle against the imperialist policy of war and aggression.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha smashed, in the ideological plane, the reactionary concept of the Khrushchevite revisionists on peaceful coexistence and unmasked it as an effort to put the countries of the former socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement on the road of opportunism and betrayal. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «The peoples and revolutionaries are for peaceful coexistence as proclaimed by Lenin, which never can be extended to the sphere of ideology, the class struggle, the revolution and liberation struggles.»¹

Our Party and socialist state construct their relations with states of a different social system on the basis of peaceful coexistence, but they stick to the view that this cannot be achieved by begging it of the imperialists, or by making political and ideological concessions on principles. It demands that the warmongering and ag-

1 Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1969-1970*, p. 244, Alb. ed.

gressive policy of imperialism and social-imperialism be exposed, that the peoples rise up in struggle against them.

Our Party sticks to the view that the relations of peaceful coexistence and good neighbourliness between countries with different social systems are based on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another and exchanges of mutual benefit in the field of trade, culture, science and technique.

The development of state relations of good neighbourliness between countries with different social systems is an important principle of our foreign policy, but this does not exclude the principled ideological struggle between the two systems, on which the Yugoslav revisionists want to condition them. Our Party and socialist state, being for state relations of peaceful coexistence with various capitalist and revisionist states, have never accepted to sacrifice principles and to renounce their Marxist-Leninist positions and their ideological struggle for the sake of these relations.

Implementation of the principle of good neighbourliness does not imply renouncing the principled positions in defence of the rights of the progressive forces and peoples who suffer under imperialist, bourgeois-revisionist, chauvinist oppression, as happens, for instance, with the Albanian population in Titoite Yugoslavia. Relations of good neighbourliness between our country and Yugoslavia cannot be built to the detriment of this population, and by shutting our mouths and giving up the defence of the struggle for its rights, as Belgrade demands.

An important factor of the policy of good neighbourliness of our country is the prohibition of the establishment of foreign bases and stationing of foreign troops on its own territories, juridically sanctioned in the Constitution of the PSR of Albania, thus becoming an obligatory norm. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that, «... this constitutional norm expresses the internationalist, principled and friendly foreign policy pursued by socialist Albania, with the aim of ensuring that its territory is never and under no circumstances used as a base for aggressions against other countries and peoples.»¹ The practice of some countries, their transformation into arms bases of the imperialist and social-imperialist powers, giving shelter and free passage to aggressive imperialist military units, heavily impairs the relations of good neighbourliness. These relations are also prejudiced when the links with various countries are used to the detriment of the interests of the neighbouring country, or when the other neighbours are egged on against it, as the Yugoslav revisionists act with regard to socialist Albania.

Our socialist state develops trade relations with the countries with different socio-economic systems on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. It has sanctioned in its Constitution that in the PSR of Albania «the granting of concessions to and the creation of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist monopolies and states, as well as

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1976-1977*, pp. 139-140, Alb. ed.

obtaining credits from them are prohibited,» because, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «In no case do the capitalists provide their credits for the construction of socialism. They provide them to destroy socialism.»¹ The basic principle of our socialist foreign trade is to use exports to cover imports. This is a unique experience and a principle which guarantees the economic and political independence of the country. In principle it accepts aid and credit only from genuine socialist countries as was the Soviet Union of the time of Stalin, in conformity with the principle of proletarian internationalism. The experience of socialist Albania constitutes a living testimony which rejects the propaganda of the superpowers that allegedly not a single small country can make progress, that the economy of a country cannot be built and maintained on its own forces, without their support and aid.

Our country is for cultural and scientific exchanges with countries with a different social system, especially with its neighbours, based on mutual benefit and non-interference, without discrimination and prejudice. These exchanges serve the mutual recognition of the good values created by the peoples and the strengthening of friendship among them, the appreciation of the popular progressive culture of other countries and our aspiration that the others too see and appreciate the treasures of the ancient and present socialist culture of the Albanian people. However, by defending the lofty

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1978, p. 94, Eng. ed.

moral and cultural values of its own people in the face of the bourgeois-revisionist ideological and cultural aggression, the PSR of Albania has not opened and will never open its doors to decadent, reactionary, anti-popular and cosmopolitan culture, to the «free circulation of people, ideas and cultures», as the bourgeoisie and revisionists want.

The foreign policy of our Party and socialist state is a proletarian class policy, an indivisible part of which is internationalist support for the revolutionary movement of the working class, the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence, social advancement and socialism, for the progressive forces which fight for democracy against the fascist danger and for the defence of peace against the threat of war. These, for their part, are the foreign allies of the socialist country, along with other socialist countries, when they exist.

The stand towards the revolutionary liberation movement is a line of demarcation which divides the revolutionaries from the revisionists and renegades from Marxism-Leninism, revolution and the freedom of the peoples. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have firmly defended and faithfully implemented in theory and practice, and have further enriched the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on this capital issue.

The whole history of socialist Albania speaks of the unreserved support it has given the cause of the revolution and liberation of the peoples, regardless whether this has exposed it to the outbreak of fierce attacks by the enemies and called for many sacrifices on the part of the people. Clear testimony of this is the stern strug-

gle for the exposure, before the eyes of the peoples, of the oppressive, exploiting, expansionist, aggressive and warmongering policy of imperialism and of the two superpowers, in particular. This is also proved by the unyielding struggle of our Party and country against the Soviet and the Chinese revisionists over the great principled problems of the defence of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and national liberation wars.

To follow the world developments with the proletarian class eye, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, means to defend the interests of the working people, to be with the oppressed, with those who want to overthrow the old world and to build the new world. The PLA and socialist Albania want that our views and stands on foreign policy should be in harmony with the interests of progressive and freedom-loving peoples, the progressive revolutionary forces, genuine Marxist-Leninists, and do not strive to secure the «certificate of good conduct» from the imperialist powers, the bourgeoisie, the oppressors of the working people and peoples. They have not made and will never make concessions to the detriment of the revolution, the cause of socialism and the liberation of the peoples in order to benefit from state or trade relations with this or that capitalist country.

