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**GLORY TO THE BRILLIANT
AND IMMORTAL WORK OF COMRADE
ENVER HOXHA!**



*ENVER HOXHA — the founder and leader of the Communist Party of Albania,
today the Party of Labour of Albania, (by Sh. Hysa)*

**THE WORK OF COMRADE
ENVER HOXHA LIES AT THE
FOUNDATIONS OF EVERY-
THING ACHIEVED IN THE
PRESENT-DAY ALBANIA.**

**HIS NAME AS THE ARCHI-
TECT OF THE NEW SOCIALIST
ALBANIA AND HIS WORK LI-
VE AND WILL LIVE THROUGH
THE CENTURIES.**

GREAT SORROW AND THE ENTIRE OUR BELOVED LEADER, IS

FOR THE PARTY ALBANIAN PEOPLE COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, DEAD

Comrades, communists, workers, cooperativists, intellectuals, women and youth of Albania, veterans of the National Liberation War and compatriots,

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

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

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

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

A staunch revolutionary and a devoted patriot, Comrade Enver Hoxha was the first among the Albanian communists to understand the great historic need for the creation of the Communist Party, the only staff capable of uniting the people and leading them in the war for the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's power. His great historic merit is the creation of this staff, of strengthening it organizationally and educating it ideologically at the very grave moments of the fascist occupation and oppression, and

the betrayal of the nation by the old political forces. At the head of the Party, He drafted and worked out the general political line of the National Liberation War, found and defined the roads to the achievement of the victory of 29 November 1944, in fierce clashes with external and internal enemies, with opportunists and factionalists.

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

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

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

Comrade Enver Hoxha drafted and worked out the program of magnificent transformations and the construction of the new socialist society. The victorious battles for the industrialization of the country, the building of all the monumental projects which gave the country its new working class and a powerful base for its all-round economic and social development, were waged under the leadership of the communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

Relying on Marxism-Leninism and knowing the sufferings and centuries-old aspirations of our patriotic peasantry, Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the fundamental orientations for the collectivization and modernization of agriculture. The correctness of the road mapped out by the Party is clearly seen in the present reality of our cooperativist village.

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

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

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

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

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

As a true internationalist, He has tirelessly supported the new Marxist-Leninist parties and their revolutionary struggle, has always stood by them and attentively followed their struggle for their consolidation and advancement.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the greatest historic figure of our people and nation, which will illuminate the road for the present and coming generations with its undying light. He will live for ever beloved, honoured and respected in the hearts of all the communists and our people. With His Work and teachings, He will always stand by them in order to inspire them in their struggle and work for the good of the Homeland and communism.

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

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

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

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

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

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

THE PRESIDUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY
OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

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

THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA

OUR PEOPLE PAY HOMAGE AND BOW IN DEEP RESPECT AND GRATITUDE TO COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

The red-and-black flag is at half-mast. Albania is in deep sorrow. No one can accustom himself to the bitter news. No one can bring himself to believe that the man dearest to our hearts, He, who is present in all our homes, lives no more. Every day, at 09.00 hours, thousands of people in tears from all over Albania stream to the residence of the Presidium of the People's Assembly where the coffin with the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved and glorious Leader of the Party and our people, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, General Commander of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, lies in state.

White-haired veterans, those who followed step by step the beloved Commander in glorious battles, those who bandaged their wounds and sang partisan songs at the camp-fires of the war together with him, have come to bid him their last farewell. Little children who said «Party-Enver» as soon as they began to speak, workers of big projects of our five-year plans, cooperativists of the socialist village have gathered to give him their last respects. There are young men and women, militarymen, writers and artists... The whole of Albania has moved to Tirana.

On Wednesday of April 12, at 09.00 hours the coffin with the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha lies in state in the hall of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. It is set on a red silk pedestal with innumerable wreaths around it. In the background there is a big painting of Comrade Enver Hoxha with the years of his birth and death — 1908-1985. Pinned on red cushions, there are the lofty decorations «People's Hero», «Hero of Socialist Labour» and the many orders Comrade Enver Hoxha was awarded by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the consort and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the members of his family, pay homage to the coffin. These are moments of deep sorrow.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrades Adil Çarçani, 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, Vangjel Çerrava, Haki Tos-

ka, Shefqet Peçi, Spiro Koleka, Xhafer Spahiu, Pilo Peristeri enter the hall in deep sorrow and with tears in their eyes and stand guard of honour at the coffin with the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The leaders of the Party and the state honour with their raised clenched fists the unforgettable memory of the Founder and outstanding Leader of the Party, they touch with deep grief and emotion the coffin and bow in profound respect. Then, they meet Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the consort and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the other members of his family and express their sympathy to them.

The members of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, of the Government, of the Chairmanship of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, workers of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party, veterans of the war and work, teachers and students of the «V.I. Lenin» Higher Party School, militarymen, workers of various services attached to Comrade Enver Hoxha and others pay homage and stand guard of honour. At these moments of deep sorrow they bow in boundless respect before the glorious life and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the greatest historic figure of our people and nation which illuminates with undying brilliance the road to the present and future generations.

The endless stream of silent and tearful mourners pours into the hall under the tunes of funeral music. Among those who have come to see Comrade Enver Hoxha for the last time are also the residents of the quarter no. 3, the quarter where in a simple Tirana house Enver Hoxha, at the head of a group of Albanian communists, founded the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941.

An endless stream of people. And this stream does start not from «Skanderbeg» Square. It starts from the peaks of our unconquerable mountains and from our rich fields, from our factories and schools, from the hearts of the children of our kindergartens and our eagle-eyed border guards. A teacher of the «Hasan Prishtina» school of the capital puts it in this way: «We were shattered by the bitter news. We could not believe it. We were at a loss for words to break this news to our pupils. At first they did not believe us. It was the first time that they did not believe their teachers. Then,

when they saw that it was all true, they began to cry. Pure tears of children. The next day they came to us with their poems. All of them had become poets. And all their poems were dedicated to Uncle Enver...»

Among the people waiting to pay their last respects to him are the brave mothers who had sheltered Comrade Enver Hoxha in the fiery days of the war, the participants of the mass actions for the building of the first railways of the country, those who are struggling on new fronts, the builders of the big hydro-power stations.

Relatives and friends of the family, comrades of the war and work who have known him since the beginning of the great struggle for the liberation and the socialist construction of the country, mothers, sisters and brothers who sheltered him in their generous homes during the war years, workers and cooperativists whom Comrade Enver Hoxha had met in factories, workshops and agricultural cooperatives pay visits of condolence to Comrade Enver Hoxha's home. They express their deep sympathy to Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and the other members of the family.

In the early morning of the next day an endless column of people stream towards the hall of the Presidium of the People's Assembly to pay their last respects to the coffin with the body of the beloved and glorious Leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. There come other veterans of the war and work, their lips trembling with emotion, their voices sticking in their throats. There comes Musa Kelmendi, the brother of the People's Hero, Ali Kelmendi. «I cannot find words to express my grief,» says he. «I have met him several times and it seemed to me as if I met my brother Ali.» The entire Shijaku family have come to pay their last respects to the beloved man they had known and sheltered in the years of the partisan war. Xhemal never forgets the day when Comrade Enver Hoxha, together with other comrades of the underground movement, prepared and printed the first number of the newspaper «Zeri i popullit» in their old house (today the Museum House of our People's Press).

10.00 hours. To their dear Enver come again his consort and collaborator, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, and the members of his family. Moments of deep emotion. Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha touches the coffin with a

trembling hand and lays on it a bouquet of flowers with the inscription «Seven Red Flowers of Farewell to Our Dear and Unforgettable Grandfather: Valbona, Ermal, Dritan, Shpat, Shkelzen, Blerina, Besmir. Tirana, April 12, 1985.»

Then, in one of the halls of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, representatives of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth, the women, the People's Army and the people's intelligentsia express their sympathy to Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and the other members of the family of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Trembling with the emotion of the great loss, Mother Shaho Luçi, from the Kuç village in the mountains of Laberia, enters the hall. She is more than eighty. She is the mother of the People's Hero Nuri Luçi and the martyr Jashar Luçi.

«My sympathy! Be courageous! Long live the Party!» says Mother Luçi to Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

«You have been the first to set the example how to behave in these circumstances. You have got two sons killed who cemented the foundations of today's Albania with their blood,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

Mother Shaho is deeply grieved, like all mothers. Words can hardly come out of a hurt heart, but those that do come out have a crystal ring because they well up from the bottom of the soul.

«He forged always ahead, made light of all difficulties,» Mother Shaho went on. «What Enver didn't say and do! His works are immortal. With Comrade Enver's teachings I sent my sons to war, gave them the cartridge belts and told them to stand neither in the rear nor in the middle, but on the front.»

«Enver will go to your sons,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, «he will see them, meet them and recall the past with them.»

«He won't meet them only,» says Mother Shaho, «but all the other comrades who fought and fell for the liberation of the country and for the Party.»

«Man dies, but the Party never dies, Enver used to say,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

«When you wished him 'A long life to you, Comrade Enver!' He would reply 'A long life to the Party!' We will turn this great sorrow into a source of strength,» says comrade Shefqet Peçi. «Let us mobilize ourselves to fulfil all the tasks and plans because we have got

the Party, which is strong and pure, as Comrade Enver Hoxha left it.»

«That is so,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, «the Party is strong and in sure hands. Throughout his life Comrade Enver fought and worked for the strengthening of the unity of the Party with the people.»

At Peza there is the museum-house in which the Conference of Peza, which is already part of our history, was held. It is the house of Abdurrahim Peza. Today his daughter, Tatiana, who is a teacher, has come to pay her last respects to Comrade Enver Hoxha. «Comrade Enver never forgot his war comrades. He loved them, honoured and respected them. He was always modest among modest people. Once, when he came to celebrate an anniversary of the Conference he met Father and gave him a fire. The fire of my love for him redoubled in my blood. He will never be forgotten in our home,» says she.

Her voice trembling with emotion, the veteran Feride Dashi, the daughter of the patriot Riza Dashi in whose house Comrade Enver Hoxha stayed in the war years, says: «I will never forget that day, some years after Liberation. Comrade Enver Hoxha was taking a stroll with Comrade Nexhmije in the «Martyrs of the Nation» Boulevard. It was years that I had not seen him so close by. I was watching him from some metres' distance, and despite my great desire to greet him, I didn't know what to do when he suddenly turned round and asked me, «Are you the girl of the Sixty-six? This is how our older people called your house.» He came up to me, hugged me and asked me about all the members of my family whom he named one by one. Sixty-six was the number of our house, and Comrade Enver was Master Hasan for us.»

People continued to pay homage up to the late hours of the evening of the next day with thousands and thousands working people of the capital standing guard of honour in turn. In their tearfilled eyes you saw their optimism and their faith in their sure future, a future mapped out by the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. Their hearts will never sink. They have tightly closed their ranks, and raised up their clenched fists. They know how to turn this loss into a source of strength.

April 14. The mourning procession extends from the «Martyrs of the Nation» Boulevard to «Skanderbeg» Square. All Albania has come together on this square. People have come from all over the country to pay their last respects to Comrade Enver Hoxha, to honour the memory of his immortal life and work. People have come from Palorto of Gjirokastra, the quarter where Comrade Enver Hoxha was born, and other quarters of the museum-city which Comrade Enver Hoxha loved so much and of which he had so many beautiful memories; from Labinot, Çermenika, Përmet, Korça, from the regions, villages and homes in which Comrade Enver Hoxha lived. People whom Comrade Enver Hoxha knew by name, received in his home or met in their homes, on work fronts, at meetings and celebrations. Representatives of all the districts of the country, leading

cadres of the organs of the Party and the state in the districts, of the organizations of the masses, vanguard workers and cooperativists, intellectuals, young men and women.

Among the sorrow-stricken and tearful Gjirokastrites is Vitori Çurri, Heroine of Socialist Labour, vice-president of the Chairmanship of the People's Assembly. She has come from Dropull. After paying homage to the coffin with Comrade Enver Hoxha's body, she says, «Comrade Enver, your instructions, words and smiles will remain always vividly alive in our life. Our Party and Comrade Enver have implemented the principles of Marxism-Leninism also in tackling the problems of the Greek minority and found the right solutions once and for all times. Today we live free, happy and full of joy. Comrade Enver had meetings with thousands of people of the Greek minority, especially with me, who had the good chance to be nearer to him. A daughter of peasants, the Party and Comrade Enver elevated me to the Chairmanship of the People's Power. These meetings we shall not forget until we die. We have pledged and pledge once more: we will always keep the minority strongly united, and Dropull, which Comrade Enver loved so much, will always be a prosperous region. We will advance on the correct line of the Party and continue the great work which Comrade Enver has built.»

Offering a bouquet of fresh flowers to Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha on behalf of all the children of Albania, the pupil Dasantila Alimerko says, «Give them to Comrade Enver. His loss is the greatest the children of Albania have ever suffered, just as it is a great loss for the Party and the people, for our entire nation. We shall always bring flowers to Uncle Enver; please take them to his working office, that office in which he thought and worked so hard also for us, the children of Albania, all the children. We pledge to the Party that, with his words in our minds and hearts, we will work to turn into reality all the aspirations he fostered in us and all the teachings he gave us. We will be with the Party and Enver to the end, and there is nothing that will part us from the Party and Enver!»

The 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the FLA was held in Tirana on April 13 to honour and perpetuate the name and immortal work of the glorious leader of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

At the Plenum, Comrade Ramiz Alia held an important speech on the life and brilliant work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Plenum observed two minutes silence to honour the memory of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In order to perpetuate the name and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha the Plenum decided that:

The Memorial of Comrade Enver Hoxha be set up in the capital of our Homeland, Tirana, in His birthplace in Gjirokastra, and in the city of Korça; the University of Tirana bear the name the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana; the Pioneers' organization bear the name «The Pioneers of Enver»; the seaport of Durrës bear the name

the «Enver Hoxha» seaport of Durrës; the agricultural enterprise, with its centre in Plasa of Korça district, bear the name the «Enver Hoxha» agricultural enterprise.

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, took the floor at the Plenum and proposed that Comrade Ramiz Alia, whom Comrade Enver Hoxha has rightfully described as one of His most outstanding co-fighters, be elected to the high post of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party.

In his speech Comrade Adil Çarçani spoke about the life and the political and revolutionary activity of Comrade Ramiz Alia as one of the communists, partisans and cadres of the National Liberation War, as one of the responsible cadres of the Anti-fascist and Communist Youth of Albania, as member of the Central Committee of the Party from its 1st Congress. He said that Comrade Ramiz Alia has fought and worked with a high sense of loyalty as the disciple and close co-fighter of Comrade Enver Hoxha to perform all the very responsible duties he has been charged with.

«Expressing the unanimous opinion of the Political Bureau,» Comrade Adil Çarçani said in conclusion, «I am convinced that I also express the opinion of all the comrades of the Plenum, of all the Party and people that the Central Committee of the Party, turning its grief into strength and loyally applying the general line of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, with Comrade Ramiz Alia as First Secretary, will continue and always carry ahead the glorious work of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, will work with all its forces and in complete Marxist-Leninist unity to consolidate the Party and the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country ceaselessly, will carry aloft the sharp sword of Comrade Enver Hoxha against all the external and internal enemies of our country.»

The 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party unanimously approved the proposal of the Political Bureau that Comrade Ramiz Alia be in the high post of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party.

The members of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania proceeded to the hall of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and paid homage to and stood guard of honour by the body of the founder of our Party, the architect of the construction of the new socialist Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

They observed silence in profound honour and respect for the brilliant and immortal work of the beloved and glorious Leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

At these solemn moments of profound grief, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

«Comrades,

«We reported always to Comrade Enver on all our work. Today we have come here and I want all the

Plenum of the Central Committee to say to Comrade Enver, to swear before Him, that all of us, members of the Central Committee, all our Party, all our people, will follow the road of Enver, will march according to His teachings. Let us swear that we will carry forward the great work created by Enver Hoxha.

«Therefore, all unanimously, let us say 'We swear!'» «We swear!» all the members of the Plenum reply unanimously.

Then the Party and state leaders bow with profound respect and gratitude before the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the greatest historic figure of our people and nation, and salute him with their fists up.

On Sunday before noon, Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the members of the Political Bureau and Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha also paid homage to the coffin with the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Solemn and moving moments. With deep grief, Comrade Ramiz Alia says:

«Comrade Enver,

«You created the Party, and made it strong, and the Party will live for ever, with you in its mind and heart. We have come here today to give you the commemorative medal of the 40th anniversary of the Party. Take it with you. Just as the Party will live with you in its mind and heart, let the Party be forever with you, too.»

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia sticks the commemorative medal on the chest of our beloved Leader and teacher. Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Deeply moved, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha comes up to the coffin and, placing a national flag on the chest of the dear companion of her life, struggle and work, says, «Enver, I'm putting this flag here on behalf of the Kosova people, because just as you had them in your heart, so all the Kosova people and the other Albanians have you in their hearts. I have received hundreds of telegrams, so I think that I'm fulfilling a wish of theirs. Take this with you, too.»

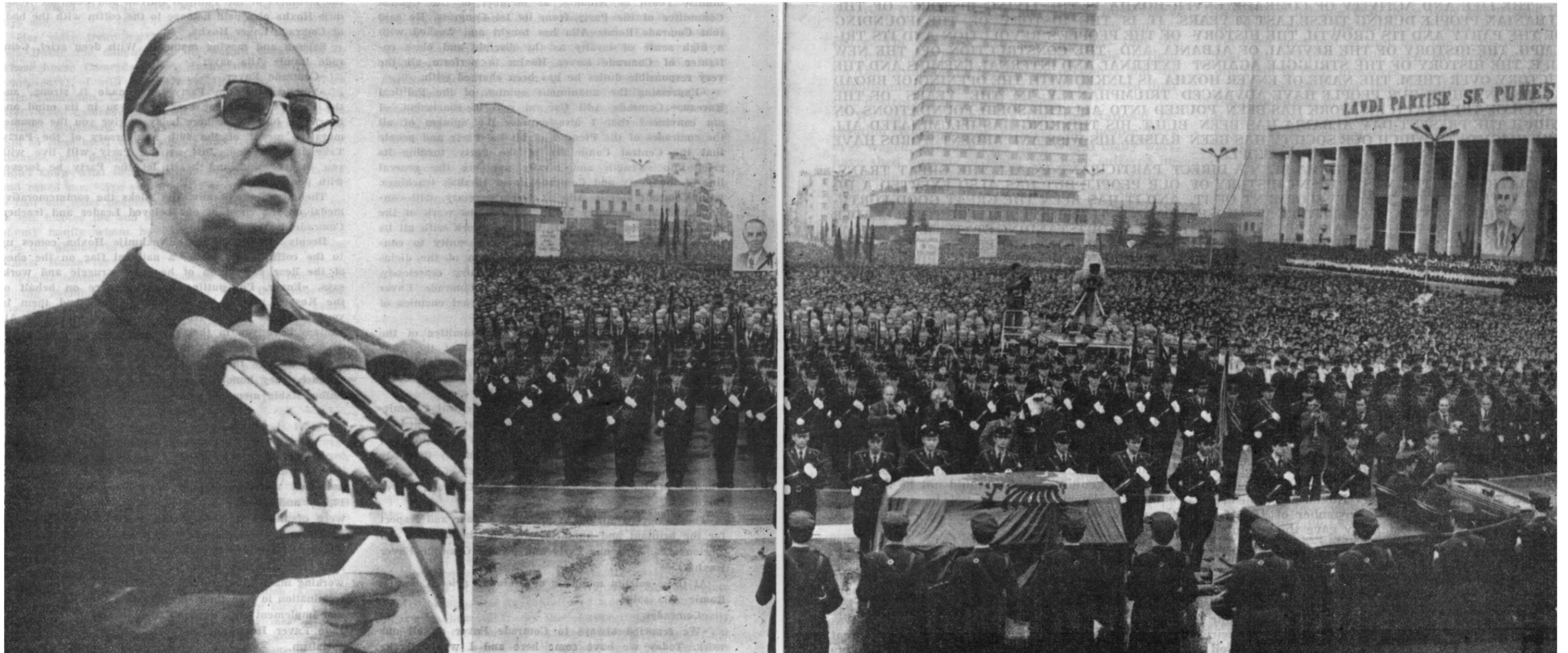
Then, they honour with the raised clenched fist the unforgettable memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

* * *

The work and memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha is honoured with deep respect all over the country. On 12, 13 and 14 of April mourning meetings and rallies were organized in cities, work and production centres, agricultural, cooperatives, military detachments and schools. Everywhere there were expressions of deep sorrow and grief for the death of the beloved Leader. The working masses are also expressing their unshakable determination to turn their sorrow into a source of strength, and implement with determination the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the road of the construction of socialism.

ENVER HOXHA AND HIS WORK LIVE AND WILL LIVE FOR EVER

**Comrade RAMIZ ALIA, First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labour of Albania and Chair man of the Presidium of the People's Assembly
of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, speaks at the memorial rally
organized in the «Skanderbeg» Square**



COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA'S ADDRESS

COMRADES, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

WE ARE PARTING FROM THE GREATEST MAN THAT ALBANIAN SOIL HAS EVER BROUGHT FORTH, THE FOUNDER OF THE NEW ALBANIA, OUR BELOVED LEADER, OUR DEAR COMRADE, BROTHER AND TEACHER, ENVER HOXHA.

IN THIS SQUARE WHERE WE HAVE GATHERED FOR THE LAST MEETING WITH HIM, FOURTY-FOUR YEARS AGO HE LED THE GREAT ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATION AND CALLED ON THE PEOPLE TO RISE AGAINST THE OCCUPIERS AND TRAITORS. AND FROM THAT DAY UNTIL THE END OF HIS LIFE HE REMAINED AT THE HEAD OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE AS THE LEGENDARY LEADER OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AND THE HEROIC LEADER OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

THE LIFE AND ACTIVITY OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA IS THE LIVING HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE DURING THESE LAST 50 YEARS. IT IS THE HISTORY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY AND ITS GROWTH, THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION AND ITS TRIUMPH, THE HISTORY OF THE REVIVAL OF ALBANIA AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW LIFE, THE HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ENEMIES AND THE VICTORY OVER THEM. THE NAME OF ENVER HOXHA IS LINKED WITH THE OPENING OF BROAD ROADS ON WHICH OUR PEOPLE HAVE ADVANCED TRIUMPHANTLY IN THE YEARS OF THE EPOCH OF THE PARTY. HIS WORK HAS BEEN POURED INTO ALL THE SOLID FOUNDATIONS ON WHICH THE PRESENT-DAY ALBANIA HAS BEEN BUILT, HIS THINKING HAS ILLUMINATED ALL THE HEIGHTS TO WHICH OUR SOCIETY HAS BEEN RAISED, HIS WISE AND ARDENT WORDS HAVE WARMED THE HEARTS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE.

