

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

# **ENVER HOXHA**

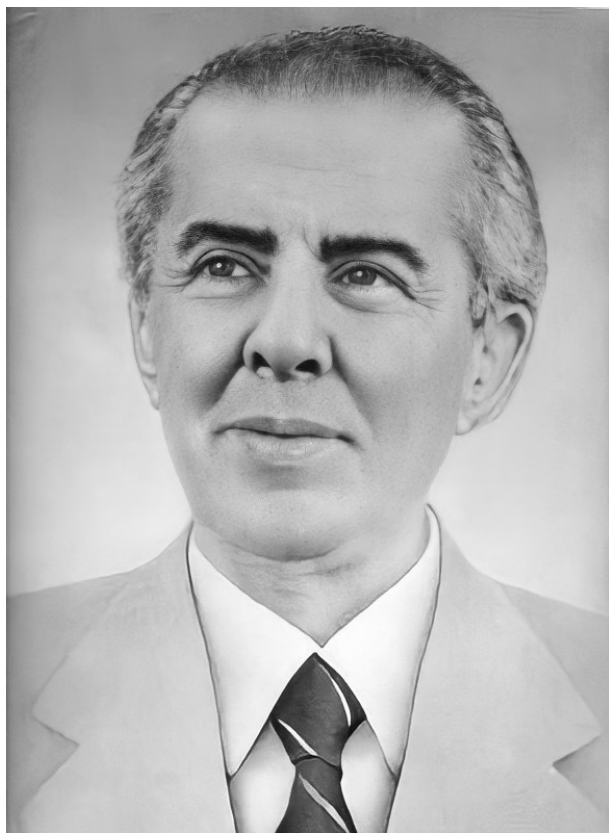
## **PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY IS GENUINE DEMOCRACY**

*Speech delivered at the meeting  
of the General Council of the  
Democratic Front of Albania  
(September 20, 1978)*

### ***Publisher's Note***

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**ENVER HOXHA**



Comrades,

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

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

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

It is the duty of the Democratic Front, un-

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

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

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

The November elections find our country with a strong economy, a stable and dynamic economy, developing harmoniously and uninterruptedly. This is the result of the correct line pursued by the Party for the all-round development and progress of the country.

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

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

Evidence of our country's healthy situation are the happy and optimistic life of the people, their increased well-being, their high-

er educational and cultural level and their improved health.

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

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

The new elections to the People's Assembly will further strengthen the people's state power, born from the glorious National Liberation War and tempered in fierce battles for the construction of socialism. With their free and democratic votes the Albanian people will express their determination to preserve the dictatorship of the proletariat, their reliable weapon for the defence of the gains they have achieved, ever pure and powerful, under the leadership of the Party, the great factor guaranteeing the continuous promotion of the



cause of socialism in Albania. These elections will, as always, serve the further extension and strengthening of our socialist democracy, which is one of the fundamental features of our state power and entire life.

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

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

The connection and interplay between the

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

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the working class, the cooperative peasantry and other working people exercise power through the representative organs as well as directly. In Albania the mass of the people actively participate in governing the country, in managing the economy, in discussing laws and economic plans, in checking up on the activity of the organs of power, and so on. They have the right to air their views freely on all problems concerning society or themselves. They have been given this right by the Party under the Constitution; therefore, in socialist Albania alone can there be talk of democracy in the real meaning of the word, which is not only proclaimed in words but guaranteed in deeds as well. These rights are formally proclaimed by the bourgeois and revisionist constitutions, too, but in reality, they do not guarantee the premises for the implementation of the rights proclaimed. Attacking the bourgeois deception of the so-called equal rights in the capitalist state, Stalin wrote that they *"talk of equality of citizens, but they forget that there can be no genuine equality between boss and*

*worker, between landowner and peasant, so long as the former are in possession of wealth and political power in society and the latter are deprived of both, so long as the former are the exploiters and the latter the exploited.”\**

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

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

Our Marxist-Leninist Party is inspired and nourished by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and its only aim is to raise the well-being of the people, to complete the construction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist socio-economic system cannot survive without true proletarian democracy, without close and sincere cooperation between the various strata of the working masses which the Party makes conscious. Our society distinguishes itself in that it is governed by the laws of the dictatorship

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\* J.V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 61 (Alb. ed.).

of the proletariat and socialist democracy, it is aware that the rights and duties of citizens are based on reconciling the interests of society and the individual, always giving priority to the interests of the society. The priority of the general interests of the society must guide everybody's thoughts and aspirations. For the general interests to take precedence and the blessings of our socialist system to be realized, broad participation of the working masses is absolutely necessary in running the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the economy.

We can proudly say that our country is truly socialist. There is no other country in the world where citizens are so equal before the law, where differentials between workers' wages and office employees' salaries are so insignificant as in our country. The ratio of remuneration between the workers and the highest ranking functionary is one to two. Foreigners ask: How is it possible that the difference between salaries of high ranking functionaries and workers' wages is so small? The answer to such a question is not difficult. This happens in our country because the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with its just laws, has sanctioned Marxist-Leninist principles with regard to remuneration. Referring to this problem, Lenin wrote that the turn from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy is *"The abolition... of all monetary privileges to officials, the reduction of the remuneration of all servants of the state to the level of 'workmen's*

wages.”\* One of the measures taken by the Paris Commune, which Marx laid stress on, was the reduction of the remuneration of officials. We allow no distortion in the implementation of the principle of remuneration according to the amount of work done, hence there is not, nor will there ever be, any stratum of working people placing themselves above the others and taking decisions according to its desires and interests.

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

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

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\* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 496 (Alb. ed.).

uation.