To support the liberation movements and revolution does not mean to interfere in the country where they take place. Revolution cannot be exported, this is a principled thesis of Marxism-Leninism. Support of these movements on the part of the socialist state does not constitute an impediment to state relations with bour-

geois states and governments of the countries in which the revolutionary forces fight against the regimes in power, just as these state relations of the socialist state do not in the least compel the revolutionary forces of these countries to cease their struggle. It is clear to the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries that the interest of their struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois regimes cannot require that the existence of the socialist state should be jeopardized and its external conditions be worsened artificially, just as it is clear that the true interests of the socialist state cannot in any case require the weakening of the revolutionary and liberation movement in the other countries, but only its mounting and strengthening.

The PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have rejected the preachings of the Khrushchevite revisionists on «peaceful coexistence», «peaceful competition», «peaceful road», «the world without arms, without armies and without wars», etc., which make up the «theoretical base» of their foreign policy, of the policy of renouncing internationalist support for the revolution and peoples' liberation struggle, of sabotaging them for the sake of rapprochement and agreement with imperialism.

It is the merit of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that they have exposed and defeated the «theory of three worlds» of the Chinese revisionists, a theory which demands renunciation of the revolution, of the struggle against reactionary regimes and the struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, and advocates the alliance of the working people with

the bourgeoisie and of the peoples of the oppressed countries with their oppressors.

They have exposed and refuted also the Titoite theses of «non-alignment», which Yugoslav propaganda publicizes so much. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: «We Marxist-Leninists are aligned with the revolution, are aligned with the peoples who fight to win freedom, independence, sovereignty, therefore we remain firmly beside the peoples who throw themselves into the revolutionary and national liberation wars to free themselves from any yoke. We have aligned ourselves with the common struggle of the peoples against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction, and as such we are in opposition to the 'theoreticians' of 'non-alignment' who seek hand-outs from the imperialists and are for the preservation of the status quo».¹ The unmasking of this dangerous role of theirs is of special importance for carrying the anti-imperialist and liberation war of the peoples forward.

Our Party has always considered the stand towards imperialism and the struggle against it as an indispensable constituent part of the foreign policy of the socialist state. The stand towards it has been and remains one of the major problems of the polemic and principled struggle of our Party against Yugoslav, Khrushchevite and Chinese revisionists.

Capitulation before pressures by imperialism, which led to reconciliation with it, to renunciation of the struggle against it, constitu-

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1978-1979*, p. 149, Alb. ed.

tes one of the deepest causes which led to the revisionist degeneration of the Soviet Union and many former socialist countries. The period after the 20th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party marked the change of its strategy in the direction of imperialism. It is a publicly known fact that this moment brought into evidence the splendour of the example of the staunch stand and the high spirit of principle of the Party of Labour of Albania in defence of the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which the Khrushchevite revisionists betrayed on this issue, too.

The degeneration of the Soviet party and state which led to the transformation of the Soviet Union into a country of state monopoly capitalism opened the road to the emergence on the international arena of another superpower, with great claims to world domination, a superpower equally dangerous and aggressive as American imperialism. These two superpowers became, to the same degree, the main enemies of socialism, revolution, the freedom-loving peoples, peace and security in the world. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha stood on principled positions and courageously showed the peoples the absolute need of abandoning any illusion about the Soviet Union and of raising their vigilance and waging a resolute struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, too.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have exposed the position of the Yugoslav revisionists who collaborate with the superpowers and who consider their «equidistance» in their relations with them in the international plane to be essential for the «preservation of peace» and «socialism» in the world. Our Party and Comrade

Enver Hoxha reject as unacceptable in theory and dangerous in practice the Chinese view that, by relying on the one superpower, it is possible to fight with success the other superpower, because both of them are, to the same degree, the main and equally dangerous enemies of the peoples. The Marxist-Leninists and the socialist country should exploit the contradictions in the enemy camp, including those that arise between the imperialist powers. However, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, it is in order with our principles that the exploitation of contradictions between enemies should serve the mounting and strengthening of the revolutionary and liberation movement and not its weakening and enfeeblement, that it should lead to the active arousing of the revolutionary forces, especially against the main enemies, and not to unprincipled and treacherous compromises with them.

Our country's irreconcilable stand towards American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is a clear example of a principled and consistent foreign policy of a socialist state. It is based on Marxism-Leninism and the scientific analysis of the imperialist policy of the two superpowers. «We have said and repeat it,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has underlined, «that we will make no rapprochement or reconcile ourselves with American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which are the greatest enemies to us and to all the peoples.»¹

The problem of war and peace occupies an important place in the foreign policy of our

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Address before electors*, Tirana 1982, p. 30, Alb. ed.

Party and socialist state, along with the stand towards imperialism and in close connection with it. On this vital question for the fates of the peoples, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made a contribution of special value to the defence and development of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, in struggle against revisionist distortions.

Our country, as a genuine socialist country, maintains a clear stand in defence of peace and is firmly opposed to imperialist war. But our Party has rejected the Khrushchevite revisionists' preachings who absolutize the possibility of stopping world war at the present time and use the struggle for peace as a pretext to negate the just revolutionary and liberation struggles, to present them as unnecessary, undesirable and dangerous to the cause of peace and as such that may lead to a nuclear conflict destructive for mankind. And so they come out with the slogan of avoiding all kinds of war and for the creation, right now, of a «world without arms, without armies and without wars». The PLA stands firmly on the Marxist-Leninist position that we must fight with all our forces and possibilities for stopping imperialist wars and, in the first place, a new world war, by arousing into vigorous action all the peoples and peace-loving forces against warmongering imperialism. But only the triumph of socialism in the world at large would finally avert the danger of imperialist wars and exclude all kinds of war from social life. Meanwhile, vigilance in face of the danger of imperialist war should not be lowered and the support for the just revolutionary liberation wars, which are inevitable as long as

imperialism exists and constitute important factors that contain and impede the realization of the warmongering plans of imperialism, should not be abandoned, because it is the only road towards the socialist and communist future of mankind without wars.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have condemned and rejected the thesis of the Chinese revisionists on the inevitability of a new world war at the present time. Behind this is hidden the call for a new inter-imperialist war far from the borders of China. The communists and a genuine socialist country can never be for the incitement of war between the imperialist powers, because this war is to the detriment of the peoples. A new world war, which is a potential danger today, can be stopped. For this it is necessary that the peoples rise on their feet and not nourish hopes on and illusions about the secret talks between the imperialist powers. If the new war cannot be avoided, then the task of the revolutionaries is to transform it into a revolutionary civil war for the overthrow of imperialism. In the present situation, when imperialism is leading the world towards a new catastrophe, the 8th Congress of the PLA stressed, «... the peoples' war and revolution are on the agenda, not only as aspirations and immediate tasks for liberation from capitalist oppression and the imperialist yoke, but also as an historical necessity to defeat the warmongering plans of imperialism and avert a new general war.»¹

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, pp. 162-163, Eng. ed.