NOT ONLY HAS ENVER HOXHA BEEN A DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN ALL THE GREAT TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE MOST RECENT HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE BUT HAS ALSO EXERTED A DIRECT INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF IT. AND IT HAS BEEN THE GREAT GOOD FORTUNE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE THAT AT THOSE MOMENTS THEY HAVE HAD FOR THEIR LEADER A CONSISTENT COMMUNIST, AN ARDENT PATRIOT AND AN OUTSTANDING STATESMAN SUCH AS HE. IN HIS PERSON HE EMBODIED THE FINEST VIRTUES OF OUR ANCIENT PEOPLE, THAT NOBLE AND MILITANT CHARACTER. THAT BRILLIANT AND HEROIC TRADITION, THAT SPIRIT OF REVOLT AND GENEROSITY, WHICH HAVE BEEN FORMED AND TEMPERED THROUGH SO MANY WARS, HARSHIPS AND BATTLES THROUGH THE CENTURIES FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, FOR LIGHT AND KNOWLEDGE, FOR LAND AND BREAD.

When the country was being trampled under the jackboots of foreign occupiers and covered by fascist darkness, only such a Man could feel the gravity and the historic importance of the moment, could understand what the people really wanted and what had to be done to fulfil their aspirations. Only such a Man as Enver Hoxha, who not only felt, but also understood politically and ideologically what was the responsibility and duty of Albanian revolutionaries and patriots, could realize what was the road for the salvation of the Homeland.

The great act which Enver Hoxha accomplished in that dark and troubled November of 1941 by founding the Communist Party gave the Albanian people the light they were lacking, gave them the mind to see the future, gave them the staff which would lead them in the titanic life-and-death struggle. The burden which the Albanian communists assumed at that time was heavy and their shoulders were very young. But they bore it with honour and carried it through to the end, because at their head they had a great leader who knew very well

what was required and where they must go. What Enver Hoxha understood and presented with such clarity and conviction from his first speech at the meeting of communists for the founding of the Party was that the sufferings and misfortunes of the Albanian people came not only from the foreigners, but also from the political classes which had ruled Albania up till that time, who had always collaborated with and submitted to foreigners. He understood that without fighting with the same determination against both these hostile forces simultaneously, genuine freedom could not be achieved, national independence could not be realized and the social aspirations of the masses could not be fulfilled.

That, perhaps unique, phenomenon which occurred in Albania, where the struggle for national liberation was combined with a broad popular revolution, was no accident. Without a profound ideological conviction and great political clarity this could not have been achieved. It was Comrade Enver Hoxha who placed this great creative revolutionary idea at the basis of the line

of the Party and the platform of the National Liberation War, it was Comrade Enver Hoxha who, being in the leadership of the Party, at the head of the National Liberation Front and in command of the partisan army, made its achievement possible.

The people followed the communists and accepted their leadership not only on account of their valour, their courage, their sacrifice and self-abnegation. Of course, their example had importance, indeed very great importance, but it was not decisive. The decisive thing was the fact that the call which the Party made to the people to fight for the expulsion of the foreign occupiers and the establishment of the people's power expressed their true desires, their age-old dreams.

We have said and say that the National Liberation War was the greatest our people have ever waged, although they have waged many wars, have shed torrents of blood and have suffered incalculable damage and hardships. The National Liberation War led by the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, was great, because of its ideas and, above all, because of its results. It alone led to securing the true national freedom and complete independence of the Homeland and, above all, it alone established the people's power.

The whole conscious life of Comrade Enver Hoxha has been struggle. Struggle for the freedom of the Homeland, struggle for the construction of socialism, struggle for the emancipation of the people, struggle against external and internal enemies who sought to return us to the former slavery. Just as he stood in the forefront of the battles and clashes of the National Liberation War, with the same rare political courage and profound ideological maturity he led the Party and the people in the clashes with the many plots, pressures and interference of enemies during these 40 years of our socialist life. The Albanian communists and the people, with Enver Hoxha at the head, smashed the intrigues and threats of imperialists one after the other, withstood the anti-Albanian attacks of the Titoite revisionists, successfully resisted the pressures of the Khrushchevites and were not deceived by the perfidious acts of the Chinese revisionists.

When the Anglo-American former allies stirred up the tempests of «the cold war» and «the hot war», Enver Hoxha knew how to steer the small, but steel, Albanian ship with a steady hand to safe shores. He was not disturbed because they did not want to recognize the Democratic Government

which came down from the Albanian mountains, nor was He shaken by their political pressures or economic blockades.

The Albanian people, with the Party at the head, withstood that long diplomatic struggle with rare pride and crushed with an iron fist the efforts of reaction and foreign agents to undermine and overthrow their people's power. Through the mouth of Enver Hoxha our people told those who threatened Albania that those who would dare to lay a finger on the borders of Albania have not yet been born just as they told the Khrushchevites that the Albanians will even eat grass but will not yield to their pressures.

This courage and this dauntless stand lie in the foundations of the Albanian fortress, therefore, it has always been strong and impregnable against any wave or tempest from whatever direction it might come.

The figure and rare personality of Enver Hoxha stood out with special brilliance at the time when the opportunist betrayal covered the international communist movement. Our Party of Labour, with Comrade Enver at the head, did not allow modern revisionism to pass in Albania. And it did not pass because Enver Hoxha had tempered the Party in stern political battles in defence of independence and socialism and educated it so that it would always remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism and would be irreconcilable to the end to ideologies hostile to the proletariat.

The ideological struggle against modern revisionism which Comrade Enver Hoxha has waged with consistency and determination has remained and will always remain at the basis of our socialist development, it has been and will be another permanent duty of our Party and people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the architect of New Albania, the organizer and direct leader of all those revolutionary transformations which have been carried out since Liberation, the inspirer of all those monumental works which have changed the appearance of our country.

The Party of Labour of Albania mobilized and led the people to turn Albania from a poor country into a developed country. Comrade Enver Hoxha has worked out and defined the economic line of the Party. The policy of the industrialization of the country, of the collectivization and modernization of agriculture, bear the brand of His creative and original thinking. He has been the inspirer of our five-year plans, which represent the steps of the growth and development of our economy,

the foundations of the construction of the economic base of socialism in Albania. There is no project which has been built in our country in which His initiative and thinking are absent. From the rebuilding of the first bridges destroyed during the war to the construction of the Koman hydro-power station, from the first repairing of homes burnt by the occupiers to the metallurgical combine, from the first combination of yokes of oxen to the draining of the plains of Myzeqe, and the terraces of the coast — in all these things His ideas, His encouragement and inspiration have been present.

The economic line which has been followed, the brilliant results which have been achieved in all sectors, have provided complete proof of their correctness and effectiveness. Our task is to proceed with determination on this broad road which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have opened to us, to adhere unwaveringly to His orientations and teachings, to mobilize our forces even more, to make our country even more prosperous and the life of the people still happier.

No one else has been so strongly aware of the great thirst for education and culture which has accompanied our people through the centuries, as Comrade Enver Hoxha who had emerged from the ranks of the common people, who had been educated with the great sentiments of the men of our Renaissance, and who had mastered the Marxist teachings about the emancipation of mankind. And it would be hard to find any other country in which an ideological and cultural revolution has been carried out as profound in content and as widespread in extent as in Albania. It would be hard to find another country where within a very short time such a great leap forward in education, culture, technique and science has been made. The great teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and His tireless activity to build a new culture, revolutionary in content, with a firm national base and a powerful popular and democratic spirit, have been and will be an unerring guide to show us the right course on which we must proceed, in order to work and fight tirelessly to make our Homeland a country ever more emancipated, ever more cultured.

Throughout His life Comrade Enver Hoxha fought to strengthen the leading role of the Party, to temper it ideologically, to strengthen it organizationally, to ensure the unity of its ranks and enhance the militant spirit of its members.

The strength of the Party is the strength of our socialist society and the guarantee of our communist future. By remaining loyal to the glorious Party which Comrade Enver Hoxha has founded, raised and educated, by uniting ever more closely around it, by mobilizing themselves to put its line and directives into practice, our people will always achieve new victories, will safeguard the freedom

and independence of the Homeland and the great victories of the People's Revolution.

Comrade Enver Hoxha continually instructed the communists to fight tirelessly for the continual strengthening of the ties of the Party with the masses and for the unity of the people. In these links and in this unity He saw the powerful shield against internal and external enemies, a great motive and mobilizing force to carry our society continually forward, an inexhaustible source of energy to cope with any situation.

Our Party and people have always been guided by these teachings and have always emerged triumphant. And so it will be in the future, too. The unity of the people around the Party will always be like steel. Any external or internal enemy who tries to harm the Party, the people's power and our socialist victories will smash his head against its walls.

As the militant Leninist which He was, Comrade Enver Hoxha always fought to safeguard the principles with which our People's Revolution triumphed and our new life was built. He taught the Party that it must always remain loyal to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and all the experience of the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat, must wage the class struggle correctly and must never forget that it is the motor which carries human society forward, must defend the people's power unwaveringly, the powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and must be irreconcilable with imperialism and revisionism, with bourgeois and opportunist ideologies. He taught the Party and people how to build socialism and how to defend the country with our own forces, how to be proud of our country and never bend the knee to foreigners.

Nothing can turn the Party and our people from these teachings, no force can divert them from the principled policy, the policy of Enver Hoxha. In the future as in the past, our Party, its leadership, our whole people, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth, the women, the intelligentsia, the veterans of the war and the soldiers will always march forward on that road which the People's Revolution opened and which the construction of socialism confirmed, the road of defending the lofty interests of the Homeland and the cause of the revolution.

Enver Hoxha is an outstanding figure of international communism. Just as He was an ardent patriot He was also an ardent internationalist. His struggle and work devoted to the progress of the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat, the defence of Marxism-Leninism, and the support of the cause of the national and social liberation of the peoples represent a brilliant example of dedication to the cause of communism.

The genuine Marxist-Leninist fighters have had in Enver Hoxha a comrade and friend who has

always given them fraternal support and encouragement. His theoretical thinking on the problems of the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism, his analysis of imperialism and the revisionist degeneration are an outstanding contribution to the theoretical treasury of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary practice world-wide.

Comrade Enver Hoxha always raised His powerful voice in defence of the national and democratic rights which belong to our Albanian brothers of Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia. On account of this correct, just and principled stand He became and remains loved, respected and honoured by all Albanians.

The revolutionary theoretical and practical work which Comrade Enver Hoxha has left us is a great heritage. His style and method of work as a party leader and statesman comprise an example to which the present and future generations will turn in order to learn and find guidance.

The figure of Enver Hoxha is great and many-sided. There is no field of the political, ideological and social activity of the Party and state in which His philosophical thinking, organizational strength and leading activity have not been expressed.

A man who combined the qualities of the Marxist thinker and leader of the revolution, the military commander and statesman, the diplomat and publicist, the erudite intellectual and educator of the masses, the fiery orator and friend of the common folk is rare indeed.

Our people have been and will always be proud of this great son to which they gave birth, and our Party will always be proud of its outstanding leader which it had. The greatest honour for the Work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the greatest gratitude for everything which He has done for the Party and our people is to proceed resolutely on His revolutionary course, to master and put into practice His immortal teachings, to work and build as He worked for the cause of socialism and the communist ideals.

Today we are parting with Comrade Enver Hoxha, but He lives and will live for ever in the hearts and minds of the Albanian people. He is immortal, because His work is immortal, because the Party which He founded and led is immortal,

because socialist Albania which He built is immortal.

His last Work, Laying the Foundations of the New Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha closed with the belief that no harm would come to Albania so long as the people and Party are linked as closely as flesh to bone. Let us raise the prosperity, security and name of our People's Socialist Republic higher and higher, He told us. In the name of the bloodshed and toil, the sweat and privations let us transmit to the coming generations the great message which history has taught us: we must always be vigilant, always at work and on the attack to defend the victories achieved and carry them further forward. We must allow no one, whoever he may be, to violate and negate our immortal and sacred work, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. In this way our fortress, socialist Albania, will be strengthened and rise even more majestically from generation to generation! Let our hearts beat always with its great heart!

Our Party will never forget this message. Just as Comrade Enver wished, its heart will always beat as His great communist heart beat, as the heart of our glorious people beats.

Comrade Enver left us a free and independent Albania, with a strong and reliable defence, with a developed and stable economy, an Albania without debts or obligations to anyone. He left us a People's Power which has the unanimous support of our whole people, left us a Party tempered ideologically and purged of enemies, left us an Albania honoured and respected throughout the world.

The Party and the people swear to You, Comrade Enver, that they will keep Albania like this for ever, that it will always be strong, always red, just as You wanted it. We will carry the construction of socialism further and further ahead and will raise the name of our beloved Albania higher and higher.

GOODBYE, OUR DEAR LEADER AND TEACHER!

GOODBYE, OUR BELOVED FRIEND AND BROTHER!

GOODBYE, COMRADE ENVER!

LONG LIVE THE PARTY!

BIG MEMORIAL RALLY IN THE CAPITAL

The morning of 15th of April 1985 found us again wrapped in sad silence, lined up in the interminable procession along the «Martyrs of the Nation» Boulevard, in order to pay the last homage to the outstanding leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Grief over the loss of their most beloved son has overwhelmed them.

9.00 o'clock. With deep grief, Party and state leaders enter the hall to pay the last homage to Comrade Enver Hoxha.

«Come closer, comrades. Come closer so that we can have him like this, among us, as we have always had him and will always have him, because we have his teachings. We shall loyally follow the road of Comrade Enver! Goodbye, Comrade Enver!» says Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Party and state leaders observe silence by the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the founder of the new Albania, and honour his brilliant memory with the raised fist salute.

Other moments of deep grief follow the entrance into the hall of Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the wife and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, his children, sisters and relatives, who pay the last homage to their most beloved man.

Likewise, comrades from the Marxist-Leninist sister parties of Britain, Michael Hamilton, of Denmark, Claus Riis Clausen, of Ireland, Liam Dignam, of Canada, Hardial Bains, of Portugal, Eduardo Pires, of Spain, Raul Marco, of Sweden, Nils Anderson, of Trinidad Tobago, Winston George, paid homage and laid wreaths.

After paying homage, they offer their condolences to Comrades Ramiz Alia, Adil Çarçani, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Foto Çami, and to Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha. Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha thank them in the name of the Party for their sincere fraternal

feelings which they expressed on this occasion.

Likewise, homages are paid and a wreath is laid at the hearse of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and condolences are offered to Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha by the outstanding anti-fascist Greek personality and friend of our country, Manolis Glezos. Homages are paid and wreaths laid by friends from friendship associations of other countries with Albania.

The clock strikes ten. This is a moment when people cannot suppress their sobs. Party and state leaders come out of the hall of the Presidium of the People's Assembly bearing on their shoulders the body of the beloved Enver, covered with the national flag. They carry on their shoulders their unforgettable beloved teacher. They walk slowly down the steps and emerge at the square in front of the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The hearse is placed on the carriage of a gun.

To the tune of funeral music, the procession advances slowly along the «Martyrs of the Nation» Boulevard towards the «Skanderbeg» Square. The guard of honour is followed by a group of militarymen carrying red cushions with the high decorations of «People's Hero», «Hero of Socialist Labour» and many orders which Comrade Enver Hoxha was awarded by the People's Assembly. Innumerable wreaths of fresh flowers, wreaths coming from all over Albania, are carried by students of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana. People lining either side of the boulevard weep over the loss of the legendary leader of the National Liberation War and the heroic leader of the construction of socialism.

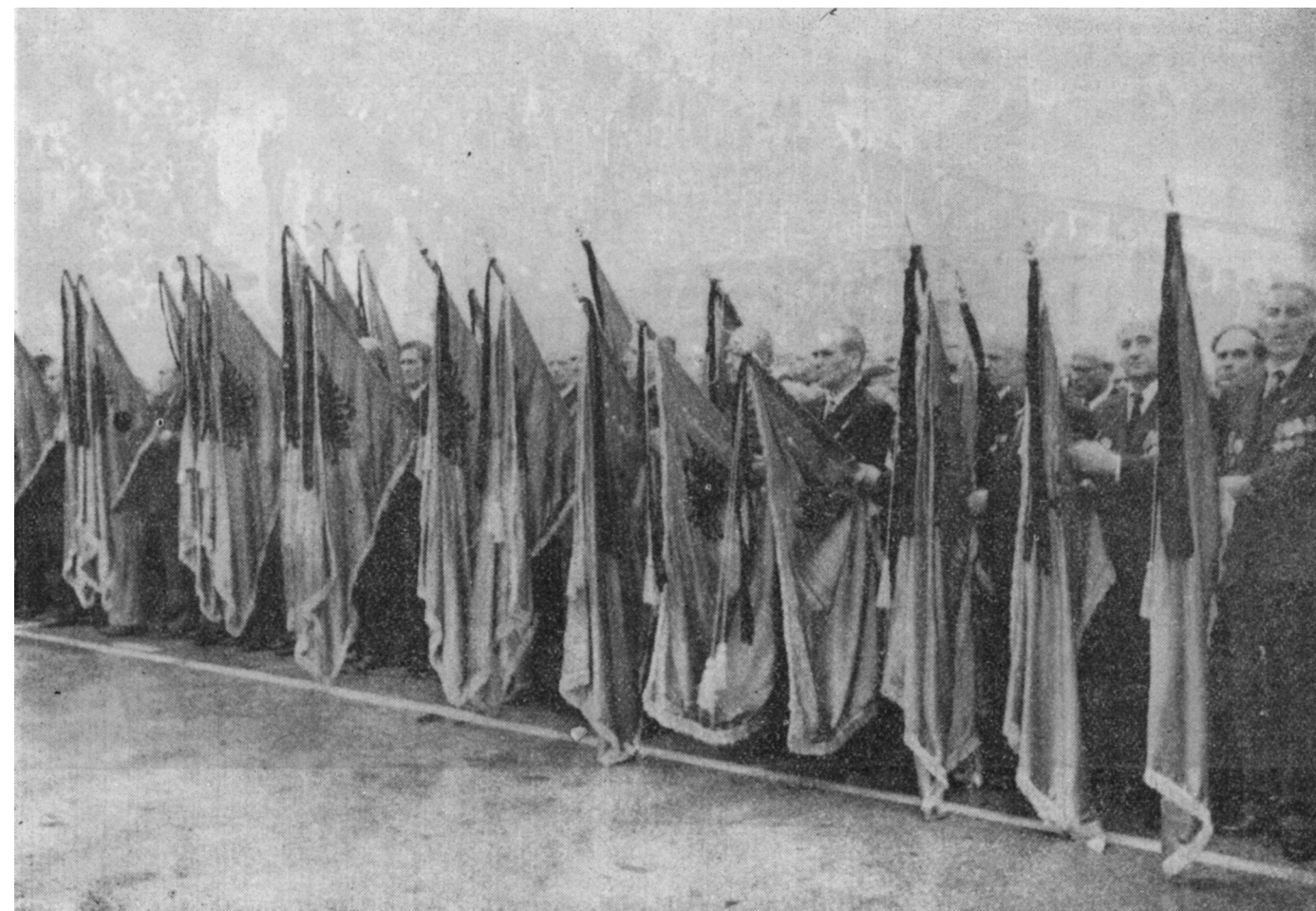
When the procession comes abreast of the premises of the Central Committee of the Party, people hold their steps with a flutter in their hearts.

Everyone looks up painfully in the direction of the window of Comrade Enver Hoxha's bureau. It is open. When he rose from his desk he stood at this window and was filled with joy to see people strolling calmly and happily in the boulevard. His glance, his thinking, embraced the 28 thousand square kilometres of our beloved soil. Throughout his life he fought, worked and thought of these people, devoted everything he did to them.

11 o'clock. The «Skanderbeg» Square is thronged as rarely before. The whole of the capital has come out in this square; representatives from all the districts of the country have come to this square, too. Four large-size portraits of Comrade Enver Hoxha and slogans reading «Glory to the brilliant and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!», «We must make Albania as Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted it to be», «Let us close our ranks ever more tightly around the Party and its Central Committee», «We must strengthen our steel unity», «Party, Enver — we are always ready!» etc., rise above the crowd.

The guard of honour lines up in front of the central tribune set up at the monument to Gjergj Kastrioti — Skanderbeg. The car pulling the gun carriage pulls up.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qiriako Mihali, Vangjel Çërrava, Haki Toska, Shefqet Peçi, Spiro Koleka, Xhafer Spahiu, Pilo Peristeri, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the wife and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and members of his family mount the tribune.



The war veterans, who hold firmly in their hands the fighting flags of the partisan brigades divisions and army corps, have come to bid their last farewell to their Commander

Present are also members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government, leading cadres of ministerial departments, various central institutions, mass organizations, organs of the Party, the state power and the economy from all the districts of the country, People's Heroes and Heroes of Socialist Labour, militarymen, members and relatives of martyrs' families, etc.

In these solemn moments of profound grief, Comrade Ramiz Alia takes the floor. He speaks with profound respect about the life and activity of

Comrade Enver Hoxha, as the greatest man the Albanian soil has produced until today, as the founder of the new Albania, our beloved leader, our dear comrade, brother and teacher.

After Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech, funeral tunes fill the whole square. As the procession begins to move towards the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation, the slogan «Party, Enver — we are always ready!», is shouted in one powerful moving voice.

It is 12.30. Comrade Enver Hoxha comes to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation to remain there for ever as the Commander among partisans,

as a hero among heroes. This is the final moment. The guard of honour presents arms. Party and state leaders again carry on their shoulders the hearse with the body of their dear comrade and teacher, the glorious leader of the Party and the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The coffin with the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha is descended into the grave. Sobs and weeping grow louder.

There is deep pain in every chest. «There will be no death for Comrade Enver Hoxha, only his birthday will remain,» says Comrade Ramiz Alia to Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.



«Men like him do not die. There is only one date: 1908, the rest does not count.»

«We have a good leadership, we have a good Party,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha. «You tempered it, you trained it, Enver. Now you have come to join your comrades of the time of war. They will have their General Commander close by them, but they do not rejoice at your coming here today. You fought for more than 40 years and now you are here to join your comrades. Long live the Party! We must have our Party strong!»

«He will live with the Party, with the people, eternally,» says Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Earth from the mother land which he loved so much, earth from his birthplace, from his Gjirokastra which he loved so much like the rest of Albania, from the courtyard of his dear home, is thrown into the grave...

Meanwhile, work is suspended in all the work and production centres of our socialist Homeland for five minutes. The whistles of factories, engines and ships give a painful shriek. A twenty-one gun salute is fired in the capital and a five gun salute is fired in the cities of Gjirokastra, Vlo-
ra, Kruja, Korça, Peshkopia, Shkodra, Kukës, Berat, Durrës, and Elbasan.

Red marble slabs are put over the

grave. Marble slabs carrying the golden letters: «ENVER HOXHA 1908-1985». Party and slate leaders, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and members of Comrade Enver Hoxha's family, touch with trembling hands these golden letters which glow with eternal light, which will remain cherished for ever.

The National Hymn is executed. Fists are raised.

In these moments, when everyone is overwhelmed with grief, Comrade Ramiz Alia says:

«Rest in peace, Comrade Enver, because the people and the Party, with you always at heart and in mind, will march on the road you defined

for them. And Albania will flourish, Albania will prosper, as you wanted it! Goodbye, Comrade Enver!»

Then, innumerable wreaths are laid over the grave. The wreath in the name of the Central Committee of the Party, carrying the inscription «To the founder of the Party and the leader of the people, our dear Comrade Enver Hoxha», was placed by Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Lenka Çuko. Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the wife and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, laid the wreath with the inscription «To my companion of life and war — Nexhmije». In the name of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the wreath was laid by

Comrades Rita Marko and Pali Miska, in the name of the Council of Ministers by Comrades Adil Çarçani and Manush Myftiu, in the name of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania by Comrade Simon Stefani and Muho Asllani, in the name of the National Committee of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People by Comrades Shefqet Peçi and Hajredin Çeliku, in the name of the Ministry of People's Defence by Comrades Hekuran Isai and Prokop Murrà. Wreaths were also laid by the children, sisters and relatives of Comrade Enver Hoxha's family.

Wreaths are laid at the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha in the name of

mass organizations, all departments and various central institutions, the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Tirana district, the inhabitants of the Palorto quarter of Gjirokastra, in the name of economic enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and institutions which bear the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the name of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party and the basic organization of the Party in which Comrade Enver Hoxha militated, and many other organs.

After this ceremony, the guard of honour parades to the tune of a military march.

HOMAGES PAID TO THE GRAVE OF THE BELOVED AND GLORIOUS LEADER



The people pay homage to the grave of Comrade ENVER HOXHA

Thousands and thousands of people from all over the country, veterans of the war and work, workers and cooperativists, intellectuals, militarymen, young men and women, members of «Pioneers of Enver» Organization, go up to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation. With deep grief and weeping, they honour and respect the memory of the brilliant and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They lay bouquets of flowers at the grave of the dear leader of the Party and people. In the book close by the grave they express in writing

their heartfelt sorrow over the loss of the beloved leader, their boundless love and gratitude for the Party, and take the solemn pledge that, with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in their hearts and minds, they will march always forward on the road of the revolution and the building of socialism.

In the morning of April 17, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the wife and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and other members of his family, came to pay their homages to his grave.

In the morning of April 18, Party and state leaders, Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Comrades Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Rita Marko, the candidates of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Foto Çami and Prokop

Murra, secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Vangjel Çërrava, paid homage to the grave of our beloved comrade, leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, Comrade Adil Çarçani and the other comrades placed bouquets of flowers at the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Party and state leaders observe silence and honour with raised fists the unforgettable memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the legendary leader of the National Liberation War and heroic leader of the construction of socialism.

«Comrade Enver Hoxha will live

for ever!» says Comrade Ramiz Alia to the people who had come to pay homages.

«Long live the Party!» they reply as one.

«We have a strong Party,» continues Comrade Ramiz Alia. «We have a strong people, a heroic youth, a wonderful working class. Comrade Enver Hoxha has left us many lessons, has left us a strong and flourishing Albania. Our people are linked closely with the Party. Now the duty of all of us is to carry forward this great work of the Party, this great work of Comrade Enver.»

«We'll carry it higher and higher, Comrade Ramiz!» comes the reply from mothers, veterans, workers, young men and women. «We'll put all our forces to it. Long live the Party-people unity!»

«Our strength lies in the unity,» says Comrade Ramiz Alia. «It has been and will always be the source of strength. The more united are we, the people and the Party, communists, non-party people, veterans, the youth, all of us, the better it will be, the strong will Albania become, more successes will we have in all fields. Long live the Party!»

BANNER OF STRUGGLE AND INSPIRATION

THE SORROW STILL EXISTS, BUT THE STRENGTH INCREASES

The Central Committee of the Party has received thousands of letters and telegrams from workers and cooperativists, women and intellectuals, militarymen and pioneers, young men and women, veterans and social activists, workers of education and science, many collectives and individuals from all over the Homeland, in which they express their great sorrow, as well as their great determination, and pledge to the Party, its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, that they will march resolutely on its glorious road, on the road of the immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The builders of the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power station at Koman write: «The warm hand of Comrade Enver Hoxha has accompanied us, the builders of the big projects of light, in every step. We will mobilize ourselves more than ever to build the hydro-station as quickly as possible and with quality, and will fulfil the pledge we made to Comrade Enver Hoxha two years ago that we will have the first turbine functioning by November 29 this year.»

«The instructions Comrade Enver Hoxha gave us during his visits and cordial meetings with the people of our district will always remain fresh and important tasks for us,» the letter of the Plenum of the Party Committee of Shkodra district says among other things. «And the firm pledge will always come out of our hearts: we will always be loyal soldiers of the Party, loyal to its great cause and the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha!»

The telegram of the Plenum of the Party Committee of Skrapar district says amongst other things: «The whole of Skrapar, from the white-haired elderly to the little children, all the Party organizations, say with conviction: 'Enver Hoxha lives and will live for ever.' The ideals of the Party, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, his work will always be for us a banner of struggle on the road of socialism.»

«We will turn our sorrow into strength, will increase our vigilance and energies to achieve good results in lessons, to grow up as revolutionaries of the Party, capable of carrying forward the revolution, and make our

socialist Homeland flourish and prosper,» write the teachers and pupils of the «Ismail Qemali» general middle school in Laç. «The work of Comrade Enver Hoxha,» they stress, «will be the guiding compass in our work.»

«The parting with Comrade Enver Hoxha is one of the greatest sorrows our people have felt during their whole existence,» write the cooperativists of the Greek minority of Jorgucat village in the Upper Dropull, Gjirokastra district. «His name and work will be enshrined in our hearts as long as we live and will always mobilize us to accomplish the tasks, to overfulfil the plans, to temper our unity with the Party and the fraternal Albanian people, to strengthen our revolutionary vigilance.»

«At these moments of profound grief,» write the communists and the people of the town of Koplik, «we pledge with one voice that here, on the border, we will always be around the Party and its Central Committee. United to a man, we will honourably accomplish all the political and economic tasks on the basis of the program of the Party, the teachings and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.»

«The work of Comrade Enver Hoxha,» write the cooperativists of Vranisht-Tërbaç in Vlora district, «comprises an entire epoch which will live as long as Albania exists. The name of Comrade Enver Hoxha is engraved in the consciousness of every one of us. This we saw in these days when the grief of a whole people rose like a gigantic avalanche. Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party have taught us to be strong, therefore we will turn our great and profound grief into strength, communist courage, in

order to keep Albania just as Comrade Enver Hoxha left it to us: free and independent, prosperous and flourishing, strong and inviolable.»

The brigadier of the «Hero of Socialist Labour» brigade in the «Enver Hoxha» seaport of Durrës, Petrit Jakupi, called together his friends and told them: «What did the Party say? Enver Hoxha has only the day of his birth!» And so did the comrades tell one another — He has only the day of his birth. And after they thrashed out their opinions, they announced that on October 16, on the birthday of Comrade Enver Hoxha, they would fulfil the plan for the year 2007.

«We will remain for ever loyal to the teachings of the Party and the immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the army and defence, on the military art of people's war, which he created and left us as the most powerful weapon,» say in their letter the communists, the cadres and working people of the Ministry of People's Defence. They point out, «We will always be ready to carry out all the tasks that will be assigned to us, to cope with any situation, however difficult it may be, defending the freedom and inviolability of our socialist Homeland, and even lay down our lives in their interests, if need be.»

The workers of the geological expedition at Qafë Prush of Tropoja district write, «We will forge ahead resolutely on the glorious road of the Party, the road of the immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.»

«We have trust in our brave Party and its unshakeable Central Committee,» say in their letter the workers of the «11 Heroes» chromium mine

at Batra of Martanesh. «United to a man around them, we will enhance our revolutionary mobilization and vigilance further, will fulfil and overfulfil all the tasks of the plan of the current year. The Party-people unity is our source of strength.»

«The entire population of Tirana, communists, veterans, workers and cooperativists, soldiers and officers, writers and artists, working people of education, culture and science, youth, pupils and students,» says the letter of the Plenum of the Party Committee of Tirana district, «are experiencing deep and unprecedented grief, because the most beloved Leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has gone from us. At work, in their homes, or on the streets, people talk to one another with tears in their eyes. Nobody wants to believe that the architect of the new Albania, the glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has closed his eyes and his heart has ceased to beat. For 45 years Tirana, like the whole of Albania, has been roused by the powerful voice of Enver Hoxha. For 45 years these streets, these doorsteps of humble homes, these squares of the reborn, flourishing Tirana, have heard his footsteps. The mothers of Tirana will never forget their beloved son. The houses and hearts of the people stood open day and night for the great leader of the underground struggle. Comrade Enver Hoxha will always be amongst us as the banner of struggle and living inspiration of the tribunes of congresses in the plants and combines, seething with life, in our family joys and people's manifestations, in the wise words of veterans and children's poems.»

CHAMPIONS OF THE APPLICATION OF THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

The greatest honour we can render to the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is to march on his road, to work and fight like him.

The workers of the «Enver Hoxha» autotractor combine, just like all our people and the whole Party, pledged to Comrade Enver Hoxha that they will honourably keep the beloved name of their collective and raise it higher. On 20 April, at an enlarged meeting the workers and communists of the combine came out with concrete proposals. From this meeting the revolutionary movement to win the lofty title «Champions of the application of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha», with well-defined directions and objectives, was launched. «Four are their main objectives,» write the working people of this combine in their letter:

«First, we will work and fight as revolutionaries, at high rates, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has instructed us, and will fulfil this year's overall industrial plan in all indices 5 days ahead of schedule; will increase work productivity 1.5 per cent as against the level planned for 1986; will raise the level of mechanization from 92 to 93 per cent and increase the work norms in 10 thousand work operations on an average of 5 per cent; will lower production costs 18 per cent as against the level planned for 1987, will increase accumulation 3 billion leks above plan and profitability 3 per cent; will increase the net product 4 per cent and the social product 5 per cent above plan.

«Second, continuing the work we have begun several years ago, we will complete the concentration and specialization of production within May, seven months ahead of schedule; will introduce 90 new technological processes into production, will improve 300 technological processes in the me-

chanical engineering plants, 85 in the foundries and 65 per cent in the forges and thermic processing section; will complete within May the new factory for quartz sands processing which will meet the needs of the mechanical engineering industry of the country and those of export; until 16 October 1986 we will study, design and build with our own forces the factory for the production of ferrosilicium which will meet the local needs and reduce imports by 3 million dollars a year; by 16 October 1986 we will turn out new types of rubber wheel tractor which will work on the standard 100 H.P. Albanian engine.»

Concrete tasks have also been set in the field of the socialist attitude towards work and property (which comprises the third objective), as well as in the field of physical-military training (which comprises the fourth objective).

This initiative is supported by many working collectives, and is rapidly turning into a mass movement all over the country.

As soon as the vanguard collective of the third sector of the oil-extracting enterprise at Patos learned of this initiative from the press and the radio-television, discussions took place at every oil-well and it was unanimously decided to support it. They are taking part in this movement with this main objective: to fulfil the current plan with the oil from the old oil-wells, and overfulfil it with the oil and gas from the new oil-wells. They also pledged to overfulfil the productivity plan by 2 per cent, to reduce expenditure per production unit and reduce cost by another 600 thousand leks under the planned level. They set important tasks also for the development of scientific research work, so that it supports the new tasks and objectives.

Coming out in support of the revolutionary movement «Champions of the application of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha», the pupils and teachers of the «Asim Zeneli» secondary general school were the first to take the initiative to extend this movement to the sectors of education and culture, knowledge and education work. The first objective this collective set itself is to strengthen the work for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the younger generation by mastering the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and taking part in social activities. The movement aims to raise the ideo-scientific level of teaching methods and disciplines, to enhance revolutionary vigilance, military preparation, to enliven the cultural, artistic and sports activities further and to organize the folklore festival of the school every 16 October.

The working people of the «Ali Kelmendi» food-processing combine in Tirana take part in the movement with the following targets: to fulfil the annual production plan 5 days ahead of schedule, to lower production costs by another 100,000 leks, to replace several imported materials with locally produced ones, thereby saving 240 thousand leks in hard currency, to expand production capacities and improve the supply of the market with new articles, turning out 8 new articles by 16 October and making operational 3 lines for the processing of agricultural products.

The working people of the No. 4 Institute of Studies and Designs are turning into strength the great grief they experienced over the loss of our beloved Leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. They take part in the movement «Champions of the application of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha» with the following targets: to com-

plete studies and designs for the industrial projects of the 8th Five-year Plan, 1986-1990, and other projects needed by our economy, with good quality and at lower cost; to carry out studies and designs for all the industrial projects to be built during the coming live-year plan relying entirely on our own forces, no matter how difficult and complicated this may be; to advance the schedule of studies, designs, estimates from 3 to 4 months; to improve studies and designs by employing contemporary methods; to further deepen the technical-scientific revolution, while ever better applying innovations in science and technology.

In the waive of this revolutionary movement the working people of Saranda district pledge that they will accomplish all the tasks on a broad front and overfulfil the planned targets: all the economic enterprises will complete the 10-month plan of industrial output on October 16, and give to 10 million leks above the annual plan. They will turn out 425 thousand leks worth of export goods above plan, without counting here electric power. The workers of agriculture will overfulfil the plan of the production of bread grain by 13,760 quintals. They will produce above plan 12,000 quintals, of vegetables and will give export another 2,000 quintals, will produce 2,000 and 5,000 quintals of fruit and olives and 3,500 and 500 quintals of milk and meat above plan.

The workers of the textile combine in Herat embraced the movement with the following targets to overfulfil the overall industrial plan by 3 millions leks, the plan for export by 500 thousand leks and to lower production costs by 1.5 million leks.

The miners of «Todo Manço» mine

at Bulqiza participate in this mass movement with the following targets: to fulfil the annual plan of chromium ore extraction on 16 October, the birthday of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and quicken and speed up work so as to ensure a two years' reserve at the end of year.

The workers of the «Hero of Socialist Labour» copper wire plant in Shkodra decided unanimously to support the revolutionary movement of the «Enver Hoxha» autotractor combine. They pledged to fulfil the planned indices rhythmically and on a broad front. This year total industrial output will grow 838 thousand leks and exports will rise 201 thousand leks above plan. An important objective of the scientific work of this plant is the extension of studies on the improvement of the technology of production and the designing of new lines and sections. It will turn out 45 new articles by the end of the year.

The workers of the pig-iron plant in the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine also take part in the movement. They will overfulfil this year's plan by 6 million leks, turn out 520 more tons of pig-iron and 9 thousand more tons of agglomerate, while cutting down on the consumption of fuel, by 3,480 tons.

The workers of the «Dinamo» plant will realize the plan of this year 5 days ahead of schedule, turn out an experimental 7-ton electrowaggon, a pneumatic self-loading shovel for the mechanization of mines, complete the construction of a new workshop for the capital repair of machinery and electrical equipment and set up a new line for the production of rubber and plastic spare parts two months ahead of schedule.

The cooperativists of Krutja, Lushnja district, will carry out the valuable instructions and teachings Comrade Enver Hoxha gave during his visits to their economy, by further strengthening the unity around the Party and its Central Committee, with comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, enhancing the revolutionary vigilance, and accomplishing all the tasks on a broad front. This year they will take in 1,600 quintals of bread grain above plan, overfulfil the plan of the production of sunflower, cotton, vegetables, milk and meal, reducing expenditure 3 per cent and increasing income 5 per cent.

The cooperativists of Zhareza will ***** the tasks in agriculture and livestock-raising on a broad front, achieve this year the productivity of wheat planned for 1989 and that of maize planned for 1988, or 80 quintals per hectare.

The collective of the «New Albania» Film Studio will produce films of a high ideo-artistic level and mi**ancy, which will better embody the figure of our new man. During this year they will turn out 14 feature films, 80 documentary films, 16 cartoon films. There are thousands of such engagements. The broad masses of working people of all sectors of work are ever more participating in the movement «Champions of the application of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha». As the people put it, «the sorrow still remains, but the strength increases», the working masses, under the leadership of the Party and in steel unity around it, are turning their profound grief into a great source of energy to make Albania ever more prosperous, as Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted it to be.

LEAFING THROUGH THE WORKS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA WILL LIVE IN THE MINDS AND HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE FOR EVER

THE PARTY IN ACTION

We emerged from the Founding Meeting, at which we worked and fought day and night for our Communist Party, formed as a party of the new type, which would and did lead us, which educated and tempered us as communists with its glorious Marxist-Leninist ideology, led us in battle, taught us how to fight properly, how to think properly, how to organize properly, how to behave properly in everything. We would serve this party all our lives. The Meeting armed the Party with a clear, militant, Marxist-Leninist program, a program which, in broad outline, responded to the more immediate tasks which were set before us. With this program we launched ourselves into action. In the course of the work and the struggle we would be strengthened, the Party would be strengthened, the militant program of our Party itself would be better elaborated and completed.

This program, which right from the start to this day, has been continually complete and strengthened, has been and still is a program of struggle and work, for the good of the Homeland and the people. We, the first communists, were sons and daughters of this people and the troubles and desires of our people, the struggle which they had waged against their oppressors, were not unknown to us. Written and unwritten history had taught us these things. Our families had fought and were fighting in these events, and this class struggle, the struggle of different influences, armed clashes and efforts with the pen and books had surrounded us when we were rocked in our cradles.

We, the future communists, grew up in the midst of this fire, these struggles, these physical and spiritual sufferings of our people, and we, the sons and daughters of this people, were tempered and taught in this great school of hardships and struggles. We learnt from the illegal struggle of the Renaissance fighters, from their brave deeds, and their writings, we learnt from the sufferings of the people during the First World War, we learnt from the resistance to and fight against ag-

gressive and imperialist neighbours, we learnt from the terror, the killings and the starvation of the time of Zog, we learnt from the poverty-stricken peasant who dragged himself through city streets to sell a bundle of faggots, we learnt from the poor urban labourer who broke stone all day on the roads and was paid only 2-3 leks, about as much as the cost of a kilogram of bread at that time.

For us, the young communists of town and countryside, workers, craftsmen, peasants, field hands, porters and students, all these things were wounds on our backs, bullets in our hearts and lessons implanted in our minds. This whole situation, you might say, comprised the basis of our Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Party taught us this better. It told us that we must take up this weapon, fight with it and then we would certainly win life, win the new world. And in fact that is what happened. If you build the house on sound foundations it will never collapse.

That is what occurred with our Communist Party, the history of which is not like a fairy tale which grandmother tells her young grandson on a winter night, sitting by the fire. No, it is a glorious, vivid, revolutionary creation, formed, embued, and constructed step by step with an iron Marxist logic. Our Party was neither an adventurous undertaking which would be swept away by the first storm, nor a game of children building sand castles. The communists who founded and built up their Party through bloodshed and colossal sacrifices may have been young in age, but the people from whom they had emerged were an ancient, intelligent, wise, brave, and courageous people. And the ideology they embraced was of the class to which the future belonged, was the compass of that colossal force which would raise the world in revolution and head it towards socialism and communism. Therefore, the foundations of our Communist Party were not built on sand, they were built on steel and concrete. One false step could have endangered everything, but such a step was

never taken, and this is not due to luck, but to the Marxist-Leninist ideology and all those who were determined to fight to the death to apply it, who had decided to charge through shell-fire and bullets, through the demagogy and political trickery of occupiers and traitors, to push forward, hungry and barefooted through blizzards and snow to win freedom for the people, independence and sovereignty for their Homeland and to build the life which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin taught us.

While the Meeting was going on no external accident occurred. The enemy detected nothing of what was being done. There were families near the house where the Meeting was held that sensed something, were aware that people had gathered there, stayed inside during the day and came out into the yard only at night to get some fresh air or for some necessity, but they never said a word. They all kept the secret. Indeed, we learned that one old man sat at the gate of his house at night and guarded the road in the darkness.

...In those difficult days of fascist terror, as I mentioned above, around the base where the Meeting took place, we had placed guards who observed and investigated everything. In silence, watching for any suspicious movement, gripping the grenades and revolvers in their pockets, those marvellous sons and daughters, mothers and fathers of the people, performed a glorious task. Obviously, they were among the bravest and most trusted people, completely at one with us. Like us and hundreds and hundreds of others they participated in the great work, in the immortal deed of the Founding of the Party. They were among the finest, patriotic and revolutionary sons and daughters of the people, the first communists who served the Party from the day it was born, vigilantly, valiently, until the end of their lives.

After the Founding Meeting, we, members of the Provisional Central Committee, held a series of meetings one after the other to decide on important measures to put into practice the decisions we had taken. The decisions had to be formulated in «The Resolution», had to be analysed and put into practice.

We divided the work among the comrades of the Provisional Central Committee. In the first place, we would all be engaged in the organization of the Party, but a certain division of work was made on the basis of districts or sectors...

The most urgent tasks were: the organization of the Party, the formulation of the Resolution and the First Appeal of the Central Committee of the Party, and the organization of the Communist Youth.

...The House where the Party was founded became the main centre where I worked and made contact with the main comrades. We organized the many other meetings in other bases. The small house where the Party was founded, had to look quiet, so it would not be noticed by the enemy and the spies, where surveillance and searches were savage. The movements of comrades in and out of that house were controlled and by appointment, not only for reasons of security, but also because we who worked there were up to our necks in work. Even by day we were obliged to work in semi-darkness in the office, which was the room in which the Meeting was held, because outside, from the columns supporting the steps to the far end of the house we had hung two blankets and had arranged a small place where we could go out, rest, and get some fresh air, without being seen by the neighbours. Hence, for us underground workers in the house this small corridor was a sort of «boulevard» where we could stretch our legs and get a little fresh air to clear our heads.