At our time the main danger to peace and security comes from the aggressive and warmongering policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which are in agreement and rivalry with each other. Therefore, it is first of all against this that the struggle of the peace-loving peoples and countries should be directed. Our Party has made a great contribution with its struggle to the unmasking of misleading pacifist manoeuvres of the two super-powers about the «easing of tension», «disarmament», the creation of «zones of peace», etc., which are aimed at lulling the vigilance of the peoples.

Our Party and socialist state have continuously fought for new international relations and have rejected all unjust forms and practices imposed on them by imperialism and social-imperialism. They abide by the principle that all peoples, big and small, must be equal in international relations and must oppose any form of control, arbitrariness and dictate from the big powers and must not allow international policy to become their monopoly. All the peoples have the right, in complete equality, to have their views on all questions and express them openly. «Every state, every people,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «has the right to express its opinions freely, to oppose those of others with which it disagrees, just as others have the right to oppose your views when they do not agree with them. It is utterly wrong to sit with folded arms and closed mouth when others act to the detriment of peoples and states, or to accept... that, since you are a small state or a small people, it is sheer arrogance to try to have your say, to

defend your right and the right of your friend, or to come out with your opinions before the 'mighty'.»¹

Socialist Albania is against any form of tutelage, against military blocs and other international aggressive imperialist organisms, against the division of the world into spheres of influence and against practices which violate and limit the sovereignty of peoples and states.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have exposed the efforts of the superpowers to institutionalize their tactics which are aimed at implanting fatalist concepts, political and ideological apathy, tendencies to compromises among the peoples, or to put the peoples under their domination and force them to acceptance of dictate, control and tutelage of the superpowers in world affairs. They have refuted the Soviet social-imperialists' theory of «détente» which is aimed at denying the historical need for revolution and liberation wars, the theory of «harmony and balance» between the two superpowers, which makes peace and free development of the peoples dependent on the terror of the «military-strategic balance» of the superpowers. In their continuous struggle against these «theories», the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have pointed out the essential need for the liberation of the peace — and freedom-loving peoples and countries from such complexes, without which no correct and realistic policy can be pursued. With these important principles for the construction of correct international relations

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 4, The «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, Eng. ed. pp. 866-867.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a new theoretical contribution to the foreign policy of a socialist country in this field.

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The Albanian socialist state has placed the foreign policy of the Party at the foundation of its international relations and activity. In these relations it takes account of the international reality, analysed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and sticks to the principle of self-reliance, which, in the successful implementation of its foreign policy free from any dependence on economic and military blocs and political treaties, is the source of its strength and ensures complete sovereignty and an independent position in the international arena.

The strength of our foreign policy lies in our correct internal policy, in the successful construction of socialism, in the creation of an independent, developed and multi-branched economy based on internal material and human sources, in the creation of a sound political order within the country, in the guarantee of the defence of the country with the forces of our armed people, in the sound unity of the people around the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

The foreign policy of the PLA and socialist Albania is open and above board, a policy which tells the truths to the face of anyone, regardless of whether this might not please one or the other. It is not a policy of passing circumstances, but

a policy of proletarian principles. It does not stem from the secret diplomacy behind the scenes, mysterious talks, putting the interests of the country and other countries up for auction, but a policy which is carried out in the light of day. This policy, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, has made the voice of Albania a free, realistic and objective voice in a world in which dependence and subjugation of many states to the big imperialist powers limits and distorts any independent thought and action.

It is now publicly recognized in the world that Comrade Enver Hoxha has made important assessments and generalizations in the ideological and political fields, which have emerged from the Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis of events, phenomena, the development of international relations of states and world political forces, and has reached conclusions of great scientific value. The theoretical thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha in the field of foreign policy of the socialist state and its international relations constitutes a new contribution to the treasury of the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Thanks to their principled foreign policy, especially the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, our Party and socialist state have made an invaluable contribution to the strengthening of the positions of socialism and the preservation of peace in this important region of Europe such as the Balkans, and beyond it.

Our foreign policy, based on the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, is a powerful weapon of our socialist diplomacy. Under the great solicitude of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian diplomacy

is now able to correctly analyse the world events and new developments in their dynamics, in compliance with the interests of the Albanian people and the other freedom and peace-loving peoples, socialism and the revolution. It has mobilized itself to implement the active, principled and consistent foreign policy of our Party and the tasks the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have set it to make its contribution to the consolidation of the international positions of the PSR of Albania.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PLA AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

The heroic struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head against modern revisionism is amongst the most brilliant pages of our modern history, the history of the titanic efforts of the Albanian people to defend the victories of the people's revolution and to build socialism. The fact that Albania today is an independent and sovereign socialist state, the fact that the Albanian people live a happy life in their country and are sure of their future, is in great part due to this struggle.

However, the struggle of the Albanian communists against modern revisionism has importance not only for our country. It also represents the valuable contribution they have made to the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, to the advancement of the revolution and the cause of social-

ism in the world. Likewise, we cannot fail to stress that the historical circumstances brought about that the Party of Labour of Albania found itself on the forefront of the struggle against modern revisionism.

Certainly, when we affirm this reality, we also take account of the fact that the bourgeoisie and its press and propaganda also deal with the ideology, policy or social practices existing in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia or China, as well as with the life and activity of the revisionist parties. However, the difference is a qualitative one. The struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against modern revisionism proceeds from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and is inspired by the ideals of communism, while the bourgeois propaganda seeks to discredit the socialist idea and serve the counter-revolution.

The burden of the struggle against revisionism has always been a heavy one, and the conditions of its development have always been difficult. And it is not lighter today, either. Our Party has to fight for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and true socialism at a time when revisionism as an ideology and political practice predominates completely in the Soviet Union, when the former socialist countries of Europe and China have totally abandoned the road of socialism, when the great communist parties of the West and, in their wake, all the others have gone over to classical social-democratic opportunism, when, imperialism and all reaction availing themselves of this situation, have thrown themselves into an all-out offensive to make the most of this situation.