Every night until late we worked on the biographies of the comrades, noting their good points and their shortcomings. This was necessary for the setting up and organization of cells. The cells had to be mixed, with comrades from different groups. Although we did not have many women comrades we decided to set up cells with women comrades only, especially in Tirana, and we did set up one... But, we soon had to allocate several of the women comrades of this cell, who were more resolute on the new line of the Party, to other cells in which elements from the «Youth» Group raised objections to the line and created political and organizational confusion. In other districts, indeed for a long

time in some of them, we had cells made up only or mainly of women. As we decided at the Founding Meeting, immediately after it we had to study and allocate the comrades who would be elected or co-opted to the regional committees. We of the Central Committee appointed the political and organizational secretaries while the other members were to be appointed on the spot, when the delegates of the Central Committee went there.

The preparation of the delegates who were to go to the districts to organize the Party, to appoint the committees, to explain the importance of the Founding of the Party, to explain the principles, decisions and tasks of the Founding Meeting, was an immense and very intensive job which took us many days and nights. We had to go over and over everything, to be clear about and remember everything. We had to make very few written notes and never carry lists of comrades in our pockets. The instruction of the Party was: «The communist must not fall alive into the hands of the enemy,» if he were taken by surprise «no word to the enemy», «giving the police information is considered betrayal and will be punished by the Party.»

All the delegates, some legal others illegal, were sent to different centres, with everything I mentioned above, to organize regional conferences of the Party, from which the Party committees would emerge. As I said, Qemal and I stayed in Tirana to assist in the organization here and to organize the connections with the districts, but also to formulate the Resolution and to write the Appeal, as had been decided at the Meeting. The Resolution is well known and is the first basic document of the Communist Party of Albania. The entire Party had to study it and organize itself and fight in all directions on the basis of it.

During this period Qemal and I got to know each other better. Qemal was a kind-hearted, cheerful fellow, profound in his thinking and frank in character, cultured, and a brave and resolute communist. He loved music and song. He had a sense of humour and when we were resting after tiring work, I would see Qemal playing with small wooden or metal toys, or even glass marbles such as children play with, just to relax a little. This communist had the youthful spirit, that is why, as long as he lived, he fought with great ardour for the Party and the youth.

We set about drafting the Resolution and the Appeal because we had to finish them quickly. They had to be printed and sent to all corners of the country. This, too, the technical aspect, was a colossal problem. Only someone who lived through those difficult moments could imagine how difficult the problem was, because now it seems as if the printing and distributing of -illegal material could have been done quite easily. The enemy watched, searched, caught, imprisoned, killed and hanged comrades.

There were days and nights when our heads nearly burst.

«We've worked enough, Enver,» Qemal would say

to me when hours had passed without a break. «Shall we sing a song?»

He accompanied his songs with the mandoline, but the Labëria songs I sang not only could not be accompanied by the mandoline but need a second voice and a descant; the labçe song needed three people, whereas we were only two, one from Shkodra, the other from Gjirokastra. We were in tune in our communist ideas, but riot in music.

«Teach me to sing the second voice,» said Qemal.

«Oh,» I replied, «the labçe has never had music teachers, apart from the people. Sit, listen and learn it». We laughed.

«We are more civilized,» teased Qemal.

We finished the draft of the whole Resolution, but it took us many more days to revise it, take out this bit, add that bit, this shortcoming or mistake must be stressed here, that directive must be made clearer and more complete and so on and so forth.

The Resolution was to be a basic document, the principal document in which the whole past of the Albanian communist movement would be synthesized, the future line of the Party and the people, its militant program, would be formulated accurately and clearly. We had to make a synthesis of everything that had been said in the many contributions made during 6-7 days and nights of discussion and to eliminate every alien concept and define everything that had to be defined.

When we got stuck over one problem or another, called in those comrades of the Central Committee who were in Tirana and consulted with them. We read them entire paragraphs, cleared up everything that had to be cleared up and continued with the job. But, as is known, for Qemal and me the formulation of the Resolution was only one of the many great tasks of those days.

As everyone knows, just 7-8 days after the ending of the Founding Meeting of the Party, the Communist Youth was founded. Both Qemal and I were charged with the task and mobilized to organize all the work for this important event, too. We both took part in this meeting from the beginning to the end. In the heat of this work we also wrote the Resolution. It was written in the course of the struggle and our active participation in the events which were taking place, resulted in the introduction into the Resolution of some events which belong to the period immediately after the Founding. Later, at a meeting of the Provisional Central Committee, about the end of November, after discussion, the Resolution was approved and I undertook to arrange the printing of it.

After we finished the Resolution, Qemal went to the districts on the work of the Party and the Youth. I carried on drafting the first important programmatic Leaflet of the Party to the people: «The First Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania to the Albanian people, after the formation of the Party». The Appeal was soon ready, but it was printed and distributed in December 1941.

Through this Appeal and others which the Party issued later, through leaflets and communiques, it called on the entire people to rise against the occupiers, and our people responded to the Appeal of the Communist Party of Albania. However, it could not be expected that on the Appeal of the Party the people would rise to their feet and take up the rifle immediately. For this the Party had to wage a persistent struggle, using all forms, from propaganda by word of mouth, leaflets, demonstrations, the elimination of enemy agents, armed attacks, from the smallest with guerilla units to the biggest with çela and other detachments later.

All this work and struggle had to be organized. For this strong organization and brave people were required, people who felt and, at the same time, understood that this struggle would be bloody, hence, required sacrifices, organizing ability and political maturity. In struggle the people had to learn the various fighting tactics, which were dictated by the situation, the strength of the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier employed. Hence, it had to be understood that the war that we were going to wage was neither an adventure, nor a romantic undertaking: the enemy had to be fought without mercy, without compromise, we would never spare the enemy, just as the enemy would never spare us. Therefore, the slogan of the Party was: «We must not fall alive in the hands of the enemy.»

All these things were achieved through struggle and sacrifice, through political and organizational work and militant propaganda. But in the history of our Party the First Appeal occupies a special place. It was a document of immense importance which made a deep impression on the people.

At the same time, during this period, under cover of darkness I would go to the newly formed cells and later, when the Tirana Regional Committee was formed, I, who was charged with leading this committee, would get together with the members of it. Meetings were organized nearly every night and, we must not forget, in deep secrecy. From the cells we received reports about the situation in the capital, the movements of the enemy, the sympathizers, the actions that had to be carried out, the leaflets which had to be written, and thousands of problems. The Communist Party of Albania was throwing itself heroically into the struggle. The youth and the people were being rallied around it. There was so much work we had no time to think of ourselves, as the saying goes.

This whole period of intensive work has remained indelible in my memory. Now, you might say, we continued the Party meetings among the masses, in life. Usually the meetings were held at night and went on as long as necessary. In the discussions someone would begin to speak, express his opinions, someone else would interrupt, ask questions, debates would take place, then the first speaker would continue. The meetings ended when all the issues which had been presented or had emerged from the discussion had been settled. Thus, the meetings could go on until the morning. Sometimes

when we were tired we would break off the discussion, lie down and sleep for two or three hours, then carry on the discussion again. Not infrequently, especially when the debates had to do with mistakes, views held by this one or that, we used other forms. When we saw that someone was not convinced by what the comrades said, we would adjourn the meeting while one or two comrades of the leadership took the "unconvinced-aside and spoke to him more intimately and frankly. In this way the work continued to advance.

Along with this voluminous and intensive work, we had to make ever more frequent contacts with Anastas Lulo and Sadik Premte, because they continued to maintain personal connections with the former comrades of the old group and strengthened these connections to the detriment of the organization of the line of the Party. Several times we quarrelled with Qorr, until I threatened him, «Either you stop all anti-party and group actions, or we shall take stern measures to punish you.» Anastas lied, denied, promised, and twisted. Many times I confronted him with former comrades of his group and was able to break his grip on these comrades and win them over to the Party. However, sometimes I tailed in my efforts, because Qorr was a tough and wily anti-party element, clever in pursuit of his evil aims.

We had to keep up the active fight against the open and camouflaged Trotskyites all the time. In the Provisional Central Committee, when it met, in the Tirana Regional Committee, and in the basic organizations to which I went, I presented and explained the line, always stressing the danger of Trotskyite and factional ideas and the old group spirit. First of all, I advised the comrades that they should fight heart and soul for the unity of the Party against factions, against groupings and I explained how the groupings operated in practice. Then, I explained the great issue of communist discipline and secrecy; I explained the problem of the cell and democratic centralism. I always insisted on these things, because otherwise, the enemies would disrupt the Party as an organization. And the Party waged a great heroic and successful struggle in this direction...

...Meanwhile, Qemal, for his part, worked intensively for the organization of the youth. Likewise, all the other comrades who were members of the Central Committee, worked for the formation of the Party in the districts. The couriers brought us good, encouraging, exalting news.

The struggle against the occupiers and traitors was assuming a great, unprecedented impetus. The enemy was shaken. This struggle was to grow and be extended step by step until the entire Albanian people took part in it. And day by day they would take part in this struggle more mobilized and conscious, because for the first time in their history they had a leadership loyal to the people, to their ideals and aspirations for the future, they had their own Party, the Communist Party of Albania.

(From the book *When the Party Was Born* — Memoirs)

ON THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA

— «The Democratic Front is a militant organization which, under the leadership of the Party, unites the entire Albanian people, organizes and mobilizes the working people in the struggle for the defence of freedom and independence won at the cost of bloodshed and sacrifices, works tirelessly for the construction of the new, socialist, life and for the education of the broad masses with boundless love for the Homeland, with the ideal of socialism and communism!»

— «The Democratic Front is the bearer of the outstanding freedom-loving traditions of our people, is the continuer of the relentless efforts of the progressive Albanian patriots and democrats of all times for the union of the people in struggle for a free Albania, in defence of the unity of the nation against the attempts of the imperialist and chauvinist powers to partition the country, for a better life and social justice, in defence of the mother tongue and our ancient culture.»

— «With this organization the Party has realized the most powerful unity in the history of our people, unprecedented as to its proportions, its force of organization and its high political consciousness.»

— «Our Democratic Front is not an amorphous, lifeless organization. On the contrary, it is an organization of great political dynamism which considers any problem with a revolutionary eye and finds the most suitable forms to resolve it in a revolutionary manner.»

— «The Democratic Front is led by the Party of Labour of Albania, that is, by the vanguard of the working class and expresses such opinions and such aspirations and carries out such policies as are to the benefit of the Albanian people, while exposing and combating everything that might harm our socialist Homeland. The political struggle of the Democratic Front coincides fully with the policy of the Party, with the policy of our socialist state.»

— «Where does the Democratic Front draw all this force and maturity? Precisely from the fact that the content of this organization is truly democratic, that it is a broad organization of the masses which is led by a Marxist-Leninist Party and which represents perfect democracy, the genuine democracy of the proletariat.»

— «The Conference of Peza laid the foundations of the National Liberation Front and the people's power. It affirmed the leading role of the Communist Party of Albania in the National Liberation War, which marked its first major political victory and legitimized the voluntary unity of the broad masses of the people, the bases of which had been laid in the struggle against the occupiers. The CPA was the architect of this unity and the direct and single leadership of the Front. The Front had at its foundations the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.»

— «The Democratic Front of Albania has done a major work for the strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party, for the patriotic education and mobilization of the working people for the fulfilment of the tasks of the state plan, especially in the countryside. In the future, too, this organization of the masses, with traditions and authority, should fight to ensure that the political, ideological and moral unity of the people is tempered continuously, that the active role of the masses in the construction and defence of socialism, in the governing of the country, in the strengthening of the social control and in the development of the socialist democracy is constantly increased.»

— «The 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania was a brilliant manifestation of the steel unity of the people around the Party, of the determination of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, all our working people, to carry forward the cause of socialism in Albania.»

«The problems that were discussed, the opinions that were expressed, and the proposals that were made here are of a very great importance, because they will help raise the work of the organization of the Party, the enthusiasm of the people, their all-round mobilization at work to a higher level. Our duty, comrade delegates, is to take the revolutionary and militant spirit and the confidence expressed here to the broad masses of the people, to all the corners of Albania, to every city, village, quarter and family, so as to give fresh vigour to all the work in agriculture, industry, education, culture and defence, so as to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks in all fields.»

THE SOURCE OF STATE POWER (Notes)

December 23, 1968

According to our Marxist-Leninist theory, state power does not stem from laws, whether they are debated and voted on at the People's Assembly, the Supreme Soviet, the Seim, or the bourgeois parliament. The true source of people's state power is in the masses of the people, in their actions, in their direct and continuous control from below, in their initiative.

In the bourgeois order, the strength and source of state power lies in the administration, the top officials, that is, in the whole structure of the bureaucratic apparatus. We Marxist-Leninists say that the state belongs to the people when it stems from the people. Therefore, to prevent our people working in the apparatuses from becoming bureaucratized, because they are our people, the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, they should be replaced from time to time, should circulate and be placed under the direct and special control of the state of the people. It must be understood in practice that office workers are not and cannot be unmovable and that they can be dismissed and divested of their functions when the masses of the people demand this.

If the problem of state power, the source of state power, is seen from this angle, that is, with a Marxist-Leninist eye, it is easy to distinguish the real content of the state power from its form. In our socialist country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is in power, the essence of the problem of state power is the main thing, whereas in the capitalist and revisionist countries the main thing is the form, and the real essence of the state power is the law established by the class in power and not the power of the people. In bourgeois and revisionist democracy, the law established and voted on in the parliament, or in the Supreme Soviet, allegedly in "democratic forums- elected by the people, is the main thing, but, in fact, this law defends the interests of the bourgeois and revisionist dictatorship. In that case, neither the will, nor the control by the masses have any power over the law, which is imposed from above, by the dictatorship of the bourgeois and revisionist class and its bureaucracy, which is made up of the anti-popular armed force, and top officials are completely in the service of the bourgeoisie and its dictatorship and are appointed when they do its bidding and dismissed when they fail to.

The degeneration of modern revisionists, from the Titoites to the Soviet Khrushchevites, is seen also in their stand towards the question of the dictatorship and the real state power of the people. For their deceitful ends, they have retained the forms of the practice of this state power, but have utterly divested it of its Marxist-Leninist content; hence, in essence, they have transfor-

med this state power into the state of the new capitalist class. Elections for the Supreme Soviet, the Seim, or even those for the courts of justice, the appointment and dismissal of top officials, are allegedly done by the people, or within some limits which are described as democratic «in theory», but in fact all this is formal, and is devised solely to preserve false democratic appearances, whereas in reality and in essence they are anti-democratic, anti-popular and against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This whole procedure is aimed to eliminate the role of the working class and the working masses, to eliminate their will and control from below, on the one hand, and to strengthen the repressive bourgeois dictatorship, on the other hand.

The modern revisionists preach about the road of parliamentary struggle not because they proceed from the need of using this road at a given moment in the changing political situations in order to fight and expose the bourgeoisie, to sharpen the contradictions and the class struggle, to reach the stage of the armed struggle and enable the proletariat to seize power, but because their political, ideological and organizational views coincide with those of the bourgeoisie, because their final aims, regardless of the forms and names which they stick to these forms, are identical with those of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, the question of the sovereignty of the people, the question of the worker control, control by the masses, the line of the masses, the correct and rigorous waging of the struggle against bureaucracy, the correct implementation of norms regarding the appointment and dismissal of office workers and the progressive reduction of their wages to the level of wages of people working in production, the drafting and discussion of laws before they are voted on by those elected, these are great principles which our Party has defended and will continue to defend persistently, these are the principles which our Party has developed and will continue to develop in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory and its rich theoretical and practical experience which triumph in the day-to-day struggle for the construction of socialism.

As true Marxist-Leninists, we must expose the Soviet, Titoite and other modern revisionists, who, in order to avoid self-exposure, strive to preserve the forms of the revolutionary state power, which they have divested of its revolutionary content and have substituted anti-revolutionary, bourgeois ideas for this content.

(Taken from the book
For the People's State Power)

THE REVOLUTION - THE ONLY WEAPON TO DEFEAT THE STRATEGY OF THE ENEMIES OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEOPLES

All the enemies, the imperialists, social-imperialists and various revisionists, together or separately, are fighting to mislead progressive people, to discredit Marxism-Leninism, and especially to distort the Leninist theory of the revolution, to suppress the revolution and any kind of popular resistance and national liberation struggle.

The arsenal of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism is large, but the forces of the revolution are also colossal. These are the forces which are stirring, clashing and fighting with the enemies of the revolution and which have ruined the peace of mind of the capitalist world and world reaction and are making life impossible for them.

«A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of communism. All the Powers of old Europe... have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre.»*

This observation of Marx and Engels is still valid today. Imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism think that the danger to them from communism has been eliminated, because, thinking that the heavy blow which the revolution has suffered from the revisionist betrayal is irreparable, they are underestimating the strength of Marxism-Leninism, and overestimating the material, suppressive military and economic potential they have at their disposal. This is only an illusion of theirs.

The world proletariat is gathering its forces. From their own experience, the proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples are gaining a clearer understanding, day by day, of the treachery of the Titoite, Khrushchevite, Chinese, «Eurocommunist» and other modern revisionists. Time is working for the revolution, for socialism, and not for the bourgeoisie and imperialism, not for modern revisionism and world reaction. The fire of the revolution is burning everywhere in the hearts of the oppressed peoples who want to gain their genuine freedom, democracy and sovereignty, to take power into their own hands and to set out on the road of socialism, destroying imperialism and its flunkies.

That phenomenon of the time of Lenin, when the breakaway from the Second International was followed by the creation of new Marxist-Leninist parties, is taking place today. The revisionist betrayal has brought about the setting up and strengthening of genuine communist parties, as it is bound to do, everywhere, and

these parties have taken up and raised high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, which the revisionists have rejected and trampled in the mud. On them devolves the burden of opposing the glorious Leninist strategy of the revolution, the great theory of Marxism-Leninism, to the global strategy of world imperialism and revisionism. On them devolves the burden of making the masses fully conscious of the objectives and the right road of the struggle and the sacrifices it demands, of uniting, organizing, guiding and leading them to victory.

We Marxist-Leninists, who are in the forefront of the titanic struggle which is being waged today between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples who aspire to freedom, on the one hand, and the savage rapacious imperialists, on the other, must thoroughly understand the aims, tactics, methods and forms which the common enemies and the individual enemies of each country employ in the fight. We cannot see this thing properly if we do not base ourselves firmly on the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution, if we do not see that in the present situation there are a series of weak links in the capitalist world chain, as there will be in the future, at which the revolutionaries and the peoples must carry out ceaseless activity, an unrelenting and courageous organized struggle to break the links one after another. This, of course, requires work, struggle, sacrifices and self-denial. Led by the interests of the revolution, the courageous peoples and individuals can and will face up to the large forces of imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction, which are linking up with one another, setting up new alliances and seeking a way out of the difficult situations created for them. It is the revolutionaries, the Marxist-Leninists, the struggle of the peoples on all continents, in all countries, that create these difficult situations for the regressive forces.

The communists everywhere in the world have no reason to fear the baseless myths which have predominated in revolutionary thought for some time. The communists must fight to win over those who make mistakes, in order to help them mend their ways, making great efforts to this end without, of course, falling into opportunism themselves. In the process of the principled struggle, in the beginning there will be some vacil-

lations but the vacillations will occur among the waverers, whereas amongst those who are resolute and apply the Marxist-Leninist theory correctly, who have a proper view of the interests of the proletariat of their own country, of the world proletariat and the revolution, there will be no vacillations. However, when the waverers see that the comrades are standing firm on their revolutionary Marxist-Leninist opinions, they will be further strengthened in their fight.

If the Marxist-Leninists apply the Marxist-Leninist theory correctly and with determination, on the basis of the present international conditions and the national conditions of each country, if they ceaselessly strengthen proletarian internationalist unity in merciless struggle

THE REVOLUTION AND THE PEOPLES

Marx showed with scientific argument the necessity for the destruction of capitalist society and the construction of a more advanced society, socialism, and then communism. Developing Marx's thought, in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin showed that the present epoch is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. This is the epoch of the destruction of the old capitalist order, colonialism and imperialism, of the seizure of state power by the proletariat and the liberation of the oppressed peoples, the period of the triumph of socialism on a world scale.

This means that today we are living in the epoch of the replacement of the old exploiting society, which is intolerable for the majority of mankind, for the oppressed and exploited, with a new society in which the exploitation of man by man is done away with once and for all. It was precisely from these fundamental teachings and its Marxist-Leninist analysis of the process of world development today that our Party proceeded when, at its 7th Congress, it put forward the thesis that the world is at a stage in which the question of the revolution and liberation of the peoples is a problem demanding solution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is a stern, merciless struggle which goes on continuously. Confronting each other stand two great social forces. On the one side stands the capitalist-imperialist bourgeoisie, which is the most ferocious, deceitful and blood-thirsty class known to history. On the other side, stands the proletariat, the class totally dispossessed of the means of production, ruthlessly oppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie, which is at the same time the most advanced class of society which thinks, creates, works and produces, but does not enjoy the fruits of its toil.

Each of these classes strives to rally forces around itself and prepare them for its own aims: the proletariat,

against imperialism and modern revisionism of all trends, they will certainly overcome all the difficulties they will encounter on their road, however great they may be. Properly applied, Marxism-Leninism and its immortal principles will inevitably bring about the destruction of world capitalism and the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by means of which the working class will build socialism and march towards communism.

Reproduced from the book
Imperialism and the Revolution

* K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Tirana 1974, p. 13, Alb. ed.

for social and national liberation, to carry out the revolution; the bourgeoisie, to preserve its domination and suppress the revolution. The bourgeoisie gathers around itself the most ominous, regressive and criminal forces, while the proletariat strives to win all the revolutionary, progressive forces over to its side.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie builds up continuously and will certainly be crowned with the victory of the proletariat and its allies. But for this struggle to be crowned with success, the proletariat must be organized, must have its own vanguard party, must make the broad masses of the people conscious of the necessity for revolution, and lead them in the fight to seize state power, to establish its own dictatorship, to build socialism and communism, the classless society.

There are many hot-heads in the world, with good or evil intentions, who think that the revolution can be carried out at any time, at any moment, at any place. But such people are mistaken. The revolution cannot be carried out at any time and at any place, according to one's wishes. The revolution breaks out and is carried through at that link of the capitalist chain which is the weakest. For the revolution to break out and triumph, the appropriate objective and subjective conditions must exist, and the favourable moment must be found for launching into revolution. The main thing is that, when they start the revolution, the broad masses of the people, with the proletariat at the head, must be determined and prepared to carry it through to the end.