However, regardless of these conditions,

regardless of the strength of their opponents, the Albanian communists have fully justified the historic responsibility they have assumed before their own people and the world proletariat to carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end.

For the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people the struggle against revisionism has become part of their being. It has become a mode of thinking and seeing things, the basis of their socialist ideology and policy. It has become a sound guarantee that revisionism will not pass in Albania.

And everyday life, the facts and events of international life, the disastrous failures of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, the progress of the new Marxist-Leninist movement in the world justify the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people. This is a confirmation through practice of the correctness of their line, a historic confirmation of the effectiveness of Marxism-Leninism which gives them courage and confidence in the struggle they wage, which strengthens them in their certainty that the day will come again when the revolution triumphs on large territories, when socialism is built not only there where it has been betrayed, but also in new countries and on other continents.

The main merit for the courageous Marxist-Leninist stand of principle of the Party of Labour of Albania against modern revisionism belongs to Comrade Enver Hoxha. The struggle against revisionism, in defence of Marxism-Leninism is among the fundamental lines of his

work as a Marxist-Leninist thinker and party leader, as a communist militant and statesman. His contribution is everywhere: in the formulation of the principal ideas of this struggle, in the working out of theoretical arguments and in the assuming of concrete political stands, in its whole strategy and tactics.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's work on the struggle against modern revisionism represents a great theoretical treasury and a broad experience of political struggle against opportunist deviations. Taken as a whole, it is a lofty example of creative Marxism linked with the more important problems of the current world development, of the strategy and tactic of the revolution in the present epoch, of the struggle against imperialism and opportunism, and of the relations among the communist parties and socialist countries.

It is known that the opportunist trends which have emerged in the workers' movement have been the product of the pressure of the bourgeoisie on the working class and its struggle. It is also known that opportunism, as an ideological trend and political activity, serves the struggle of the bourgeoisie against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Modern revisionism is no exception from this rule, either. This new opportunist trend is the product of all these principal factors, too. In his work, Comrade Enver Hoxha not only affirms these teachings of Marxism-Leninism, but also shows the social conditions and the new international relations which have given birth to modern revisionism. He reveals and proves with compelling arguments and iron logic that the modern revisionism of today is a compo-

nent part of the new ideology of imperialism, a strategy which it adopted after the Second World War, when counter-revolution was placed at its foundation. Comrade Enver Hoxha's analysis of this strategy enables us to understand the place of modern revisionism in this strategy and the role it is intended to play in the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the revolution, socialism and the liberation of the peoples.

Delving deep into the problems raised by the revisionists and their theses and arguments, Comrade Enver Hoxha has also foreseen their inevitable degeneration and transition to the camp of the bourgeoisie which today everybody is clear about.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's work is characterized by a broad Marxist culture. Just as he knows, well the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, so has he profound knowledge of the history of the international workers' and communist movement and the history of the modern times in general. Comrade Enver Hoxha knows the Marxists, just as well as he knows the bourgeois philosophers, their theories and doctrines, and the social conditions in which they have emerged and worked. This has enabled him to go to the roots of the phenomena, to follow their evolution in the course of the development of Marxism in order to compare the opportunist trends of the past with modern revisionism and draw the relative conclusions.

Nobody has preached the need for a relentless and merciless struggle against modern revisionism as the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have done, and nobody

has waged this struggle with greater consistency, determination and revolutionary passion.

The struggle of the Albanian communists against modern revisionism comprises a period of about forty years. It has been a fierce and difficult struggle, but during this period there has been not a single moment of despair or pessimism, of wavering confidence in the future of socialism and communism. On the contrary, the stronger their certainty of the inevitable failure of modern revisionism, the stronger their conviction that Marxism-Leninism, regardless of the great betrayal of the revisionists and the joint attacks of the whole world anti-communist front, will never be conquered, and that the revolution and socialism will triumph.

It is precisely these ideals, it is precisely this confidence in their triumph that have prompted them to fight against greater and more powerful enemies, that have given them the revolutionary courage to resist and face up to most difficult situations. However, this struggle has been made even stronger by the conviction deriving from the scientific analysis of social processes, from the objective cognition of the laws of development of human society and from examples of historical practice. And the principal merit for this conviction goes to Comrade Enver Hoxha who has carried out these scientific Marxist-Leninist analyses, who has educated and taught the Albanian communists and people to be optimistic in their encounters with the modern revisionists, to be confident about the final victory. «The epoch of proletarian revolutions,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha. «has just begun. The advent of socialism repres-

ents an historical necessity which results from the objective development of society. This is inevitable. The counter-revolutions which have been carried out and the obstacles which emerge can prolong the existence of the old exploiting system to some extent, but they are powerless to halt the march of human society towards its socialist future.»¹

When the Party of Labour criticised the various revisionist trends, there were many people, and not only bourgeois and opportunists, but also others, who considered its struggle as proceeding from purely national, Albanian, motives, from the nature and character of the Albanians, imposed by the particular conditions of Albanian inter-state relations, as were, for example, economic problems, or merely a reaction of irreconcilability with this or that leader of this or that country, etc.

Was the defence of the national interests also an aspect of this struggle? It was, and even to a great degree. In fighting against modern revisionism, the Albanian communists also defended their national interests, and defended them strongly, with fiery patriotism and self-abnegation. But what must be stressed is that they defended these interests not from positions of narrow bourgeois nationalism, but from positions of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Their struggle was, first of all, of an ideological character, because it proceeded not only from national interests, but also from the general interests of the revolution and socialism,

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism Is Anti-Communism*, p. 6; Eng. ed.

from the concern of the Albanian communists about the future of the communist movement.

The struggle against the revisionists was also imposed on the Albanian communists and people by others. They were obliged to defend their freedom and independence won through the National Liberation War, to defend the gains of the socialist construction.

The attacks of the modern revisionists against the Party of Labour of Albania and socialist Albania were carried out not only on the theoretical and ideological plane. They were linked with direct threats, even military threats, economic blockades, diversion and plots aimed at organizing the internal reactionary forces which would bring about the overthrow of the people's state power.