Lenin stresses that the revolution is carried out by the people of each country, that it is not exported. This does not mean that the Marxist-Leninists, wherever they are militating, should not feel themselves in solidarity, should not be linked with one another by the purest feelings of proletarian internationalism, and should not assist the struggle of the proletariat and peoples of other

countries for their liberation. On the contrary, all communists, all proletarians, all the revolutionary forces in the various countries are duty bound to assist the revolution in each particular country and all over the world, through propaganda, agitation, material aid, the example of their determination and selflessness, and by faithful adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Of course, success in the utilization of this assistance depends, first of all, on the preparation of the proletariat and its party, on the development of the revolutionary struggle in this or that country.

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels show that the interests of the proletariat and the people of one country are inseparable from the interests of the proletariat and peoples of the entire world.

As Lenin teaches us and life has confirmed, the revolution triumphs in each country individually. Therefore, this triumph depends, first of all, on the working class and its revolutionary party of each country, on their ability to implement the teachings of Marx, Engels,

Lenin and Stalin on the revolution in the concrete conditions.

However, a great deal of confusion has been created around these teachings, and especially, around the Leninist theory on the revolution, many mines have been laid by the Titoite, Soviet, «Eurocommunist», Chinese, and other modern revisionists, who have taken it upon themselves to mislead people on the issue of the revolution and to prevent its outbreak.

Today, when this question is put forward for solution, it is an imperative duty for the Marxist-Leninists to dispel the fog the revisionists have spread about the revolution, to unmask their manoeuvres and deliberate misrepresentations about this problem, to expose their counter-revolutionary, chauvinist, hegemonic intentions, and to ensure that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the revolution are understood and applied correctly.

Reproduced from the book
Imperialism and Revolution

THE CONSTITUTION OF OUR SOCIALIST COUNTRY IS AN EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF OUR PEOPLE

(FROM THE SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF THE PEOPLE'S
ASSEMBLY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA)

December 27, 1976

At this session of the People's Assembly I shall dwell on some of the essential problems of principle of the draft-Constitution.

The draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a synthesis which reflects our socialist reality and its trend of development, the line of the Party and its revolutionary teachings and experience, and is pervaded from end to end by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the basic principles of scientific socialism. And this is why the content of the draft has not only been approved by the masses of our working people, who have found in it the faithful expression of the correct line of our Party during the ceaseless development of the socialist revolution and the construction and defence of socialism, but has also aroused a positive response in the world at large.

The Constitution of our socialist country is an ex-

pression of the will of the Albanian people themselves, and nobody else. It is the fundamental law, the basis on which the entire life of the people is carried on. On one hand, this Constitution corresponds to the concrete reality of our country, a reality attained through blood, toil and sweat, and, on the other, it opens to socialist Albania brilliant and sure perspectives from every viewpoint.

Clarity is its characteristic feature, and this is apparent in every article that deals with problems of the structure and superstructure, organization, or the rights and duties of Albanian citizens. Our people, of whatever social origin and cultural level, interpret and implement the articles of the Constitution as individuals and collectively in the great interests of the socialist society that is being built under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania which, with

great loyalty and consistency, follows and implements the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of our country.

The originality of our Constitution lies in the things in which it differs from the constitutions of other countries. This originality does not split the unity of the people but strengthens it; does not weaken their vitality but invigorates it; does not incite moral and political degeneration, but, on the contrary, exalts, strengthens and tempers the soul and pure virtues of our man, love for one's comrade, loyalty to the socialist Homeland, the sense of justice. It exalts work as a means of education and the creation of material blessings for the man who struggles, inspired by the desire to raise his individual and family well-being and that of society as a whole, considering these questions as closely and firmly linked in unity and concentrated voluntarily in most democratic forms. The originality of our Constitution lies in the important fact that the Party of Labour of Albania is the leadership in our country, and without this there could be no free Albania and no socialist society.

Historical experience has proved that the ideas of genius of the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism on the undivided leading role of the Party of the working class, on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the class struggle are basic principles for the construction of socialist society. They must be kept firmly in mind until all internal and external, objective and subjective causes for the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism have been completely eliminated, hence until communism has finally triumphed on a world scale. Proceeding from these teachings of principle, the draft-Constitution sanctions that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people, which ceaselessly carries on the revolution, upholding the class struggle, and that the Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the only leading political force of the state and society.

With the raising of these fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles to constitutional norms at a time when the modern revisionists have flagrantly distorted them, we are not only performing a great service to our Homeland and the Albanian working class and people, but are also demonstrating in our practice the ever fresh creative power of Marxism-Leninism, and defending the unshakeable principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the immortal ideas of scientific socialism.

The draft-Constitution also sanctions another very important idea that in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class and of its Party, is the ruling ideology.

This constitutional norm, which expresses a great historic victory attained in our country, on one hand, affirms the important thesis of principle that socialism can be built only on the basis of this scientific ideology, and, on the other hand, bars the way to the spread in our country of alien ideologies and all the theories of the modern revisionists about «ideological pluralism», «the free circulation» of reactionary ideas and cultures, which are weapons of the political counter-revolution and ideological aggression, which prepare the ground for armed military aggression.

In the present conditions of world development, when imperialism and social-imperialism are doing their utmost to dominate the people, when the ideologists in their service are spreading the most monstrous «theories» about the subjugation of nations, the defence of state sovereignty, the independent position of the state in all fields, assumes first-rate importance. The majority of the peoples of the world today are making great efforts and forcefully opposing colonial laws and neo-colonialist domination, the rules, practices, customs, the unequal agreements, old and new, established by the bourgeoisie to preserve its exploitation of the peoples, its odious distinctions and discriminations in international relations. The two superpowers are striving in every way to preserve and perpetuate these laws because they are trying to plunder the wealth of other countries, to ensure privileges for themselves and to enslave other peoples. The progressive peoples and the democratic states that are not reconciled to this situation and struggle to establish national sovereignty over their resources, that struggle to strengthen their political and economic independence, and for equality and justice in international relations, enjoy solidarity and full support of the Albanian people and state.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania which, as the draft-Constitution proclaims, resolutely upholds the principle of self-determination of nations and the exercise of complete national sovereignty, rejects any form of limitation of sovereignty in any field whatever. In sanctioning this stand, which stems directly from the line of our Party, the draft-Constitution proclaims: «Nobody, apart from the organs expressively defined in this Constitution, can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of its attributes in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in its name.» With this provision of the laws we not only give a firm reply to the false bourgeois «theories» that consider sovereignty as an «anachronistic concept», a «source of evil in the world today», etc., but we also categorically refute the «theory» of the Soviet revisionists about "limited sovereignty», in favour of the «supreme interest» of the so-called socialist community.

Every state that respects itself and others has its norms which guide it in its friendly relations. These norms differ according to the world outlook of each

state. None can impose its norms on another. A thing that is agreeable or suitable to one regime may not be agreeable or suitable to another. No state leaves its opinions and viewpoints in obscurity, without expressing them, even in critical and polemical form, towards another state. It is logical that there should be truly sovereign states, like ours, that have not agreed and do not agree to obey the «conductor's baton» and no other.

If there are some who want to accept the «conductor's baton» or «the big stick», that is their affair, but our Constitution and our ideology allow and oblige us to oppose such pressures that violate the interests of our socialist state and its peoples.

Our Constitution sanctions in a clear-cut manner that no one can give himself the right to exercise sovereignty and seek «aid» in order to justify any intervention in Albania on the part of its imperialist, revisionist, reactionary, or other enemies. In this way we eliminate the possibility of attempts to disguise and justify the aggression that US-led imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which conduct an aggressive policy, want to practice. Practice of this kind, which the peoples and history must never forget, are the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the revisionist Soviet Union in 1968, and the aggressive wars and the rapacious interventions which US imperialism has perpetrated in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, etc.

Of great importance for the preservation and strengthening of our independence, the defence of the Homeland and the victories of the revolution is the principle expressed in the draft-Constitution that the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is inalienable and its borders are inviolable. Nobody has the rights to sign or to accept the capitulation or occupation of the country in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Any such act is condemned as treason to the Homeland. Thus, from the constitutional viewpoint as well, any act that would legalize the capitulation of the country to the enemy is invalid.

The provisions of the draft-Constitution affirms the categorical stand of our Party and our people that the establishment of foreign bases and the stationing of foreign troops within the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited. This principle is of vital importance to Albania, for it clearly and unequivocally expresses the determination of the Albanian people and their sovereign right to defend their country. At the same time, this constitutional norm also expresses the principled, internationalist, friendly foreign policy followed by socialist Albania, with the aim that its territory will never, and under any circumstances, be used as a base for aggression against other countries and peoples.

The juridical norms of the Constitution dealing with

the defence of the country and the victories achieved have found a warm response in the hearts of the heroic and patriotic Albanian people. «Even if we are a hundred years old, when the Party sounds the alarm, we shall turn out without feeling our years, standing as straight as the rifles in our hands with which we shall defend our Homeland,» wrote some veterans, fired with enthusiasm and patriotism, after acquainting themselves with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

To defend the independence of the country in the economic field, to keep the socialist economic order and the socialist ownership of the means of production inviolated, the draft-Constitution affirms that in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the granting of concessions, the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and institutions, or participation in joint ventures with the bourgeois or revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as taking credits from them, are prohibited.

US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys express «concern» about how socialist Albania will live and develop relying on its own forces without taking credits from the capitalists.

We shall advance on the basis of our own strength. Time and the undeniable reality of our country, the great achievements in the economy, education and culture have confirmed this determination.

We have different concepts about aid in the form of credits that a state receives from abroad. On one hand, there is the aid granted by a fraternal socialist state and, on the other, the credits provided by the imperialists, social-imperialists and capitalists. The former is fraternal disinterested aid, free of political pressure, not linked with passing circumstances, whereas the aim of credits provided by imperialism, social-imperialism and world capitalism, in whatever form they are given, is to violate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples of different countries, by putting them under continuous political pressure.

Our country has never accepted and never will accept such enslaving credits which are nothing else but forms of neo-colonialism.

Our new Constitution leaves no way open to equivocation or interpretation to the detriment of the freedom, independence, sovereignty, and defence of the Homeland. At the same time, it does not infringe upon the rights of any other state. The Constitution does not allow any state or individual to meddle in the internal affairs of our country and, vice-versa, does not allow our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country.

A socialist state like ours with its most democratic Constitution cannot fail to be on good friendly terms with the peoples of the world.

OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE WILL RAISE OUR TRIUMPHANT FLAG HIGHER AND HIGHER

FROM THE MESSAGE OF GREETING ON THE OCCASION OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF ALBANIA

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

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

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

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

The Party, the people and socialism, filled Albania with great factories, combines and hydro-power sta-

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

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

people were not for sale for a handful of rags, or for a few rubles, dinars or yuan, just as they had not sold themselves to the Anglo-American imperialists for their handout of rags or for their pounds sterling and dollars.

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

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

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

Infuriated by the just stands, the determination and the courage of a small people and a valiant Party, the imperialist and revisionist enemies left nothing unsaid against us. They speak and write angrily and with evil aims, «What is this people, what is this Party which is making such a clamour, what are these stubborn creatures who are not afraid to oppose powerful states?! They must be crushed, they must be liquidated, they must be brought to their knees, starved into submis-

sion through blockades...» However, they are gravely mistaken, as they have always been mistaken, because they have not known and have not wanted to know the history of the Albanian people, the manly character of the Albanian, have not wanted to recognize what lofty meaning the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland has always had for the Albanian. As the capitalists, imperialists and reactionaries they are they have thought and still think that nothing can withstand their economic and military strength and their ideology. But, you see, the peoples, whether big or small, have the strength to resist enemies. The peoples who fight always triumph; the enemies are quite unable to destroy the Marxist-Leninist parties which stand unwaveringly on their principles. Marxism-Leninism, which guides the proletariat, the genuine communist parties and the peoples who are demanding liberation and their rights, is invincible.

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

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

With their stands and opinions, socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania have given and give heart and confidence to all and tell the proletariat and the peoples: stand as we stand, fight as we fight, because you will triumph as we have triumphed and are triumphing. Our victory is certain, our victory is a common victory, therefore, we must close our ranks in the heat of the war against enemies. Open fire on the revisionists, betrayers of the working class and the peoples, open fire on the imperialist plans of big world capital, because only in this way can the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland be won, and the revolution develop and triumph. All the talk about taking power by means of reforms is poppycock. The bourgeoisie and capitalism

can never agree to allow the working class, the most advanced class in the world to which the future belongs, to take power. On the contrary, every day the enemies of the peoples and the proletariat are preparing sugar-coated poison pills and forging new chains of enslavement, therefore, only by fighting against the old system of the power of capital can the peoples and the proletariat triumph step by step and take power into their own hands. The Party of Labour followed this course and thus the Albanian people were liberated, and so socialist Albania has been built and is advancing.

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

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

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

always kept the class struggle ablaze, and it is precisely this great and revolutionizing motive force which has made our small Homeland unshakeable «either by the cannon, or the bomb», as the folk song says, that is, either by revisionism, capitalism, or reaction.

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

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

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

I feel boundless satisfaction when I see on the TV, hear on the radio, or read in the papers about the great construction work that is going on all over the Homeland, about the triumphs and successes which have been achieved, one after the other, in all fields. It warms my heart when I see our tireless and skilful workers and specialists building dams, constructing machinery, and setting modern plants and combines in action with competence and skill; when I see the cooperativists in the plains, the hills and the mountains, carefully cultivating the crops and getting yields of

world level; when I see the great army of our new socialist intelligentsia, the pupils and students, bending over books, or in laboratories, working on sketches and designs; when alongside men, everywhere, I see the Albanian girls and women whom the Party drew into life, working and singing, producing and managing, and raising healthy happy children, the future of the Homeland. The whole of Albania is in movement, in development, in consistent progress. Today every inch of it is the scene of construction and creation, and a school, and a barricade insurmountable to the enemies, and a stage where our people, the creators of everything, sing to the Party, their life, to freedom and socialism.

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

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

of our permanent concern to ensure that our Party is always at the head, as our tested guide.

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

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

THE PARTY - THE LEADING FORCE OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER

by *PETRO LALAJ, PETRO SHAPO*

All the events - great or small, in the life and activity of the people's state power, all the degrees and stages of its development and strengthening are linked with the indivisible leadership of the Party

THE FOUNDERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY THEORY OF THE WORKING CLASS — MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN, ARGUED WITH SCIENTIFIC ARGUMENT THE ABSOLUTE NEED FOR THE PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS LEADING ROLE TO OVERTHROW THE STATE POWER OF THE BOURGEOISIE, TO ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND TO BUILD THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE SUCCESSFUL CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN ALBANIA ARE A BRILLIANT VINDICATION OF THE TRUTH OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY APPLIED IN REAL LIFE AND A CLEAR EVIDENCE OF THE CAPACITY OF THE PLA, WITH COMRADE ENVER HOXHA AT THE HEAD, TO DEFEND AND APPLY MARXISM-LENINISM CREATIVELY IN ALL FIELDS, INCLUDING THAT OF THE PARTY AND ITS LEADING ROLE IN THE STATE. THE RICH EXPERIENCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DEFENCE AND STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER AND ESPECIALLY OF THE STRUGGLE AND ACTIVITY OF THE PLA IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT CONSTITUTE A NEW CONTRIBUTION OF GREAT THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VALUE TO THE TREASURY OF MARXISM-LENINISM.

As the many-years history of our socialist state shows, the leadership of the PLA has decisive importance for the fate of the people's state power. With the indivisible leadership of the Party are linked the emergence and the whole process of the growth and development of the people's state power. With the leadership of the Party is also linked the whole activity

of the people's state power, the function and perfection of all the organs and organisms that make it up — from the lowest to the highest, as well as their efficiency and militancy. The leadership of the Party is an inexhaustible source of vitality and strength for the people's state power.

Negation in theory and weakening and elimination in practice of the leading role of the party spells death to the party and the state power of

the proletariat. The revisionist degeneration of the party -in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries paved the way for the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism and the restoration of capitalism in these countries.

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The founding of the CPA, by Comrade Enver Hoxha, as a revolutionary party of the working class built on sound Marxist-Leninist organizational and ideological bases, was a decisive turning-point in the history of the Albanian people and their liberation struggle. Here, in this great historic event, lie the roots of the glorious epic of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, here lie the roots of its victory and of the triumph of the revolution, from here begins the struggle for the creation of the new people's state power, here lie the roots of all the victories in the construction of socialism in the PSR of Albania.

With its resolute struggle and heroism, with its persistent and tireless work, with its efforts and sacrifices, the CPA won the trust and unreserved

support of the insurgent Albanian people and, within a short time, became the inspirer, organizer and the only leading political force of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement.

The revolutionary qualities and virtues that characterized the Albanian communists manifested themselves in all their greatness and strength because they had adopted the most advanced and the most revolutionary ideology, the ideology of the working class — Marxism-Leninism. The ideology the Albanian communists embraced «was the ideology of that class to which the future belonged, was the pivot of that colossal force which will arouse the world in revolution and lead it to socialism and communism. Hence, the bases of our Communist Party were not built on sand, they were built on steel and reinforced concrete.»¹

The rapid growth of the authority and the enhancement of the leading role of the Party was also influenced by the new organizational forms which enabled and encouraged the further mobilization of the masses and gave ever more vigour to the anti-fascist war. With the initiative and under the leadership of the CPA a number of organizations and organisms of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement, such as the Albanian Communist Youth, the National Liberation Front, the national liberation councils as organs of the war and the first organs of the new state power, the guerrilla units, the partisan detachments, the regular National Liberation Army, and many others were formed. In the process of the struggle these organizational forms were developed, expanded, struck deep roots and extended all over the country.

The activity of the Party in finding and creating such organizational forms as suited the conditions of our country was based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism as well as on the traditions of the liberation wars of our people and on the experience of the revolutionary liberation movement of other countries. In all this activity

there was creativeness and originality both in the order of creation of these organizational forms and in their resilient employment, as well as in the harmonization and co-ordination of the process of the work and struggle. In the history of the Albanian people, which is rich in struggles for freedom and independence, there is no such variety of organizational forms, such dynamic growth, such degree of efficiency and perfection as in the National Liberation War.

The National Liberation War and the whole system of its organizational forms were subject to the one aim: to liberate the country, to destroy the state power of the occupiers by armed force and to build the new democratic people's power instead. Illuminated by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party posed and solved the question of state power with great wisdom, in accordance with the concrete historical conditions of the country.

The whole process of the emergence, growth and strengthening of the new state power during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War developed under the leadership and constant care of the Party. All the events — great or small, in the life and activity of the people's state power, all the degrees and stages of its development and strengthening are linked with the indivisible leadership of the Party.

The indivisible leadership of the Party gave the liberation war of our people its unexampled dimensions, its drive and fierceness, its new revolutionary content and its rates of development, deepened it and transformed it into a people's revolution which led not only to national liberation but also to social liberation, the liberation of the workers, peasants and all the other working people from oppression and exploitation. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «This would be the last struggle with the triumph of which not only the fascist occupiers, but also feudalism and the bourgeoisie would be destroyed and the dictatorship of

the working class, democracy for the people, would be established in Albania.»²

Thus, with the liberation of the country, the fundamental question of the revolution, the question of the state power, was solved completely in favour of the oppressed and exploited, in favour of all the working people led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Albania. Our people's state power which emerged immediately after the liberation of the country carried out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, served as a weapon in the hands of the working class and its party to smash completely the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, to destroy their economic power, to draw the broad masses of small producers of the city and country on to the road of socialism, to build the new socialist order and constantly strengthen the defence potential of the Homeland.

The Party and the people's state power are closely linked with and indivisible from each other. Without the Party and its leading role the people's state power cannot exist and develop, it degenerates and goes towards its unavoidable destruction. That is what Marxism-Leninism teaches us. That is what has been proved by the historical experience of the PSR of Albania. On its road, the Party has come up against many, external and internal enemies who, separately or jointly, have tried to prevent the establishment of the people's state power or overthrow it. For this purpose the enemies attacked first the Party and its leading role. They knew that without attacking, displacing and eliminating the Party they could not destroy the people's state power.

Against the communists and their Party were directed the persecutions and the fascist terror and the fire of the demagogy of the propaganda apparatus of the fascist occupiers and their Albanian quislings who tried

to discredit the communists by all manner of fabrications and slanders, to isolate them from the masses and eventually destroy them altogether. The enemy knew that it could not lead astray and destroy the National Liberation Movement, the National Liberation Front and the national liberation councils without first destroying the CPA. Neither the Albanian feudal lords nor their traitor organizations — the Balli Kombëtar and the Legaliteti, who had openly joined forces with the German nazis could stem the tide of the National Liberation War and prevent the building of the new state power under the leadership of the Party. Nor was the policy and diplomacy of the Anglo-American allies who tried to eliminate the CPA from the leadership of the war, to wrest the state power from the hands of the Albanian people and impose a new yoke on them — that of the foreigners and the local exploiting classes, more successful.

New extremely dangerous enemies — the Yugoslav Titoite revisionists, the Soviet and Chinese revisionists and others, were added to the long series of external enemies who tried in vain to deceive our Party and lead it away from its revolutionary road. Like the Anglo-American imperialists, they never reconciled themselves to the existence of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania and the victories of the Albanian people in the construction of socialism.

The leading role of the CPA in the National Liberation War, in the state and in the socialist construction grew in fierce struggle not only with the external enemy and Albanian reaction, but also with anti-Marxist and anti-Party elements. The views and activities of the Trotskyites and opportunists within and outside the Party were not less dangerous. The Party combated these liquidationist enemies mercilessly and eventually smashed them.

The Party nipped in the bud any opportunist view, right or left, that emerged now and then in the period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. Had they not been fought against and wiped out right at the first signs of their emergence, they would have become widespread and caused great trouble.

After Liberation, new opportunists emerged who backed down and capitulated before the bourgeois-revisionist pressure and opposed the Party and its revolutionary line. All these hostile elements and groups had one peculiarity in common: none of them dared openly oppose the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party but each of them, in its own manner, tried in refined forms and by subtle methods to distort the line of the Party and replace it with an opportunist revisionist line which was intended to bring about the degeneration of the Party, the people's state power and socialism in Albania. However, no matter how refined the methods and activities of the enemy, the Party uncovered and smashed them in time. It has never allowed hostile activities in the Party to develop into opposing ideological trends and factions, as has occurred with the revisionist parties of the East and West.