Tito and the Yugoslav revisionists wanted to gobble up Albania and annex it to Yugoslavia. The Soviet revisionists wanted to turn Albania into an appendage of the Soviet empire. One has only to look at Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and other countries to see what our country would have been reduced to. The Chinese revisionists, for their part, wanted us to support their pro-imperialist policy, etc.

Now, after some time has passed, so many documents have emerged and so many testimonies exist that there is no need for more words about this question.

If in particular cases of this ten-year long struggle the aspect of the relations of our country or Party with the revisionist countries and parties became more accentuated, this is explained with the megalomania and savageness of the attacks of the different revisionists against

us. Our Party and people could not fail to respond to these attacks.

However, the main thing is that even in these cases the Party of Labour has always tried to prove that the anti-Albanian activity of the revisionists comes from their bourgeois ideology and their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, and that their chauvinist policy towards Albania is proof of this betrayal.

The struggle of our Party against revisionism has always had an ever relevant character. The Party of Labour of Albania has treated and coped with the problems on the agenda of the communist movement or international relations. Certainly, the exposure of revisionism has not been done in one day, and not all problems have been treated at the same time. Revisionism revealed its face gradually, and its different detachments launched their attacks at different times and on different fronts. Hence, as the revisionist betrayal deepened, so the Marxist-Leninist criticism of it, the uncovering of its roots and counter-revolutionary plans grew deeper. But the important thing is that the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have attacked the negative phenomena upon their first emergence and delved deep into them, exposing both the strategic and tactical aspects of revisionism, both its theoretical and practical aspects.

It must also be pointed out that at no time and in no situation have the Albanian communists with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head conducted their polemic from defensive positions. They have never allowed themselves to be caught in stale arguments, nor have they me-

chanically repeated known principles. Never has this polemic assumed the slightest shade of a dogmatic character.

In order to revise Marxism-Leninism and negate its teachings on the Party, the revolution, and the construction of socialism, modern revisionism used as an argument the changes that have taken place in the world as a result of the Second World War, the new socio-economic and technical-scientific processes, as well as the exacerbation of the various social contradictions. This was a speculation on their part, but the challenge had to be taken up. It had to be proved that these changes not only did not invalidate Marxism-Leninism, but, on the contrary, confirmed its correctness. What there was new in them was that they had created more favourable conditions for the triumph of socialism on a world scale. All the facts proved the vitality of Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet Union, as a socialist country led by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, emerged victorious from the war. While in Europe and Asia new socialist states were set up, on the other continents the colonial system collapsed. The capitalist order emerged economically and politically weaker from the war and its equilibrium was upset. It had nothing to offer the peoples.

So, if the changes that had taken place in the world after the war called for action, this was not the revision of Marxism-Leninism, but the strengthening of the offensive of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and of the peoples against imperialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha made this correct scientific analysis right at the start and right at the start he characterized Yugoslav

revisionism as an offspring of the strategy of imperialism, and the Yugoslav leadership as its agency. The subsequent events, the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism, the birth and development of Eurocommunism, the counter-revolutionary turn in China brought new facts and arguments, but the essence of this fundamental conclusion remained what it was. They confirmed the correctness of our Party's assessment of the Titoite ideology and its roots, the correctness of its criticism of the policy of the Yugoslav leadership, of its exposure of their practical activity. «Modern revisionism», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «which is the continuation of the anti-Marxist theories of the parties of the Second International, of European social-democracy, adapted itself to the times after the Second World War. It has its source in the hegemonic policy of American imperialism. All the variants and currents of modern revisionism have the same bases and the same strategy, and differ only in the tactics which they apply and the forms of struggle which they use».¹

Many people in different countries who continue to ask to this day how it was possible for our Party to take so correct, well-based and profoundly argued a stand towards modern revisionism, have incomplete knowledge of the broad theoretical basis of our Party's criticism of Titoism, of its precise analysis of its emergence and its political and ideological content. The protracted, consistent and principled struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, against their

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism*, p. 24, Eng. ed.

anti-Marxist practices, enabled our Party to detect right at the start the resemblance of Khrushchevism with Titoism, to see that they had the same ideological bases and note the affinity of their political directions. «For us, both in the past and even afterwards,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «the stand towards the revisionists of Belgrade has been and still is the touchstone to prove whether a party is following a sound Marxist line or a wrong anti-Marxist line. In the future we were to put Khrushchev and the Khrushchevite to this test.»¹

The Albanian communists could not fail to arrive at the conclusion that Khrushchev's attempts at the rehabilitation of Yugoslav revisionism were intended to defend the new opportunist line which the Soviet leadership was adopting. In reality, Khrushchev did not defend so much Tito as his own ideological, political and organizational affinity with him, he defended the counter-revolutionary turn which was taking place in the Soviet Union.

If the rehabilitation of the Yugoslav revisionists was accepted, as Khrushchev demanded, this would have meant renunciation of Marxism-Leninism, as Tito had done, would have meant acceptance and justification of revisionism in general as an ideology, policy and practice.

Therefore, when Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Moscow Meeting before all the representatives of international communism that «The Party of Labour of Albania has always held the opinion and is convinced that the Tito group has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, is an

¹ Enver Hoxha, *The Khrushchevites (Memoires)*, p. 130, Eng. ed.

agency of imperialism, a dangerous enemy of the socialist camp and the entire international communist and workers' movement. . . »¹ he made it completely clear for everybody that Khrushchev and Khrushchevism were the same as Tito and Titoism.

Our Party has clashed right at the beginning and constantly afterwards with all the revisionist trends not over small and unimportant matters, but over fundamental questions of the revolutionary theory and practice, not over the peculiarities of each country or party, but over the general laws of Marxism-Leninism.

As a criterion of its judgement and a demarcation line our Party has had such major questions as the stand towards the revolution and socialism, imperialism and revisionism, the revolutionary and liberation movement, the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The problems of the revolution have occupied the main place in the struggle of our Party against modern revisionism and in the theoretical work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The revolution was put at the centre of this struggle because against it were directed the combined attacks of big capital and reaction to check it, because modern revisionism was encouraged and boosted precisely to undermine it, and because, finally, the revolution was and remained the only weapon to foil the strategy of the enemies of the proletariat.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a brilliant

¹ Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 3, The «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1980, Eng. ed., p. 135.

defence of the Leninist theory of the revolution and exposed with convincing arguments and many facts the confusion created deliberately by the revisionists about the revolution, and the opportunist theories concocted by them. In this question he proceeded from the conclusion that at a time when the question of the revolution is posed for solution, the necessity of the exposure of the theories and speculations of the revisionists about it becomes even more urgent, just as the correct understanding and implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism becomes more imperative.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has made an all-round, profound and scientific criticism of the different revisionist trends which present their opportunist theories as a new, higher development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, as a strategy more appropriate to the transition from capitalism to socialism and as the most effective program for the construction of socialism itself. With sound arguments and through a direct confrontation of true Marxist-Leninist science with the processes of world development, he has exposed and convincingly refuted the Yugoslav theories about the so-called spontaneous march of the world towards the revolution, Khrushchev's «peaceful» road, the negation of the existence of the problem of the revolution in the present time by the Chinese, etc. His criticism has found its full reflection in such outstanding works as «The Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», «The Titoites», «The Khrushchevites», «Imperialism and the Revolution», «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», «Reflections on China», etc. Besides his theoretic-

cal criticism, Comrade Enver Hoxha has at the same time revealed the ideological and political aims of these opportunist trends, the counter-revolutionary and treacherous character of their activity. In defending the Leninist theory of the revolution at a time when it was attacked from all sides, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have given the proletariat and the peoples valuable assistance, have kept alive this powerful weapon for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The stand towards the revolution is closely connected with the stand towards imperialism. In order to deny the revolution the modern revisionists were obliged to deny the Leninist theory on imperialism and the character of our epoch. On the other hand, just as they wanted to oppose the revolution, the revisionists sought to justify their rapprochement to and collaboration with the imperialists. Our Party has attacked right from the start these lines and objectives of the modern revisionists. The stand towards imperialism became the field of its great battle against Yugoslav, Khrushchevite and Chinese revisionism. By confronting the theoretical concepts of the revisionists with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, by confronting their actual stands towards the imperialist groupings with the reality of our time, with the interests of the revolution and the peoples, our Party has revealed the true face of the modern revisionist traitors.

Our Party has always set a clear-cut demarcation line with American, Soviet or any other kind of imperialism. No illusion about them and no concession to them, but always

resolute and persistent struggle against them to defend freedom and independence, to defend the revolution and socialism, to defend Marxism-Leninism. Our Party has considered the stand towards imperialism as the «touchstone» for all political forces, a demarcation line dividing those who defend the vital interests of the peoples and the future of mankind from those who trample them underfoot, dividing the revolutionaries from the traitors.

Life is proving more and more with each passing day that modern revisionism has become the right hand of imperialism in its savage struggle to enslave the peoples, to undermine the revolution, to suppress the efforts of the peoples for freedom and independence.

With the emergence of the revisionists in the Soviet Union, apart from the stand towards imperialism, the problem of socialism was also posed with great force. The problem was posed in its two aspects: first, it had to be proved that socialism no longer existed in the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet society was being transformed into a capitalist society; and, second, the bourgeois propaganda which attributed all the failures of the revisionist Soviet Union, which were failures of a bourgeois society, to the socialist system, had to be refuted.

Certainly, the problem of socialism had emerged also previously with the Titoites, but their exposure was easier because they themselves declared that they wanted to build a socialism of another kind, not that of Lenin and Stalin, but a «national», «specific» socialism, with the help of American dollars, British

pounds and other currencies of the capitalist world. For their part, the Soviet revisionists maintained the outward appearance of the socialist state, the socialist laws and norms, wrote everyday about the October Revolution and talked endlessly about Lenin. It was precisely this fog that had to be dispelled. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha demonstrated with scientific arguments that the power of the Soviets, its socialist laws and communist norms were growing void of their class and Marxist content, that the social relations in the Soviet Union were turning capitalist, that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union was becoming expansionist and hegemonist.

Now everybody, not only the revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists, but also those who have nothing to do with Marxism and communism, are clearly seeing that the Khrushchevite theories of «coexistence» and «peaceful competition» had nothing to do with the revolution, socialism or the securing of peace. They were theories of the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union, were chauvinist theories of the great state, a new superpower emerging on the international arena with claims to the division and domination of the world, but trying to disguise its true aims with Marxist phrases.

«Time has proved», said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, «that the theses of the 20th Congress were neither 'simple ideological distortions', nor erroneous assessments of situations. The 'Khrushchevite theories' represented a consciously chosen course for the eliminat-

ion of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism, ideological and political means specifically chosen for the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist state and the removal of obstacles to the implementation of the policy of great power chauvinism».¹

In exposing the Yugoslav, Soviet, Eurocommunist and other kinds of «socialism», our Party has defended the true socialist ideal, has defended that socialist practice which was applied in the Soviet Union, but was betrayed by the Khrushchevites, has defended that socialism which is being built and forging ahead in Albania, that socialism which eliminates the exploitation of man by man, which makes the worker master of the means of production, which liberates him from obsolete ideologies and gives the working class the political rule of the country.

In the struggle against revisionism, one of the fields on which our Party has waged its more important battles has been that of the stand which is to be taken towards revisionism as an ideology and practice, towards the concrete actions of the parties and states ruled by this opportunist ideology. Our Party has consistently defended the thesis that «revisionism is the main danger in the communist movement». It not only is convinced, but has also shown with incontrovertible facts that opportunism can never return to Marxism-Leninism, that the revision-

1 Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, pp. 224-225, Eng. ed.

ist parties can never be regenerated, that they can never become revolutionary again.

The fierce clashes of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha with Khrushchev when he demanded that we should reconcile ourselves with the Yugoslav revisionists, or with the Chinese, when they wanted to reconcile themselves with the Soviets, are well known.

The logic of our Party has been a sound one. It could not maintain two stands towards revisionism, it could not have two measures for it. It could not, for example, demand that the Yugoslav revisionism should be combatted and opposed, and the Soviet revisionism tolerated, that the Khrushchevite revisionism be fought against, and the eyes be closed before the Chinese revisionism. To accept the rehabilitation of the Yugoslav revisionists, as Khrushchev tried to bring us round to, or to accept reconciliation with the Soviets, as Zhou Enlai demanded, meant to accept and justify revisionism in general as an ideology, policy, and practice, meant not to consider it any longer as the main threat to the communist movement, hence, there could be no reason to continue the struggle against it. If revisionism was to be conceived and treated as the Soviets, the Chinese and many other communist parties of Western Europe did — as an accidental and temporary phenomenon, or as a product of passing international situations and localized in this or that country, then all barriers which prevented its spread would fall, and it would invade, as it did, all the old communist parties. On the other hand, if our Party had maintained an indifferent stand, thinking that it was sufficient that it came to no harm,

and let the others do as they pleased, this meant that it would have fallen itself into revisionism, and made a compromise with it.