Having no basis or support in the Party or among the people, all the hostile and plotting elements and groups that were exposed and smashed in the years of the people's state power and the socialist construction pinned their hopes on foreign intervention, were linked with the foreign powers and became despicable tools of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists and the imperialists. The links of the traitor groups of Koçi Xoxe, Bedri Spahiu and Tuk Jakova, Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko, Beqir Balluku and his collaborators as agents of the foreigners are common knowledge. The uncovering of the treacherous activity of the archagent Mehmet Shehu and his collaborators was a victory for the Party and a grave

defeat for the modern revisionists and imperialists who had placed great hopes in him.

All these numerous and great, savage and cunning external and internal enemies tried by all manner of means — openly or in disguise, through violence and terror, by means of demagoguery or cunning, by intrigues and plots, with flattery or threats to deceive the PLA and lead it astray, to bring it to its knees and destroy it. Nevertheless, the Party and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, stood always firm as a granite rock in the gravest and most complicated situations. They combated their both open and disguised enemies successfully.

The Party and the people's state power were forged, steeled and made invincible in this protracted life-or-death struggle.

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The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have resolutely and persistently struggled to form and implant a correct Marxist-Leninist conception of the leading role of the Party in the state and in the whole life of the country, to have it understood in both theory and practice not only as something static, fossilized, given once and for all time but as a vivid, dynamic development and which is realized constantly, every day, and is tempered and perfected in the fire of the revolution and socialist construction.

The leading role of the Party is ensured and realized through the establishment of correct and sound relations between the Party and the people's state power. The relations between the Party and the state power have been always the object of particular and constant care on the part of the Party.

The Party constitutes the leading nucleus, the soul and brain of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Comrade Enver Hoxha

pointed out, «The Party does not place itself or remain in the leadership by chance. It secured its leading role through its correct line and its persistent struggle and work to put this line into practice. Basing itself on the theory of the most advanced class of society — the proletariat, on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, on the laws of the materialist development of society, the Party has a broad range of vision, an elaborated and scientific opinion. It sees clearly in any situation, understands the present, foresees the future and knows how to anticipate events, by defining and always applying a revolutionary strategy and tactic which express the interests of the working class and the working masses.»³

The Party leads in the state and everywhere, in policy and ideology, in the economy, education, culture and science, in the army and in all the other sectors of the life of the country. The Party co-ordinates and harmonizes the activity of all the links of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat so that every link performs with precision and sense of responsibility the tasks it is charged with and the whole system functions in synchrony and with high efficiency.

With its organs of state administration, the people's state power occupies a particular place and constitutes one of the main links in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It plays an active and irreplaceable role, conveys and implements the line of the Party in one of the more decisive fields of activity — that of the administration of the country which is done without oppressors and exploiters and against them, and with the broad participation of the people. Without the people's state power the revolution cannot be carried forward and deepened, socialism cannot be built. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The people's state power is the greatest victory and the most powerful weapon of the working masses for the construction of socialism and the defence

of the Homeland. That is why we guard this state power like the apple of our eye and continuously strengthen it in struggle against the dangers which threaten it — liberalism and bureaucracy.»⁴

The relationship between the Party and the state power is correctly built and sound when the principles which stem from the leading role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peculiarities of the work and activity of the Party and the state are rigorously applied.

The PLA has resolutely applied the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the leading role of the proletarian party against the attacks of the modern revisionists and has enriched it further. With its revolutionary example and experience it has proved in practice and substantiated in theory that the indivisible leadership of the party of the working class is neither a subjective desire nor an accident, but a historical necessity, a general law of the revolution and socialist construction. At the same time it has exposed the falsity of the present revisionist «theory» of political and ideological pluralism, has uncovered its bourgeois and counter-revolutionary essence.

The sole leadership of the Party in the state and everywhere has nothing in common and is incompatible with the method of commandeering. The leadership of the Party is a political and ideological leadership. It is based on the methods of conviction, clarification, the mobilization and encouragement of the initiative of the organs of the people's state power, on its ability and capacity to open up clear perspectives to them and broaden their horizon.

The Party has always striven for the organs of the state administration not only to involve themselves in technical, economic, agrotechnical, military and other problems, but also solve them in the spirit of the ideology and political line of the Party. Al-

though they are organs of coercion in their nature, these organs do not place themselves above the masses, but base themselves on them and are subject to their control. They persistently fight to eradicate any manifestation which is incompatible with the profoundly democratic and popular character of our state power.

On the other hand, the leadership of the Party has always been against all methods of duplicated leadership, the replacement or displacement of the organs of state power by the organizations of the Party.

The Party works and strives for the organs of the people's state power and all the levers of the Party to become fully aware of the necessity of the implementation of the line of the Party in their individual sectors, to carry out the functions, tasks and responsibilities they are charged with in a revolutionary manner and in a revolutionary spirit of initiative.

The leadership of the Party in the state and in the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is realized through the whole pyramid, from the centre to the base. Only such a leadership at all levels, from above to below and vice-versa, guarantees the full mobilization and activation of the organs of the people's state power, the constant enhancement of their role in the construction of socialism and the defence of the country.

The Party has called on the leading organs of the state administration, the economy, culture, education and defence to radically improve their work and method of leadership, to put it wholly on scientific bases, to base their activity on scientific analyses and studies both for the present and the future so as to define as clearly and precisely as possible the targets of our five-year and longer-term plans and to ensure, always relying on our own forces, more rapid rates of advance towards the complete construction of socialist society and to guarantee the defence of our socialist Homeland.

The leading role of the Party in the state and everywhere is realized, perfected and raised to a higher degree through the strengthening and tempering of the Party itself and, at the same time, through the constant strengthening and tempering of the people's state power, the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In analysing the causes of the degeneration of the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, and drawing lessons from their betrayal, the PLA has set out on the course of the further and uninterrupted revolutionization of its ranks. It has worked out and implemented a whole system of measures for the organizational, political and ideological strengthening of its ranks, for the constant preservation and tempering of their unity, for the revolutionization of the basic organizations and forums of the Party, for the enhancement of the vanguard role and example of the communists, of their militant spirit so as to bar for ever all paths to the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the PLA to remain always a strong party on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

In fighting to eradicate the causes of bureaucracy and liberalism, the PLA has worked out a whole series of measures to revolutionize the peo-

ple's state power of which the main ones are: placing cadres under the control of the people, rotation of cadres, work in production for employees and cadres, lowering higher salaries, giving priority to moral over material incentives, direct worker and peasant control, etc., etc. These measures have prevented the degeneration and bureaucratization of employees and cadres and the creation of privileged strata and castes. Among the measures for the revolutionization of the people's state power the definition of roads for the constant strengthening of the organs of state administration, and especially, for the establishment of a correct ratio between state and executive organs based on constitutional norms occupy a particularly important place. The constant enhancement of the role of the state organs and people's councils, in particular, is directly linked with the defence and strengthening of the democratic character of our state which has its roots in the people and belongs to the people. These organs carry out their activity in close connection with the working masses. Our socialist democracy, without which the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be imagined and strengthened, is broadened through the enhancement and perfection of the participation of the masses of the peo-

ple in state affairs, in the government of the country.

These are some of the main directions of the struggle and activity of the PLA for ceaselessly enhancing its leading role in the state and in the life of the country, for establishing sound relations between the Party and the people, for strengthening and steeling the unity of the Party, the state and the people.

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The years gone by after the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution on November 29, 1944 show that the people's state power is strong and indestructible, that it was able to cope with any difficulty and obstacle, to withstand all the storms of history — the savage waves of imperialism and modern revisionism, and to emerge triumphant because it is led by a truly Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party as the Party of Labour of Albania is.

1 *Enver Hoxha*, When the Party Was Born, Tirana 1983, p. 225, Alb. ed.

2 *Enver Hoxha*, Works, vol. 42, p. 60, Alb. ed.

3 *Enver Hoxha*, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, pp. 09, Eng. ed.

4 *Enver Hoxha*, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 97, Eng. ed.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIALIST ECONOMY

by HASAN BANJA, BUJAR KOLANECI

With the further development and strengthening of the socialist economy, with the constant perfecting of the socialist relations of production, with the increase of the conscious activity of the working masses in the government of the country and in the management of the economy, the economic-organizational and cultural-educational function of the socialist state assumes a further development and extension

THE GREATEST CHANGE IN THE HISTORICAL DESTINIES OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, THE TRANSITION FROM THE FEUDAL-BOURGEOIS ORDER TO THE COMMUNIST ORDER, WITH SOCIALISM AS ITS FIRST PHASE. COULD NOT BE DONE WITHOUT THE NEW STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT WHICH WAS BORN IN THE HEAT OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, ON THE RUINS OF THE OLD STATE POWER. «THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT,» SAYS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, «IS THE POWERFUL AND DECISIVE WEAPON TO CARRY THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION FORWARD, TO ITS COMPLETE AND FINAL VICTORY. IT IS THROUGH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT THAT THE VITAL TASK OF THE REVOLUTION, THE ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY AND CULTURE, THE ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND OF THE CLASSLESS COMMUNIST SOCIETY IS ACHIEVED.»¹

With the people's state power, under structure and superstructure of society. the leadership of the PLA, the working class and the other working masses carried out all those deep-going revolutionary transformations of a democratic and socialist character in the economic base which were accompanied with qualitative changes in the class

Foreign capital, which plundered the assets of the nation and exploited the working masses, was eliminated in the economy of the country. The capitalists and the big landowners were expropriated and the main means of production went over to the state, to the working people. The Land Reform distributed the land according to the principle «the land belongs to him who tills it». The small producers set

out on the road of socialism through collectivization.

With the abolition of the feudal-bourgeois relations and the establishment of the new, socialist relations in production the productive forces developed at rapid rates, the road was opened to the socialist industrialization and modernization of agriculture. A new historical phase presented itself to our country — the phase of the complete construction of socialist society which is still continuing.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out «...Wielding with wisdom and consistency the political power we had created and won through war, the Party also instructed us and led us on the correct road to win economic power so as to place the economy, too, in the service of the people and in the hands of the people.»²

The socialist system of the economy created a completely new situation and posed new tasks before the socialist

dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable during the whole historical period of transition from capitalism to communism. The functions of the state in the process of the construction of socialism are in constant expansion. It also carries out the functions of the organization and management of the economy.

The modern revisionists have risen against the dictatorship of the proletariat, try to reject it as a political rule which is allegedly historically outdated. According to them, the transition to socialism can be done through «peaceful evolution», because the dictatorship of the proletariat functions only until the construction of the economic base of socialism and then it is transformed into «the state of the whole people» and «the dying away of the state» begins, especially, in the field of the economy.

Abandonment of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the role and functions of the socialist state in the development of the economy enabled the modern revisionists, in the countries in which they are in power, to go over to an economy of the capitalist type in the form of «self-administration» or state monopoly capitalism.

Just as groundless are the preachings of the ideologists of the bourgeoisie who pass off the capitalist nationalization of the means of production as a step forward in the management and organization of social production. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism, proceeding also from the relatively favourable development of the capitalist economy after the Second World War, hastened to declare that the intervention of the bourgeois state to heal the ulcers of capitalism would ensure the «crisis-free» development of the capitalist economy.

In the reality, state monopoly capitalism emerged and developed as a means to strengthen the bases of capitalist society, of the bourgeois state, to oppress and exploit the working people even more ruthlessly. In the conditions of the capitalist mode of

production there is and can be no state planning and regulation of the economy on a national scale. The capitalist private ownership of the means of production divides the producers whose fundamental interests are in constant mutual contradiction. As a result anarchy and competition are the inevitable sequels of capitalism. Comrade Enver Hoxha said. «The present crisis is the crisis and failure of state monopoly capitalism. The mechanism of the state monopoly regulation of the economy has not only proved to be powerless against crises, but has been transformed into another factor increasing the economic difficulties. Thus, it has been proved that the intervention of the monopoly state, the capitalist programming, are unable to eliminate competition, to ensure full employment of the population and to eliminate the obstacles to extended social reproduction.»³

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The socialist economy which is based on the socialist social ownership of the means of production and the joint work of the members of society, can function and be managed as a unified and indivisible system only in a planned manner, from a single management centre. In the conditions of socialist society in which class distinctions continue to exist and the class struggle goes still on both on the internal and on the external plane, only the socialist state can be the single centre of the organization and management of the socialist economy.

The theoretical Marxist-Leninist thought and the practice of our socialist construction have proved that in the conditions of a truly socialist economy, as our economy is, the main and essential questions of its development such as rates, dimensions and proportions of the extended socialist reproduction, territorial distribution of the production forces, problems which have to do with the narrowing of the essential differences between city and country, between mental and physical work, exercise of control on

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the amount of work and consumption, etc., are established and defined by the socialist state in a planned manner, from one single centre. These questions cannot be left to the market and its spontaneous forces, as the modern revisionists claim, because this would open the road to anarchy, misuse of the national assets, disproportions and class polarizations.

In order to carry out its economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions the socialist state concentrates in its hands the credit system, wages and prices, hard currencies and precious metals, follows and implements a unified and centralized policy in the creation and use of socialist accumulation and investments, in the remuneration according to work done, etc. Control of these levers of the functioning mechanism of our economy has enabled the strengthening of the role of the socialist state in the management and development of our economy in the right road, the harmonization of the general interests of society with the interests of the individual and the group, of the interests of the perspective with those of the moment. On this basis, according to the economic policy of the Party, the socialist state directs the whole process of socio-economic development of the country on the road of socialism.

Proceeding from the principle of self-reliance, our country has created an independent many-branched and complex economy with industry as the leading branch and agriculture as the basic branch. Socialist industrialization is among the greatest achievements of our country, and it has developed into an unstoppable process and become a decisive factor for the general advance of the country on the road of socialism. The multi-branched heavy and light industry, which is based on our natural assets, extends over the whole territory of the country. Major quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in its structure, with priority being given to the production of the means of production and, espe-

cially, such key branches as the power and mining industry, the mechanical engineering industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, etc.

Consistently implementing its policy of basing the economy of the country on its two legs, industry and agriculture, the socialist state has devoted particular attention to the problems of the high and steady rate development of socialist agriculture. This key branch of the economy developed on the basis of large-scale modern production makes an irreplaceable contribution to the feeding of the people, the industrialization of the country, and the development of the national economy. This was made possible as a result of the implementation of the policy of the Party for the socialist transformation of agriculture. The state makes a particularly important contribution to the modernization and intensification of agricultural production through investments to increase the fertility of the land, to raise the level of mechanization of farming work, to extend the irrigation network, to develop fruit-growing, to supply agriculture with chemical fertilizers, insecticides and selected seeds, through agrarian credits, the training at cadres and specialists, etc.

The centralized management of the economy on the basis of a unified general state plan, as our historical experience shows, represents the highest and most efficient form of state management which responds to the needs of a genuinely socialist economy. Moreover, it represents the only regulating mechanism which is objectively indispensable for the development of the socialist economy as against the law of value and the spontaneous market forces which remain the characteristic of the capitalist economy.

The planned development of the economy on the basis of the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism remains an important direction of the activity of the socialist state. Recognition and correct defi-

nition of the needs of society and their co-ordination with the possibilities which our economy constantly creates for their fulfilment at any given period constitutes one of the fundamental problems of the planned development of the economy. The drafting of plans by every branch and unit of the economy, by every forum and link of the people's power, is a broad and deep-going political, economic and social activity without which the extended socialist reproduction and construction on the basis of self-reliance cannot be carried forward. That is why the Party has constantly demanded that the state plans for the development of the economy should respond to the stage reached and the need for its perspective development, that they should be well based and co-ordinated. This calls for the ever more efficient application of scientific methods of planning, of the Marxist-Leninist dialectical methods of norming and balancing and, especially, of the general balancing of the economy as the highest degree of planning, as well as of statistical, mathematical and computerized methods.

In this field, the state organs have to resolve tasks of great complexity because planning, in its whole pyramid, is not something simplistic and mechanical, but a work of great responsibility and high qualification. It paves the way for the economic and social development of the country over a given period. The plan represents the unity of the mutual links between the different branches and sectors of the economy and culture, between its parts and indices, both in nature and in value, the unity of the development of the production forces and the perfection of the relations of production, is the fruit of deep-going technical, economic and social studies.

The socialist state carries out an all-round activity of essential importance for the management and development of the economy through the exercise of its economic-organizational

and cultural-educational functions which are and remain its exclusive attributes. No bourgeois or revisionist state can ever exercise these functions, because the private ownership of the means of production is the basis on which it relies and which divides and alienates the producers among themselves. Here lies the source of those socio-economic phenomena which characterize the capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist economy such as anarchy and spontaneity, crises, competition, unemployment, inflation, price rises, increasing costs of living for the working masses, etc.

The enemies of socialism, and the revisionists of various hues in particular, have always tried by all manner of «arguments» to reject the economic role of the state in socialism. They claim that if the main means of production are transformed into state property and if the economy is managed by the socialist state in a centralized manner according to a unified and general state plan, the bureaucracy sets in automatically, the state is transformed into an organ and force in itself which allegedly stands above society, which abolishes democracy and stifles the initiative of the masses. According to the Yugoslav revisionists, «socialism and the state, socialism and state property are irreconcilable notions» and «the dominant role of the state in the management of the economy lasts only for a short period», during a «transient phase» which depends «on the interests of the moment», such as the narrow economic base or the major economic difficulties of the beginning which, when overcome, make the organizational and management role of the socialist state in the economy totally unnecessary.

The whole historical experience has proved that the socialist system does not produce bureaucracy, because the socialist state is the state of the free workers and peasants which take an active part in the government of the country and the management of the economy. While affirming this impor-

tant truth, it is at the same time necessary to say that socialism should defend itself against the threat of the emergence of bureaucracy and its degeneration, because the socialist state itself is not immune to such a malady. All this is achieved, as the experience of our country shows, when the party of the working class stands unwavering in power and resolutely implements the principles of Marxism-Leninism, when the principle of democratic centralism is applied without hesitation as the unalterable principle in the management of the socialist economy, when the class struggle is consistently waged in the field of the economy, too.

A whole complex of organs and organisms with well-defined functions, competences and responsibilities has been set up for the application of the principle of democratic centralism in the management and development of the economy. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The problem is about the constant strengthening and synchronized operation of this system, so that everyone carries out with precision the tasks he has been charged with and all together implement the aim and the program of the Party.»⁴

In this context rigorous account and control, full implementation of competences, increased feeling of individual and collective responsibility, the struggle against indifferentism so as to bar all paths to the emergence of liberalism and alien manifestations which the revisionists and the bourgeoisie use as a means to bring about the inner degeneration of socialist society, assume particular importance.

The strengthening of democratic centralism is accompanied with the uncompromising implementation of the line of the masses in the management and development of the economy. The more our country advances on the road of socialism the more the role of the masses increases in the planned management of production and the whole economic life of the country, thereby giving state management more

and more a profoundly popular character. The broader and more concrete the participation of the masses in judgements, analyses, confrontations and debate, the more correct the generalizations and the tasks posed for increasing the efficiency of leading work in the development of the socialist economy.

As a whole, the system of state management and organization of our economy, as well as the mechanism of its functioning built in accordance with the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, have appropriately responded to the aims of a genuinely socialist society and economy. It has played and continues to play a major role in increasing social production, the national income and socialist accumulation, in the fullest possible implementation of the principle of self-reliance. Through the functioning of this system of management and the economic mechanisms which underly it, our economy and socialist order have been strengthened and developed uninterruptedly.

With the further development and strengthening of the socialist economy, with the constant perfecting of the socialist relations of production, with the increase of the conscious activity of the working masses in the government of the country and in the management of the economy, the economic-organizational and cultural-educational function of the socialist state assumes a further development and extension. In these conditions the creative and conscious work for the construction of socialism, the planned management of the economy through finding and deciding the best variant of its development, the work for the all-round education of the new man, etc., occupy an ever greater place in the activity of the socialist state. Any departure from such a stand leads sooner or later to anarchist and liberal positions, to the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the degeneration of the socialist economy and society.

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The management of the economy by the socialist state has always been seen and treated in a dialectical manner, in close connection with the phase reached and the perspectives opened to the development of the production forces and the perfection of the socialist relations of production.

At present life calls for further improvements in the planning system, especially, in order to reflect and materialize in the plan all those cooperating links between enterprises, cooperatives and districts as well as economic branches so as to harmonize always correctly the different economic and financial planned indices which express in a concrete manner the requirements of the economic laws in every cell and link of the economy. The problem today is that plans should be drafted in many variants through the ever broader use of advanced methods and modern computer technique, that studies should be broadened and deepened, that methods of work and management of all state organs should be further improved, as well as the organization and management of affairs on their part.

An important problem in the state management of the economy remains the keeping of correct ratios between the drafting and implementation of the plan, because no matter how good the plans may be, only their implementation has decisive importance. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is faced with major tasks in the process of the implementation of the plan. Important is the fact that the plan, being a law, must be implemented with precision in all its quantitative and qualitative, technical, financial and economic indices, both in kind and in value.

In this process the whole system of state organization resolves with resilience the many problems that emerge from the further discovery of inner reserves, from the operation of new

internal and external factors, from the more rational employment of the assets of the country. The revision of plans is aimed at further increasing production, raising productivity, lowering costs and, in general, improving the efficiency of the economy.

In the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the deepening economic crisis of capitalism our state faces also the task of the further deepening of the implementation of the principle of self-reliance as one of the fundamental laws of the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland. Here we must keep ablaze the fight against the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda which tries to distort the revolutionary essence of this principle by calling it «sliding into the position of narrow nationalism» and «self-isolation in the national shell».