This our Party never did, nor could it ever do. Just as it was convinced and conscious that Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the entire world proletariat, it was resolute in the conviction that it had to be defended by all, that its enemies, whoever and wherever they were, had to be fought by all. In answering those who blamed our Party for openly attacking Khrushchev, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «Silence about revisionism from the political angle would be a grave crime against Marxism-Leninism... Silence would be the first stage. The other stage would be the opening of borders to revisionism. We will not follow this road. If we, too, were to follow this road, this would be suicide for our country... So from silence one goes over to what Yugoslavia is today. If we were to allow such a thing this would mean that we would lose the independence of the Homeland and set the mines to socialism».

And time has proven and will prove our Party always right. Its exposure of Yugoslav, Soviet, Chinese and other kinds of revisionism will remain a brilliant example, not only of revolutionary courage, but also of clarity of prospects.

Our Party openly criticized and denounced modern revisionism as an ideology and policy at a time when Khrushchev and his followers were all united among themselves. At that time all opposed our Party. At present many of Khrushchev's followers have abandoned the Soviet Union. Their causes and motives are dif-

ferent from ours, they are non-communist and non-internationalist. Nevertheless, in this question, too, the forecast of our Party that opportunist unity would not last long, was confirmed. Revisionism means discord, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said. And now we see the Khrushchevite revisionists being split in currents, groups and factions which quarrel and struggle with one another.

The struggle of our Party against modern revisionism has played a role of great importance in the emergence and development of the new Marxist-Leninist movement. The old revolutionaries who abandoned the revisionist parties or the new revolutionaries who set out on the road of the revolution found in the experience of our Party, in its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its internationalist spirit full support and backing, a field of battle for the common cause of the revolution and socialism.

The new Marxist-Leninist movement is a truly international communist movement and the future belongs to it. It is a fact that despite the harm caused by the betrayal of the Chinese revisionists and the attacks and slanders of the other revisionists, it is taking important steps forward from one year to the other. The important thing is that it is conscious of its historic mission and has taken in its hands and keeps high the banner of the revolutionary movement for social and national emancipation which the modern revisionists have betrayed.

The struggle against revisionism has served our Party also for the development of its theoretical thinking. Our Party had to attack revisionism

all along the line also because the revisionist onslaught against Marxism-Leninism had to do not with one or two separate problems, but with all the problems of the revolutionary theory and practice. Hence, our Party's defence of Marxism-Leninism extends to all fields, and, as a consequence, its creative contribution is found in all fields.

Our Party had to confront all the revisionist theses with Marxism-Leninism, had to analyse one by one the sinister changes that were occurring in the Soviet policy, in the stands of the Soviet revisionists towards imperialism, the communist movement, the socialist countries, the liberation movement, etc. Here a great deal of creative work affecting the main problems of Marxist science, ideology, politics, economy, ethics, philosophy, etc., had to be done. The opportunist theses of the Titoites, Khrushchevites, the Chinese revisionists, the Eurocommunists and others were resolutely rejected, but not simply rejected. Along with this the strategy of the communist movement had to be pointed out, the situation in the world had to be explained, as well as how creative thinking must be conceived in the field of Marxist sciences and how a concrete correct stand taken towards imperialism, opportunism, the revolutionary and liberation movement, the socialist parties and countries.

In exposing without any concession the line of bourgeois degeneration for the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union, as it had done previously with the Titoite revisionists and, later, with the Chinese and Eurocommunists revisionists, the Party of Labour of Albania has opposed to them a revolutionary Marxist-

Leninist line and program for the uninterrupted advancement of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and the prevention of a return to capitalism. This revolutionary program represents a new contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The implementation of this line and program and the present reality of Albania prove that the spread of revisionism in the socialist countries is no fatality, nor is it an indispensability, as the bourgeois ideologists make out. They prove that the onward march of socialism is unstoppable when a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line is followed and implemented consistently.

The correct political line of the Party, the rigorous implementation of Marxism-Leninism and Leninist norms, the long and resolute struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism have brought about the brilliant situation which exists in Albania today, the revolutionary spirit of our people, the good name and great authority our country enjoys in the international arena.

It is almost forty years now that our Party is locked in fierce struggle with modern revisionism. This is sufficient time to draw the balance of this struggle, or, better say, to see where the Yugoslavs, the Soviets, the Chinese or the communist parties which hitched themselves to Khrushchev's chariot, have landed.

Yugoslavia is a failure in all fields, a failure of «specific national socialism», a failure of «self-administration», a failure of «unity-fraternity», a failure of «non-alignment» and «the policy against blocs». The Titoite revisionist course has landed Yugoslavia in the situation in which Abdul Ha-

mid's Turkey was in the time when it proclaimed the moratorium. The People's Bank of Yugoslavia performs today the same functions as those of the Ottoman Imperial Bank in that time, that is, it collects the money from the people and hands it over to foreigners. What socialism is that which has debts of twenty billion dollars and a million of unemployed, without reckoning just as great a number of people working for the capitalists of the West? What does «unity-fraternity» mean there when two million Yugoslav citizens of Albanian nationality, or one tenth of the population of the country, are held in a colonial condition? Of what «non-alignment» can there be talk when Yugoslavia is linked with 600 monopoly banks and with all the governments of the great powers of the West and East?

The predictions of our Party that departure from Marxism-Leninism and pursuit of a revisionist course would lead the Soviet Union to the complete bourgeois degeneration of its socialist order were fully vindicated.

The Khrushchevite betrayal liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat which had emerged from the October Revolution and was built with so many efforts and sacrifices. The new economic reforms wrecked all the former socialist structures. Profit became the main aim of production, and the exploitation of the working class its basis. The Soviet economy was integrated into the economic system of world capitalism. Great-Russian chauvinism, raised to a ruling ideology, destroyed Lenin and Stalin's work to its foundations, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is a typically colonialist and

neo-colonialist policy which relies on the force of capital and arms.