The fundamental question here has been and remains the building and constant strengthening of an independent socialist economy on the part of the socialist state. Ensuring political independence opens the road for the strengthening of economic independence, whereas the latter consolidates the dictatorship of the proletariat further, which is achieved when the economy is based on our inner resources and is not geared to the credits and economic «aid» from the imperialists or modern revisionists. Practice has fully proved that accepting credits and incurring huge debts not only leads to forfeiting the political and economic independence of the country that takes them, but also poses a major threat to its neighbours as well. «It is known that when you have pawned your title-deeds and have nothing to redeem them,» Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «a day comes when the creditor takes not only the house but also the ground on which it has been built.»⁵

Our economy deftly employs such economic levers as costs, prices, wages and salaries, money, credits, net income of enterprises and centralized net



income of the state, etc. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have never allowed the emergence in our socialist economy of such relations based on economic categories as are not in the nature of the socialist system of the economy and the socialist relations of production such as the average profit rate on capital, interpretation of efficiency from the position of economism, interest on capital or the so-called pay on funds, etc., which are practised on a large scale in the economy of the bourgeois and revisionist countries.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of the effectiveness of production in socialism occupies a central place in the complex and planned employment of economic levers. The aim of the social production, the ever better fulfilment of the increasing needs of the whole society, lies at the foundation of this concept. From this stems also the orientation of our Party about the efficiency of production which is based on the thesis that important though bread and steel, oil and cement, textiles may be, financial sources are just as important and necessary, because if these are reduced or dry up, the former will necessarily be reduced, too. This constitutes the abc of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the efficiency of production in socialism. In socialist society any increase of the social product and the national income is accompanied with the absolute growth of accumulation and the improvement of the well-being of the people, is equivalent to the real raising of the efficiency of the economy, in general. This kind of efficiency ensures the ceaseless and high-rate development of the socialist economy, the increase of accumulation, the improvement of the well-being of the people, as well as the strengthening of the political and economic independence of the country.

The reality of socialist Albania clearly shows the strength and the

well-thought and effective solution of the socialist economic system in accord with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete historical conditions of our country. In a synthesized manner this is apparent in the major achievements of which the main ones are: high and steady rates of increase of the social product and the national income. In 1983, as compared with 1950, the total social product has increased 12.7 fold, the total industrial production 37.4 fold and the total agricultural production 4.4 fold; meeting the needs of the extended socialist reproduction with the sources of inner financial accumulation without any credit or economic «aid» from abroad, with power sources and primary materials from industry and agriculture, balancing export with import, so as to neutralize the imperialist-revisionist pressure and blockade and the influence of the world capitalist crisis on the economy of our country; occupation with work of the constantly growing active population, guaranteeing and further improving the well-being of the people at a time when the population growth rates of our country are among the highest in Europe. In 1933, as compared with 1950, the growth of the social product has been 5.5 times higher than the growth of the population.

All these taken together constitute those solutions and achievements which the socialist system of our economy has ensured and which could not even be imagined in the past. They also represent the historical experience of the construction of socialism in Albania.

1 *Enver Hoxha*, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1976, p. 17, Eng. ed.

2 *Enver Hoxha*, Laying the Foundations of the New Albania, Tirana 1084, p. 485, Alb. ed.

3 *Enver Hoxha*, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, p. 179, Eng. ed.

4 *Enver Hoxha*, For the People's State Power, Tirana 1984, p. 647, Alb. ed.

5 *Enver Hoxha*, For the People's State Power, Tirana 1984, p. 679, Alb. ed.

THE ROAD OF THE INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

by STAVRY MITEZI

The major changes made in agriculture, the placing of agricultural production on the basis of large-scale socialist production, created the possibilities for its development in breadth and depth, the increase of yields per hectare of land sown and per head of livestock, as the main road for the increase of agricultural production today and in the future

OUR PARTY HAS ALWAYS CONSIDERED THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE AS ONE OF THE MAIN DIRECTIONS OF THE GENERAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY. THEREFORE, THE PROBLEMS OF ITS GENERAL DEVELOPMENT, THE ADVANCEMENT OF OUR SOCIALIST COUNTRYSIDE, HAVE BEEN THE OBJECT OF ITS GREAT ATTENTION AND CARE.

THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF OUR AGRICULTURE, THE TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND MODERNIZATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE, CONSTITUTE ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY, THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER AND OUR WORKING MASSES. ALBANIA, WITH A RESTRICTED AGRICULTURAL AREA AND A SMALL POPULATION, WITH THE PRONOUNCED BACKWARDNESS INHERITED FROM THE PAST AND BESET BY SAVAGE ENEMIES, SUCCEEDED IN SOLVING, WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME, VERY COMPLICATED PROBLEMS OF A POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTER IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND PROCEEDS TOWARDS COMPLETING THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY THERE.

The Party of Labour of Albania has stuck to the principle that in order to create a strong national economy, in general, and to carry out the complete construction of socialist society with success we must have not only a developed and powerful industry, but also an advanced agriculture. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «Strong reliance of the national economy, both on industry and on agriculture, is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition for the its rapid and harmonious development, for the increase of its degree of self-activity.»¹

In estimating agriculture as one

of the basic branches of the economy, our Party bases itself on the fact that this branch ensures the agricultural and livestock products needed to feed the population, ceaselessly creates and strengthens the material base of primary materials required by the light and food-stuffs industry and absorbs most of the working people of the country in useful social work. The improvement of the material and cultural level of the population, in general, is connected with the improvement of the economic, social and cultural situation of the countryside, in which about 2/3 of the population of the country lives. The building of socialism, the defence of the independence of the Homeland in the conditions of the

savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, the work to secure the means necessary for the socio-economic development of the country with our own forces cannot be understood without the development of agriculture, without making it capable of securing the necessary products for the people and industry.

The experience of the socialist construction of our country shows that the uninterrupted development of agricultural production and of the countryside, in general, constitutes an imperative for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the alliance between the working class and cooperativist peasantry in any country in which socialism is built. Besides this, it shows also that, above all, the main supporting base of this development is the socialist transformation of the countryside, as one of the fundamental questions of the revolution and one of the general laws of the socialist construction, as an objective necessity for every country which builds socialism.

The high rates of general economic development of the country and the need for gradually raising the standard of living of the working masses always require, in agriculture, too, not only the increase of production at

with the accomplishment of collectivization, with the strengthening and extension of the material-technical base of agriculture, especially with the increase of the number of tractors and other farming machines, and with the strengthening of draught power in agriculture, even though priority was given to the road of intensive development, the work to increase the acreage of land under cultivation was never abandoned. In the years after the liberation of the country about 480 thousand hectares of new land have been opened up, of which about 380 thousand are allocated to field crops and about 100 thousand to fruit-growing, vineyards, olive-groves and citrus plantations.

With the extension of the acreage of arable land and with the introduction of new cultures, the structure of agricultural production was improved. It is worth noting that against 96 per cent of the acreage that the cereal crops occupied in the first years after Liberation, now they occupy about 50 per cent, whereas industrial crops, potatoes, vegetables and forage crops occupy an important place in the sown surface. In this manner, our agriculture extricated itself once and for good from single-crop direction, which is characteristic of every country with backward agriculture. The structure of bread grain production, too, has been improved in the direction of the increase of wheat, which previously occupied about 20 per cent of the quantity of bread grain, and now occupies 70 per cent of them.

The major changes made in agriculture, the placing of agricultural production on the basis of large-scale socialist production, created the possibilities for its development in breadth and depth, the increase of yields per hectare of land sown and per head of livestock, as the main road for the increase of agricultural production today and in the future. Nevertheless, the extension and cultivation of new lands has been and remains a constant duty, an indispensability to make up for the continuous occupation of agricultural lands by developing lands allocated to constructions, to the extension of roads of communication, reservoirs, etc., as well as for restricting the process of the reduction of the arable land per capita of population.

At present our country has 1/5 of a hectare per capita of population, at a time when our neighbours and most of the other countries of Europe have 3/10 or even half a hectare per head of population. Therefore, although priority is given to the development of agriculture on the intensive road, work is still going on for the increase of the surface of land under cultivation, especially the arable land, which is gained mainly from the degraded bush and woods zones, from the coastal zone, from river beds, etc.

The possibilities for opening up new lands are increasingly reduced. Therefore, the main road to cope with the large-scale increase of agricultural production remains the road of husbanding the land and continuously increasing its fertility by means of systematization, the application of advanced technology in its ploughing, combined manuring, etc. In the given conditions, the intensive development of agriculture constitutes an objective necessity, because, as Lenin has pointed out, «The intensification of agriculture is not an accidental thing, is not a local, sporadic phenomenon, but a phenomenon common for all the civilized countries.»²

The intensification of agriculture with priority in the plains does not justify the slackening of attention towards the intensive development of agriculture in the hilly and mountain zones. While giving priority to the intensification of the development of agriculture in the state sector, steps have been taken for the intensification of agricultural development also in the cooperativist sector.

The Party has devoted special care to the gradual preparation of the material-technical base needed for supporting the intensification of agriculture, and has studied and correctly defined the fundamental directions and the order of priorities of the development of individual elements of this base. All the work for the intensification of agriculture has been studied and considered as a process planned in harmony with all the human, material and natural elements and factors.

In the framework of all the factors that contribute to the rapid develop-

merit of intensification of agriculture, a role of first-hand importance has been played by the radical transformations which have been made in the field of economic relations in the countryside—beginning with the Land Reform and continuing with the complete collectivization of agriculture, with the merging and continuous enlargement of agricultural economies and their transformation into modern economies of extended socialist production. However, these transformations of the economic base of the countryside have been accompanied with major transformations of the material-technical base of agriculture, especially with the increase of the number of tractors and farming machines, with the increase of investments for irrigation and land—improvement schemes, the chemization of agriculture, etc. In 1984, the draught power in agriculture increased more than 5 fold over the 1960 level. As a result of the strengthening of the mechanical base and the raising of the degree of qualification of agricultural workers, the complex mechanization of work processes in agriculture is growing more and more with each passing day, especially in the cultivation of maize, cotton, sugar-beet, the production and ensilaging of animal feed, etc. Most of the farming machines needed are produced locally, and nearly 100 per cent of spare parts for them are secured within the country. From 1960 to 1984 the level of mechanization per unit of land has increased 4.7 fold, whereas the surface of arable land has increased 57 per cent.

Big investments for land improvement schemes and systematization and for the extension of the irrigation capacity have played a specially great role in the conditions of our country with great precipitations and high humidity in spring and autumn and intensive heat of summer. In this manner, from land improvement schemes the arable land has been extended with 50 thousand hectares of new land and 200 thousand hectares of land were improved. A great step forward has been made in the extension of the irrigation capacity of the country. Against 10.5 per cent, which the area under irrigation was in 1938, in 1960 it increased to 29 per cent, in

1970 to 47 per cent, and in 1984 to 65 per cent of the total arable land. At present, nearly all the plains area of the country has been put under irrigation and the irrigation capacity in the hilly and mountainous areas has extended markedly. In the last 20 years only, an additional area of about 120 thousand hectares has been added to the surface under irrigation. The investments which the state is making at present to extend irrigation in the hilly and mountainous areas are 2-3 times greater than those made for the plains zone.

With the level reached in the system of drainage and irrigation, the conditions are created for the normal development of field crops and fruit-growing, from which steadily growing yields are taken even in bad years, as regards weather conditions. This feature of our socialist agriculture was manifested once again in the last two years when, despite the conditions of the long and intensive drought, the biggest ever harvest was collected.

Up till the beginning of the '60s, the growth and strengthening of the material-technical base of agriculture had some sporadic disproportions, especially, between the degree of mechanization, improvement plans and irrigation schemes, on the one hand, and the minimum dose of chemical fertilizers, on the other. However, with the development of industry, the production of chemical fertilizers, including nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers, increased and this contradiction was overcome. At present, our industry provides about 520 kg of chemical fertilizers, or 145 kg of active matter per hectare of arable land, or nearly as much as is used in most of the countries of the world, which boast developed agriculture.

The development of chemical industry in our country created the possibilities for a more rapid advance in combating pests, weeds, etc. At present, the production of this industry is in a position to fulfil all the needs of the country for sulphur, copper sulphate, lindan, zineb, sevin, calcium polysulphur, sulphasol, zynoxevin, etc. In the future, the line and range of these substances are envisaged to extend further, with a view to stepping up the chemization of our agriculture.

Special attention is attached to the training of cadres and specialists of agriculture, the development and encouragement of agricultural disciplines, the creation and extension of scientific research institutions covering all sectors of agriculture. The extension of scientific activity and the intensification of research work have been crowned with success in the local production of high productivity seed strains, the improvement of animal breeds, the application of new achievements of science and technology, as well as the perfecting and implementation of advanced technologies in agriculture.

In the last three five-year plans, especially, the intensive agricultural production developed with priority. In this manner, e.g., in the 5th Five-year Plan, 56 per cent of the increase in agricultural production was ensured from the increase of yields of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock, and the remaining 44 per cent was ensured from the extension of the area under cultivation. In the 6th Five-year Plan, 1976-1980, the ratios of the increase of agricultural production were respectively to 72 and 28 per cent, and in the 7th Five-year Plan, 90 and 10 per cent. By pursuing this course, in the period of the 7th Five-year Plan, the increase of productivity per head of livestock accounts for 89 per cent of the increase of production, and 85 per cent of the increase of production in fruit-growing was ensured from the increase of productivity.

Guided by the principle of self-reliance in the work for the development of the country and the construction of socialism, our Party rejected the suggestions and foiled the efforts of the Khrushchevites who wanted us to condition the intensification of our agriculture by the so-called specialization and co-operation within the socialist community, a thing which would have put our agriculture on a one-sided development course. Their aim was to place our country to the economic dependence of the countries in which the revisionists are in power, especially, to the dependence of the economy of the Soviet Union.

The extension of the area sown with field crops, the improvement of the structure of sown surface, the scientific management and organization of production, especially through concentration, specialization and co-operation, and the harmonization of all the factors at play in the increase of productivity per unit of sown surface and per head of livestock, this has been the main road which our Party has pursued for the development and intensification of agriculture. This road departs widely from the one-sided development and narrow specialization aimed at immediate profits which is followed in the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries, for the intensification of agriculture.

In the conditions of the complete establishment of social ownership of the means of production, when the absolute rent of the land which leads to great expenditure for the purchase or hire of the land, has been liquidated, the deepening of the process of intensification of agriculture is not restricted by any obstacles and limitations of investments for the development of productive forces and technical progress in agriculture. In the conditions of our socialist construction this process has been carried out in a planned and organized manner, in compliance with the demands of the economic laws of socialism, in which the society determines both the aim and the size of production, the roads and means needed to realize it. This explains why the increase in agricultural production in our country has been achieved mainly through the strengthening of the material base, the intensification of work on every unit of land under cultivation, the improvement of structure in every branch of agricultural production, the ever better exploitation of the agricultural land, with the aim of ensuring the highest possible production with the least expenditure. The extension of the arable surface and taking in of high yields from them, this is the process of intensive development, especially, in the hilly and mountainous zones in which there are still zones with low grade woods, degraded pasture grounds, etc., which, after deforestation and sowing with field crops, will turn in much more pro-

duction than they are in a position to give in the present condition. This is the reason why the Party, in the framework of the measures for the development of the hilly and mountainous zones, attaches great importance to the increase of the acreage under cultivation and the intensification of agriculture even in the above-mentioned regions. This is one of the greatest achievements of the Party in the overall development of the country and the consolidation of the socialist order in the countryside.

Thanks to the great investments which have been made in land development schemes and in the material-technical base of agriculture, as well as other measures that have been taken parallel with these, high yields have been taken also in the mountainous zones. In 1984, e.g., from about 39 thousand hectares sown with wheat, an average of 32 quintals of wheat per hectare was taken in in the whole zone. At present, the mountainous regions of Dibra, Pogradec, and Kolonja, only, produce as much wheat as the whole country produced in 1938, whereas the yields of wheat taken in the mountainous district of Skrapar are 2.8 times as high as those reached at a national level in 1960. There are numerous examples of the rapid development of the hilly-mountainous regions, along with the plains zone. They concern not only of bread grain, but also livestock, fruit-growing, etc., and result from the combination of the extensive road with the intensive road of development.

In the implementation of the tasks set by the 8th Congress of the PLA for the deepening of the process of intensification of agriculture, in general, and the raising of the effectiveness of expenditure, special attention is given to the priority intensification of agricultural production in the most fertile plains of the country during a ten-year period. «The aim of this action is to increase agricultural and livestock production in the areas in which the work and investments yield greater and more rapid results. This will also create favourable conditions for a more rapid development of the cooperatives and for

the gradual transition from the property of the group to the property of the whole people.»³

The first stage of this program, which is being applied in the current five-year plan, covers more than 100 thousand hectares of land in the area of the coastal plains. The objective target for this year is to take in about 43.5 quintals of wheat per hectare, 61.5 quintals of corn per hectare, 17.5 quintals of cotton per hectare, 24 quintals of sunflower per hectare, 2,760 litres of milk from each milk cow, 950 kg of meat from each sow, etc.

At the present stage, there are many agricultural economies, sectors and brigades in this zone which take in such high yields that have exceeded even the forecasts for 1985. Thus, for example, in 1983 many agricultural cooperatives took in 71 quintals of corn per hectare in all the area sown with this crop, and some of them took in even 95 quintals per hectare. Whereas the yields of wheat in the last two years, in about 8 thousand hectares of plains in the district of Korça have been 52 quintals per hectare, and in Lushnja, Fier and Durrës, the yields from 60 per cent of the area sown with wheat has been over 43 quintals per hectare. Yields higher than the 1983 forecasts have been attained by many agricultural economies for other crops, such as sunflower, vegetables, fruits, vineyards, etc., as well as in livestock products.

The continuous improvement of the relations of production, the strengthening of the material-technical base, the narrowing of the distinctions between town and countryside, have created the conditions and possibilities for the strengthening of the socialist attitude towards work and property, for the creation everywhere of an atmosphere of great mobilization for the carrying out of the tasks of the intensification of agriculture.

1 *Enver Hoxha*, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, ftp. 73-74, Alb. ed.

2 *V.I. Lenin*, Collected Works, vol. 22, p. 46, Alb. ed.

3 *Enver Hoxha*, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 37, Eng. ed.

THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE *by SOTIR MANUSHI*

Although our people's revolution was carried out in the framework of the national liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-feudal tasks, it opened the road for its own transformation into socialist revolution and the socialist construction of the country

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WERE AMONG THE FIRST TO PUT UP AN ARMED RESISTANCE TO AGGRESSION IN THE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED CONDITIONS WHEN THEY WERE BETRAYED BY THE RULING CLASSES AND DEPRIVED OF ALL OUTSIDE HELP AND SUPPORT.

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE BEGAN THEIR WAR AGAINST FASCIST OCCUPIERS BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. BUT THIS WAR ENTERED A NEW HIGHER PHASE, ASSUMED AN ORGANIZED CHARACTER ON A NATIONAL SCALE AND HAD ITS CLEAR PLATFORM ONLY AFTER THE CREATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA, ON 8 NOVEMBER 1941. THE FORMATION OF THE PARTY WAS A LANDMARK IN THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WHO HAD IN THE PARTY A RELIABLE, LOYAL AND REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP. THIS EVENT MARKED A REAL CHANGE IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR.

Naturally, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of all the peoples suffering under fascist occupation constituted one single revolutionary process directed against the same enemies, which was aimed at achieving their national liberation from fascist slavery and establishing a people's democratic order in favour of the working masses. Precisely in the context of this single revolutionary process must be sought the specific features of the anti-fascist war of each country.

Without making a rigorous analy-

sis of the general and the specific for each country it is impossible to reach correct and all-sided conclusions. Various foreign authors have carried out such studies which lack in this aspect. A debate devoted to the social revolutions of the 40's of the 20th century was organized recently in this spirit. The participants in the debate raised problems which come into opposition with the reality of our country. In a criticism of such a manner of the treatment of our reality, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people, has pointed

out: «In describing the general features of our people's democratic revolution, they fail to point out, for instance, the original way in which this revolution was carried out in our country, which, without doubt, developed in a manner different from the revolution, we might say, in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, or Hungary».¹

The characteristic features of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people were determined in the objective and subjective, internal and external, conditions.

* *

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people was transformed into an anti-imperialist people's democratic revolution. This constitutes the fundamental feature of this war. This revolution was a relatively long, uninterrupted process which, in its continuation, carried out a series of increasingly radical political transformations which created the premises for socio-economic transformations in the life of the country.

From the beginning to the end, the war against the fascist occupiers did not go beyond the bounds of the National Liberation War. But the situation that was created objectively, and in particular, the profound social differentiation that followed in the course of the war for the liberation of the country, put on the agenda the need for radical socio-political transformations. This does not mean that the platform, which had been adopted

in the beginning of the organized anti-fascist resistance, was altered. Right to the end of the war, the main enemy remained the foreign invader. As a result, the struggle against foreign occupiers was always the first priority.

In the western bourgeois historiography the thesis that the civil war between the National Liberation Movement and the reactionary organizations of the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti prevailed in Albania in the course of the Second World War, has gained circulation. Since the time of the war, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, rejected this thesis. He has emphasized: «There are no internal quarrels and less so a civil war in Albania. There is only one quarrel and one war: war against the occupier, in the first place, and against its traitor tools.»²

The National Liberation Front of Albania has always been against fratricidal war and the transforming of the National Liberation War into a civil war.

It is obvious that in the time when our country languished under the fascist jackboot, it was more than ever necessary to unite and mobilize the whole Albanian people in the war against the occupiers, who used every imaginable means to encourage a fratricidal war in order to split the unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, and consequently, liquidate the National Liberation Movement. The reactionary landowners and bourgeoisie were also interested in sparking off a civil war, because in the National Liberation War and

in its transformation into a popular revolution they saw the end of their rule. Therefore, they made common cause with the German occupiers against the National Liberation Front. For them the main enemy was the National Liberation Front and not the occupiers. Comrade Enver Hoxha explains: «For reaction and its traitor organizations the main contradictions became those with the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front. They turned these contradictions into antagonistic contradictions, attacking us with arms in joint actions with the occupiers... at a time when the National Liberation Front did its utmost not to allow the contradictions with the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti to become antagonistic contradictions.»³ In these circumstances, our National Liberation War was directed not only against the foreign enemy, but also against the local enemy. It was carried out and aimed both against the one and the other enemy. For victory to be achieved, both sides, which were inextricably connected with one another, had to be fought.

However, this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the struggle of the National Liberation Front against the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti was a civil war, in spite of the fact that it contained in itself elements of this war, both in content and in form.

The struggle of the National Liberation Front against traitor organizations which collaborated with the occupier, cannot be labeled a civil war, because it did not constitute a

war in itself, but was part of the war against the occupiers. The National Liberation Front fought against the reactionary landowners and bourgeoisie, not because they were exploiting classes, but because they were collaborators and tools in the hands of the occupiers. The Communist Party of Albania never launched slogans for war against landowners and the bourgeoisie.

In this manner, seeing that right up to the end of the war the main enemies remained the fascist occupiers, and since the main war effort was directed against them and the struggle against landowners and the bourgeoisie was subordinated to the struggle against foreign enemies, it is obvious that the struggle against the Balli Kombëtar, Legaliteti and other reactionary forces and groupings, cannot be described as a civil war.

The fact that the reactionary classes allied themselves to the occupiers and were destroyed together with them is an important objective factor which favoured the transformation of the National Liberation War into a popular revolution in Albania.

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Another important feature of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people consists in the original ways that were followed for the establishment of the people's state power in Albania. The question of state power, Lenin has pointed out, is the most important question of every revolution. The Anti-fascist National Liberation War, too, as a popular revolution, would not but lead to the raising and solution of this problem, except that in the concrete circumstances in which our war was waged, this could not be the only important question of the revolution separated from the question of the national liberation. Therefore, the strategic aim of the National Liberation War in Albania contained in itself the demand for the solution of two great tasks:

the national liberation and the establishment of the people's state power. In Albania, the question of state power was not solved through an instant action, but gradually, through some stages. The new Albanian state was born in 1942 and went through a dialectical process of growth, development and strengthening, until its triumph. The new situations that were created during the war put on the agenda the further strengthening of the power of the national liberation councils as the only legitimate state power of the people in Albania. «The strengthening of the national liberation councils means the strengthening of our war, means bringing the liberation of our people and Homeland closer.»⁴ And this is understandable. The tasks of the national liberation councils at that time could not be separated from the tasks of the armed struggle; indeed, they could not be solved without a revolutionary state. For these reasons the setting up of the people's state power was a necessary condition for the successful development of the National Liberation War.

The people's state power in Albania was not established in peaceful forms, but with most revolutionary methods. It was not the result of grafting on or combination with the landowner-bourgeois state, but an entirely new state. Therefore, over the question of the state power, a life-and-death struggle was waged between the National Liberation Front, on the one hand, and the occupiers and their tools, on the other.

After developing from a lower to a higher stage, the new people's democratic state was created at the 1st National Liberation Congress which was convened in Përmet in May 1944. With the decisions of this Congress and of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council which emerged from this Congress, the question of state power was solved in general. Naturally, this does not mean that the question of state power in Albania was definitively solved with the decisions of this Congress. In the first place, it was solved through the armed struggle which the Albanian people waged against the fascist occu-

piers and the traitors of the country. Therefore, the decisions of the Congress of Përmet cannot be taken separately from all the revolutionary war which our people waged until the time was ripe for the Congress of Përmet to be convened. In the framework of this war emerges the great importance of these decisions which crowned with success the efforts of the Albanian people for the creation of the new state power.

The creation of the state of people's democracy in Albania marked, in fact, the liquidation of monarchy. The thesis that the monarchy was maintained in order in Albania up till January 11, 1946, when the People's Republic of Albania was proclaimed, is altogether baseless. The Anti-fascist National Liberation War, its transformation into a profound popular revolution, the setting up of the revolutionary people's state power of the national liberation councils, etc., all this was not in the nature of a monarchy. It is understandable that in the time of the National Liberation War, when national liberation was raised as a question of primary importance, from which the solution of other tasks depended, and when in the struggle to achieve this objective the participation of all the anti-fascist forces of the country without distinction as to classes and political convictions was required without excluding from this struggle even those strata with some slight shade of monarchic opinions, the National Liberation Front judged that the only right thing to do was to allow the people to decide on the form of government after Liberation. It was precisely from these considerations that the Congress of Përmet judged not to proclaim the country a Republic there and then. But no one can deny the fact that this Congress adopted a definite stand towards the future form of government. It firmly condemned the monarchic regime of Zog, demanding that «it should not be permitted to repeat itself.»

In this manner the Congress of Përmet condemned monarchy, on the one hand, and took into consideration the internal and external situations of that time, on the other.

However, the fact that the Congress of Përmet did not explicitly liquidated the monarchy and did not proclaim the Republic, does not mean, as is claimed, that monarchy was maintained. The monarchy was maintained by the occupiers and the reactionary classes of the country. The struggle of the Albanian people against them was pervaded through and through by anti-monarchic trends and convictions. The popular revolution was not only an anti-imperialist democratic revolution, but also an anti-monarchic revolution. Therefore, we are justified in reaching the conclusion that by condemning monarchy, the Congress of Përmet liquidated it not only de facto but also de jure, and created the new state which was a republic in form, although this, for the reasons we mentioned above, was not put explicitly in any of the acts of the new state.

That our new state was a republic in form as early as in the Congress of Përmet, this can be seen also in the functions and tasks with which the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council vested the Standing Committee which represented the Council between its sessions. It was precisely the Standing Committee of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council which carried out the functions of head of state, those functions which were attributed to the Presidium of the People's Assembly later.

The proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania on January 11, 1946 by the Constituent Assembly legitimized a situation that existed practically even in the period of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people.

In this manner, in the course of the war, without waiting for the end of the war, the state of the fascist occupiers and the landowner bourgeoisie was demolished and the new democratic state of the national liberation councils was set up in its place, indeed, when the necessary conditions were created the Democratic Government was formed and the new Albanian state of the people's democracy was built according to the will of the people.

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Along with the solution of the question of state power in Albania, the other forms of the war and organization — the National Liberation Front and the armed uprising — were also determined in an original form in the time of the National Liberation War. The National Liberation Front was created and strengthened in the heat of the war against the fascist occupiers and the traitors of the country, on the basis of the anti-fascist revolutionary platform which was adopted at the Conference of Peza in September 1942.

The union of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front was a direct voluntary union of the masses of the people, and not a coalition of political parties and organizations. The only political party in the Front, the Communist Party of Albania, was the leader and architect of this union.

Hence, this unity in the National Liberation War was achieved from below, by the broad masses of the people. This, certainly, does not mean that no efforts at all were made to mobilize and unite with all the anti-fascist political trends from above.

The experience of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people showed that the unity which is realized directly from below, by the masses of the people, and which has a single revolutionary leadership is always a strong and stable unity, vital for the present and for the future of the revolution.

The union of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front was an organized union of the broad masses of working people in Albania. The undivided single leadership of the CPA gave the union of the people in the National Liberation Front its perfect organization, its profoundly revolutionary and fighting character, and realized the leading role of the working class and the unbreakable alliance of this class with the peasantry, which constituted the steel foundations of this unity, gave it the high political consciousness of the insurgent masses, the sound organization of these masses, and finally guaranteed the victory of the people.

ranted the victory of the people.

The organization of the armed struggle required also the training of the armed forces, the formation of the National Liberation Army. Without the creation of a real popular army the general armed uprising was inconceivable.

The necessity of the creation of the National Liberation Army, as a regular people's revolutionary army, was dictated by the great strategic tasks which faced the Albanian people in the time of the war. With this army the country would be liberated completely with its own forces, national independence would be won, the democratic people's state power would be established. There is no doubt that this army would become the armed support of the new state. International experience has shown that there is no state, including the revolutionary state, which can stand on its feet without its armed support.

Both in the creation and in the growth and strengthening of the National Liberation Army, the principle of self-reliance has been applied in a conscious manner. Only in this way was it possible to ensure the triumph of the uprising, the popular revolution.

All the major difficult problems of the people's armed struggle, such as the training of military-political cadres, the equipment of the army and the insurgent people, the supply of weapons, munition, clothing and food for the fighters, were solved on the basis of this major principle.

The National Liberation Army, with more than 70 thousand fighters, powerfully supported by the people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, carried out its historic mission with success. It drove from the Albanian soil the occupation forces, destroyed the old political order and all the reactionary forces and organizations which had made common cause with the occupiers, and became the shield that defended the newly established state.

The simultaneous solution of three tasks: the unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, the organization of the general armed uprising of the people and the creation of the regular National Libera-

tion Army, the destruction of the political state of the occupiers and the landowner-bourgeois classes, and the setting up of the new state power of the national liberation councils, constituted a decisive factor for the triumph of the revolution. Failure to solve even one of these tasks might jeopardize the triumph of the revolution.

* *

Finally, one of the features of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people consists also in the fact that, with the complete liberation of the country, the anti-imperialist democratic revolution was transformed into socialist revolution.

The Albanian people, led by the working class and the Communist Party, won the decisive political battle against the exploiting classes in the conditions of the liberation war against the occupiers and traitors.

This war was ceaselessly transformed into a socialist revolution on account of the forces that motivated it, the leadership and the direction of development which it followed objectively.

The new situation created in Albania after the Congress of Përmet in the last months before Liberation, as a result of the successive victories of the National Liberation Movement against the occupiers and their collaborators and the defeat of the reactionary state and the organized forces of exploiting classes, prepared the terrain for the transition to the so-

cialist revolution after the liberation of the country.

The experience of our country demonstrates that the socialist state can emerge directly from the national liberation war. This is something new in the theory and practice of the revolution. In this manner, although our people's revolution was carried out in the framework of the national liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, anti-feudal tasks, it opened the road for its own transformation into socialist revolution and for the socialist construction of the country.

Our new historiography finds that the thesis that the orientation for the socialist revolution in Albania was issued in February 1946, is entirely groundless. This thesis confuses two different concepts, that on the deepening of the socialist revolution and socialist construction with that on the orientation for the socialist revolution. Not February 1946, but the liberation of the whole country and the establishment of the people's state power, the state of the working class led by the Communist Party, can be considered generally as the transition line from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

In our country, the first stage of the revolution prepared the conditions for embarking on the second stage, whereas the second stage consisted in the development of the first stage of the revolution. The first stage ended with the liberation of Albania, and immediately after this, the second stage, the stage of the socialist revolution, began.

Our new historiography considers that the thesis that the people's de-

mocratic state in Albania in the first period after the liberation of the country was not a socialist state because, at that time, the bourgeois-democratic measures predominated, is totally unacceptable. The carrying out of reforms of a democratic character before those of a socialist character were carried out, in no way negates the socialist content of the revolution and the people's state power. The experience today has shown that the carrying out of the bourgeois-democratic tasks is an absolute premise for the realization of the socialist tasks. This was clearly shown also by the experience of the October Socialist Revolution. In the first period after its triumph, the democratic tasks prevailed. Indeed, only the socialist revolution can carry the bourgeois-democratic tasks through to the end.

The fact that the character of the state in Albania did not change during the reforms which it carried out, whether they were of a democratic or of a socialist character, clearly shows that our state was, from the beginning, a dictatorship of the proletariat which was born in the National Liberation War and the people's revolution which the Albanian people carried out.

- 1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 14, p. 29, Alb. ed.
- 2 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 2, p. 273, Alb. ed.
- 3 Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1967-1968, Tirana 1969, pp. 164-165.
- 4 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 2, p. 20, Alb. ed.

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS - REFLECTION OF THE HATRED OF THE PEOPLES AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS

by PASKAL MILO

The peoples have never reconciled themselves to the foreign occupiers. Their fiery patriotic feelings have inspired them to rise against the usurpers of their land, no matter how great or strong they may be. This struggle remains indispensable for any people that cherish the ideals of freedom and national independence

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLES ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. TOGETHER WITH THE MOVEMENT OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT THEY PRESENT ONE OF THE MAIN FRONTS OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE IN THE PRESENT TIME. IN HIS ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN GENERAL AND THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WARS IN PARTICULAR, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT «...A GENERAL AWAKENING OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES, A STRENGTHENING OF NATIONAL FEELINGS, AND A GREATER DESIRE TO BE FREE, INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN CAN BE SEEN TODAY. THE PEOPLES' LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAVE GROWN IN EXTENT AND ENHANCED THEIR QUALITY, THEIR ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-NEO-COLONIALIST CHARACTER HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED.»¹

There are profound economic, political, social and ideological causes for

the peoples to take up arms and rise in struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism. The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, the whole ar-

senal of the propaganda means of the superpowers and other imperialist powers, have always tried to cover up the true causes which impel the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to rise in national liberation and anti-imperialist wars. They have put into circulation such views as present these wars as revolts of backward and underdeveloped peoples, wars of a religious character, etc. The imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie distorts the inner economic and socio-political motives of the anti-imperialist liberation wars and refuses to acknowledge their main cause — the imperialist and social-imperialist interference and occupa-

tion, the savage plunder, oppression and exploitation by the superpowers and the other great capitalist powers.

The peoples that have risen now in struggle for national liberation have for centuries been under colonialist and imperialist rule. The great imperialist powers and the capitalist and colonialist states have exploited these peoples to the marrow, killed and massacred them, kept them in centuries-long backwardness by all manner of means. This policy, although in new forms, is being continued by the United States, the Soviet Union and the other neo-colonialist powers after the Second World War. By various methods, the developed capitalist countries rob the developing countries of about 90 billion dollars each year. Only the net profit from direct investments of foreign capital in Africa was in excess of 22 billion dollars in the period 1974-1984. The African countries lose more than 11.2 billion dollars each year as a result of unequal trade with the imperialist and social-imperialist states. On the same continent, the capitalist multinational and other companies control 90 per cent of the mining of chromium, 85 per cent of platinum, 70 per cent of diamonds, 60 per cent of magnesium, etc.

As a result of this systematic and all-round plunder, oppression and exploitation, the level of the socio-economic development and the standard of living in those countries remain very low. Hunger has reached catastrophic proportions. According to UNO data, 570 million people in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America suffer from lack of food. Only within 1985, 5.5 million people starved to death in 24 African countries. In the developing countries there are 800 million illiterates, 1.5 billion people have almost no possibility of receiving medical aid and more than 300 million are partially or totally unemployed.

The peoples have never reconciled themselves to the foreign occupiers. Their fiery patriotic feelings have inspired them to rise against the usurpers of their land, no matter how great or strong they may be. This struggle remains indispensable for any people that cherish the ideals of freedom and national independence.

Today the flames of the national liberation wars or wars to defend national independence from imperialism and social-imperialism have spread almost all over the world. In Europe, the people of Northern Ireland are fighting against the British colonialists. In the Middle East, the Palestinian people are continuing their armed struggle to return to their homeland occupied by the Israeli Zionists. The Lebanese patriots, the progressive forces that fight for the liberation of southern Lebanon, are fighting against the same enemy. In Asia, national liberation wars are successfully being waged in Afghanistan, the Philippines, Eastern Timor, etc. Namibia and Azania continue to be centres of the struggle for freedom in Africa. The front of the people's liberation movements is even broader in Latin America. On that continent, the peoples of Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, and others are fighting to shake off the hated twofold yoke of American imperialism and the local fascist dictatorial regimes. In the same region, the Nicaraguan people have risen to defend their national independence against the Somoza gangs and the interference and plots of the United States.

This short survey of the geographical extension of the national liberation movements in the world is the best refutation of those bourgeois-revisionist views which in one way or another deny or ignore the liberation struggles of the peoples. According to the Soviet revisionists, the main trend in the countries of Asia, Africa and

Latin America is not the struggle for national liberation and the defence of freedom and national independence, but the «non-capitalist road of development» or «socialist orientation». By applying offensive labels to these struggles, the bourgeois propaganda tries to distort their true character, to present them as terrorist expressions of the revolt of some groups which supposedly are isolated from the people and operate against their interests.

The fact that some country may have groups operating by putschist and adventurous methods cannot conceal the mass popular character of these ever growing movements. Some figures are sufficient to prove that: according to information from the foreign press, in the Philippines about 12 thousand men militate in the ranks of the people's army, in Guatemala the number of the fighters in the patriots' units was 9 thousand last year and in Eastern Timor this figure was 6.8 thousand in the same year. The patriotic forces that fight against the Soviet social-imperialist occupiers in Afghanistan amount to some tens of thousands. Workers, peasants, young people and intellectuals militate in these forces. It is true that the proletariat and its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party do not lead these movements. However, carrying the national democratic and anti-imperialist revolution through to the end depends on the hegemonic role of the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist communist party. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The wars for national and social liberation, whether in the Middle East, Africa or elsewhere, are wars with a national liberation and imperialist character. Although, for one reason or the other, the proletariat is not at the head of the masses of the people in these wars and does not have its own party, in the revolutionary situations that will be created in the future, the pro-

gressive elements, in alliance with the poor peasantry demanding land, will create the conditions in which the fighting proletariat must hurl itself into struggle, and the genuine party of the proletariat, the genuine leadership of the state, and the genuine popular army will emerge, an army which will serve the people and not the new theocratic bourgeoisie, this time cloaked in allegedly democratic forms.»²

The present national liberation wars of the people in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have gone through a further qualitative upsurge. This is apparent in the growth of the revolutionary and political consciousness, in the ever more correct definition of the aim and tasks of this war. At present national liberation movements are directed not only against the foreign imperialist and social-imperialist oppression, but also against the local landowning-bourgeois cliques and reactionary forces linked with and sold to the imperialist and neo-colonialist great powers.

The national liberation movements are inflicting ever more heavy losses on the enemy and extending the liberated territories. According to sources from the Afghan liberation forces, during five years of the Soviet occupation of their country they have put 30 thousand Soviet soldiers out of action, or damaged 7 thousand tanks, armoured vehicles and troop carriers and brought down or destroyed on the ground...

In Northern Ireland during the years 1969-1984 the liberation forces have wiped out about 2,400 British soldiers and local mercenaries in their pay. In South Lebanon, in the period from October 1982 to 1984, more than 100 armed attacks have been launched against the forces and objects of the Israeli invaders and more than 600 enemy soldiers have been killed. In

the past year the Philippino patriots carried out more than 3,500 actions and armed attacks against the forces of the Marcos regime and wiped out more than 1,600 soldiers. The Salvadorian liberation forces have killed or wounded 5,000 soldiers of the Duarte dictatorship and now control 70 per cent of the territory of the country, while the units of the resistance fighters of Guatemala have put out of action 1,200 troops and agents of the secret police.

The national liberation wars are directed in the first place against imperialism, social-imperialism and neo-colonialism. Although in conflict over their political, strategic and economic interests, the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the other imperialist powers are united in the attempts at suppressing the national liberation movements that are developing in different countries and regions of the world. For this purpose the imperialists and social-imperialists employed old and new, open and disguised methods, political and diplomatic methods up to military aggression.

Notorious allies of the two superpowers and neo-colonialists against the national liberation movements are feudalism, the big bourgeoisie and the reactionary circles, in general. All these are closely linked by mutual interests. The local reactionary cliques in power are obedient servants of the imperialist and neo-colonialist powers and blindly carry out the orders and dictate of the metropolis. As a reward for their services they are kept in power with the assistance of the weapons of the imperialists and social-imperialists.

Military assistance to the puppet regimes and aggressor states occupies an important place in the strategy of the United States and the Soviet Union for the suppression of the national libe-

ration wars. So, from the beginning of this war Washington has spent more than 300 million dollars in military aid for the Duarte regime. American aid for the anti-popular dictatorship in Guatemala is envisaged to reach 70 million dollars in 1985, the double of what the United States has given this country so far. Beginning from this year, the United States will give the Marcos' regime in the Philippines 900 million dollars of military aid over a period of five years. As always, Washington continues to give large amounts of military aid to Israel to enable this state to carry out the mission American imperialism has assigned to it in the Middle East. American aid for Israel will amount to 3.7 billion dollars in the financial year 1986. The Soviet Union, too, is lavish in aid to its reactionary clients under the disguise of the so-called internationalist assistance. In Afghanistan the Soviet social-imperialists have already spent tens of millions of rubles to stamp out the struggle of the Afghani patriots. Moscow has sold and continues to sell weapons to such reactionary regimes as that of Indonesia, thereby contributing directly to the suppression of the national liberation movements. By means of its military aid the Soviet Union also aims to put under its control some national liberation movements in order to extend its influence and to penetrate into those countries and, if the occasion presents itself to use them as a means of blackmailing its rival — the United States, or to sacrifice them on the altar of the American-Soviet counter-revolutionary collaboration. That is how the Soviet revisionists have done in the Congo, the Dominican Republic, with the Arab peoples, etc.

Military aid to reactionary governments is the first step of the open imperialist and social-imperialist intervention to suppress the national libe-

ration movements. When all the so-called peaceful means and methods have not yielded the results hoped for the two superpowers intervened directly with their military forces. The history after the Second World War knows many such cases. In order to maintain their neo-colonial rule, the superpowers and the other imperialist powers constantly increase the occupation forces, the number of «advisers» and the military and police forces of reactionary regimes: thus, the Soviet troops in Afghanistan have increased from 100,000 in December 1979 to 140,000 in 1984. The British occupiers have doubled their military and police forces in Northern Ireland during the last ten years. The fascist regime of South Africa keeps 110,000 occupation troops in Namibia. In 1984 there were 1,500 American «advisers» in Salvador and Honduras. Washington has reckoned that for the partisan movement in Salvador to be stamped out an army of 120,000 men is needed instead of the army of 37,000 of that country now. The American congress endorsed the expenditure of 21 million dollars to levy, equip and supply an army of 10,000 to overthrow the lawful government of Nicaragua.

In the arsenal of the methods of the imperialist pressures, threats for the suppression of the national li-

beration movements figure genocide, mass extermination, scorched earth tactics, alteration of the demographic map of a country by violence, etc. These fascist and inhuman methods were used by the American imperialists in Vietnam, are being used today by the Soviet social-imperialists in Afghanistan, by the Israeli Zionists in the occupied Arab territories, by the South-African racists in Namibia and Azania. About 75,000 innocent inhabitants of Afghanistan have died as result of the persecutions and punitive expeditions of the Soviet occupiers and the puppet army during the five years of occupation. More than four million Afghans have fled their country and two million others have abandoned the combat areas and taken refuge in the cities. In the Philippines more than 5,000 people have been killed since 1972. when the state of emergency was proclaimed, in Eastern Timor 200,000 people, or 33 per cent of the population have died as a result of the terror of the Indonesian occupiers, of hunger and disease. In Salvador, during the last five years about 50,000 civilians have been killed by the forces of the reactionary army and police, while one million others have been obliged to abandon their home places in order to escape the terror and persecutions.

These facts, which are common

knowledge, demonstrate once again the inhuman nature of imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionary regimes in their service. They have torn the mask off Washington. Moscow and all the neo-colonialist powers which have raised demagogy to a system to cover up their policy of ruthless and savage oppression, exploitation of the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The national liberation wars are a phenomenon in constant development. They reflect the hatred and indignation of the peoples against capitalist exploitation and imperialist yoke. They are another expression of the crisis and decay of capitalism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «These wars confirm that imperialism is heading for, the abyss, that it is no longer capable of stopping the revolutionary drive of the peoples who dare to rise against it and are not intimidated by the imperialist powers and their tools even armed interventions.»³

- 1 *Enver Hoxha*, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 175, Eng. ed.
- 2 **Enver Hoxha** Reflections on the Middle East, p. 248, Eng. ed.
- 3 **Enver Hoxha**. Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, p. 177, Eng. ed.