The condition of the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe which submitted to Khrushchev or followed him is truly miserable.

Until a certain time it could be said of them that they had limited sovereignty, but now they do not enjoy any sovereignty at all. At present there can be question only of complete and all-round Soviet rule in these countries.

Acceptance of the line of the 20th Congress and their own opportunist views led the old communist parties of the West to openly anti-Marxist and anti-communist positions. Togliatti's polycentrism and Eurocommunism emerged on this basis. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has put it in many of his writings, abandonment of the class interests of the proletariat, departure from the struggle against imperialism and betrayal of the cause of national liberation led the Eurocommunists to complete negation of the revolution and socialism. All their theories, programs and activities were reduced to some reformist demands which do not affect and do not threaten the existence of the capitalist order. The revisionist parties of the West have not only wiped off any class demarcation with the bourgeoisie, but also established a close alliance and collaboration with it, as is occurring in Italy, France, Spain and other countries. This marks their complete degeneration, their public capitulation to their own bourgeoisie, their placing themselves in its service. For its part, China followed Mao Zedong thought and, although in another form, turned again to what it had been before the revolution, a country ruled by a military-bureau-

cratic caste, closely linked with American imperialism and utterly dependent on international monopoly capital.

Marxism is no science-fiction, nor is it a literary exercise, but the science of the development of human society and its transformation. It relies on the cognition of the objective laws of this society and their application for its advancement. The road shown by Marxism is the road of the real solution of social contradictions.

Khrushchev preached a world without weapons and without wars. His sermons died together with him. Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping came out with the theory of three worlds. But what is left of this theory? Nothing at all. The Eurocommunists advertized their type of transition to socialism jointly with the capitalists. But the capitalists did not accept their «brilliant» proposal and the Eurocommunists came a cropper.

The aim of all revisionist theories was to hamper the revolution, to prevent it from breaking out, to undermine socialism. But their failure shows that they are in no position to prevent the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of socialism.

The dialectical study of concrete situations and world development and the drawing of practical scientific conclusions to serve the cause of the revolution and socialism has always been the characteristic of the Marxist thinkers and revolutionary leaders. The work and struggle of Comrade Enver Hoxha against modern revisionism show that he has followed this brilliant

Leninist tradition. Taken as a whole, this struggle represents a contribution of major value to the treasury of the scientific doctrine of the revolutionary proletariat, and it remains always a living fighting doctrine, a compass for the working people and the peoples of the world in their glorious battles for the revolutionary transformation of present-day human society.

Among the distinguishing features of the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, beginning from his first articles in the Forties to his recent major works, are his arguments, conclusions and syntheses based on the everyday facts of real life, arguments that are accessible and understandable to everybody. On the other hand, the facts, events and phenomena that occur and develop in the world confirm the correctness of his stands, prove the objectiveness of his judgements and show the precision of his predictions.

All this makes Comrade Enver Hoxha's work a work of major value not only to understand the present, but also to see the future, to utilize the present in order to arrive at and ensure the revolutionary perspective.

By openly, correctly and concretely expounding the fundamental problems of our time, and the major problems that concern the revolutionary and liberation movement, the peoples and the progressives in the world today, Comrade Enver Hoxha's work gives the answer to all the difficult and complex problems and questions that arise today. With his revolutionary pathos he opposes himself to the pessimism imperialism and the bourgeoisie try to create, strikes at the sabotaging manoeuvres of the modern

revisionists, and always arouses optimism in struggle and confidence in victory.

In the present situation when American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all the modern revisionists carry out an all-round campaign of slander and discrimination against Marxism-Leninism and the world revolutionary movement, Comrade Enver Hoxha's work assists all those who hold dear the cause of the revolution and socialism to orientate themselves in the jungle of ideological degeneration, confusion and chaos created by the enemies of the revolution, imperialism and revisionism, helps them to work out a correct revolutionary strategy and tactic.

Our Party is part of the great international army of the world revolution. Its task, the task of the Albanian communists and patriots is to maintain an exemplary stand on this glorious front. And led by their Party of Labour with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, they will, as always, discharge themselves honourably of this task. And they carry out this task by building socialism in Albania, they carry it out by fighting courageously and resolutely against imperialism and revisionism, holding the triumphant banner of Marxism-Leninism always high and unstained.

CLOSING SPEECH BY COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA

Comrades,

These two days we have listened to the reports on the study of the theoretical Marxist-Leninist thought of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. I wish to congratulate the authors of these reports on the successful efforts they have made to bring out our Party's further development and creative application of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in carrying out the revolution and building socialism in Albania, as well as on the convincing scientific arguments they presented on those questions.

The struggle of our Party is an all-pervading, deep-going and all-round struggle. It is a struggle waged for over four decades by a genuine communist party which has carried out the revolution and successfully led the construction of socialism in its own country, a heroic struggle waged in defence of Marxism-Leninism for the exposure of modern revisionism. Naturally, all this experience cannot be analyzed and

summed up in a single conference. For this special and complex studies of various aspects and categories will be needed. This is a task, an obligation which those engaged in the study of social sciences will constantly carry out with zeal and dedication.

The reports submitted to the Conference succeeded in bringing out the valuable contribution of our Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head to the great theoretical treasury of Marxism-Leninism, in showing the originality of the solution of many problems of the revolution and the construction of socialism in one country, and stressing the importance of the views and stands of the Party of Labour and socialist Albania on the general strategy of the world revolutionary movement.

Each report in particular and all of them taken together brought out the oneness of the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha with that of the Party, the close connection of his role as a party leader, as a Marxist-Leninist thinker and statesman with the revolutionary activity of our heroic Party, the identification of his life with the destiny of the people and the Homeland.

Let the proceedings of this scientific Conference be an expression of special respect and reverence for the outstanding work of the beloved Comrade Enver Hoxha, let them be on the eve of his 75th birthday a sincere and heart-felt wish of long life and sound health, of an always creative and fertile activity for the good of the Party, the people, the revolution and socialism.

Let the proceedings of this Conference also serve as a fresh impulse to and source of inspiration for all the communists, cadres and working

people of our country so that in their whole activity for the construction of socialism and the defence of their Homeland they always, now and in the future, be led by the compass of the theoretical thought of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

I declare the Scientific Conference on the Theoretical Thought of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha closed.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania!

Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha, our beloved leader and teacher!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

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