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

If some bourgeois or revisionist foreigner were to listen to discussions by the representatives of the people in our People's Assembly, he would say: There is no debate here like in our parliaments, this is not normal. It is true that there is no debate for debate's sake in the People's Assembly, but this does not mean that there is no debate. Political or economic problems taken to the People's Assembly for discussion have previously been thrashed out in fiery and constructive debates and discussions, with related suggestions on the part of the working masses and their organizations, and the deputies have to attend them in order to listen to the voice of the masses and actively contribute to the discussion. There is no smooth sailing, nothing is achieved in peace, as this or that person may wish, or through dictate from above; everything is viewed from

the angle of the general interest. So long as problems are discussed and thrashed out before being taken to the highest organ of the people's power for endorsement, why should we engage in debate for debate's sake, shout and scream at each other in our Assembly, only in order "to make a show of democracy," as in the bourgeois parliaments?

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

In all non-socialist socio-economic forma-

tions, in all capitalist and revisionist states, society is not led by the working class, and, consequently, not by its revolutionary party nourished by the theory of Marx and Lenin. Various antagonistic classes exist there, led by their parties, which do not represent the true interests of the masses of the people, but those of the labour aristocracy or the big bourgeoisie. In their political activity, these parties pretend to quarrel with each other, and wage an allegedly “democratic” parliamentary struggle, but the bourgeois parliament “*is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the common people.*”\* The states ruled by the political parties of the bourgeoisie, no matter how they try to pass themselves off as “democratic,” have, in fact, not even a shred of true democracy or freedom, whether individual or social, in their activity.

In some of the non-socialist countries “democracy” is formally expressed in the organization of many parties which, in the course of campaigns for parliamentary elections, through their powerful influence on the working masses, deceiving them and rigging the elections and manipulating their results, manage to send a group of their deputies to parliament. The deputies of these parties are nothing but deceitful politicians, specialists in defending the order in power, strengthening the positions of the capitalist state, the trusts and the monopolies. In the parliament, they pretend to stand for “freedom” and “de-

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\* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 26, p. 501 (Alb. ed.).



mocracy” for their country and people. No matter how much bourgeois deputies engage in idle talk about “human rights,” in the final analysis, it is capitalism, the big bourgeoisie, which holds sway and now and then shares power with the middle bourgeoisie and keeps under its rule the proletariat, the poor peasantry and the rest of the working people, such as the artisans and the poor intellectuals, a social stratum whose revolutionary spirit has been weakened by unemployment and hunger. These wretched electors have to decide, as Marx says, “...each three or six years... which member of the ruling class is to misrepresent and oppress the people in parliament....”\*

The political parties, whether in power or in the opposition, have set up their own trade unions which they lead, through allegedly democratic forms, in carrying out protests or putting forward demands. All protests and demands encouraged by these parties have no political character, they are not intended to overthrow the capitalist order which ruthlessly exploits the working people, but are aimed at such insignificant economic reforms as do no great harm to the bourgeoisie (therefore, at times, it accepts them) and bring no substantial gains to the proletariat and the other oppressed and exploited strata. But all these “demands” are important for the defence of the bourgeois order, because, through them, public opinion has the false impression that the working class and the other labouring

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\* K. Marx-F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. I, p. 546, Tirana 1975 (Alb. ed ).

people have their “free” say under capitalism. In order to be convinced of the deceptive nature of these actions, it is enough to mention that when the demands of the masses of the people go beyond the guidelines set by the political parties, and they insist on having true freedoms and rights guaranteed to them, then the forces of capitalist law and order step in and drown their protests in blood. World history provides innumerable instances of this.

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

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

But what is in fact bourgeois democracy? It is a form of the domination by the bourgeoisie, with the rights and freedoms, though proclaimed “for everybody,” having an utterly formal and deceptive character, because

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\* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 444 (Alb. ed.).

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

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

Can we call “democracy” the form of bourgeois power which relies on the principle that the majority must submit to the minority? Absolutely not. This is democracy in name only, it does not benefit at all the mass of the people. This “democracy” does not ensure any true freedom for the people, it does not

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\* K. Marx-F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. I, p. 496, Tirana 1975 (Alb. ed.).

make a country independent of other states or more powerful politically, economically or militarily. This is due to the fact that this kind of democracy is connected with other more powerful capitalist “democracies” which impose their will. Capital, national or international, imposes its own will, desires and views on the broad working masses. In the capitalist or revisionist countries, when something is presented as stemming from the “will of the working masses,” it must be understood that what really lurks behind it is the will of the labour aristocracy.

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

evil-doers to perpetrate crimes, “genuine democracy”!

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

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

No need for explanations to prove that, by sharing state power, many bourgeois, capitalist, revisionist and fascist parties of such capitalist and imperialist countries as the United States of America and others do not in the least transform their societies from reactionary into progressive societies. On the

contrary, under imperialism, the turn is made from democracy to reaction. A society which defends and relies on the exploiting order is neither progressive nor democratic. Likewise, when state power is in the hands of a single party which does not pursue a Marxist-Leninist line, which is not a party of the proletariat, it can never lead to the construction of socialism. On the contrary, no matter what such a party calls itself, whether "Marxist" or "Marxist-Leninist," it is in reality a party of the bourgeoisie or a fascist party, which has the duty of seeing to the financing of private or capitalist state property and of providing for a new class of rulers.

On the face of it, such a party must necessarily preserve some Marxist forms; it seeks to give the power it wields socialist forms and names, but its essence and intentions as well as those of its state are anti-socialist, because its objective is to realize a regressive turn of the country and re-establish capitalism. In this case, the new bourgeoisie gradually assumes power to the detriment of the proletariat and its natural allies. This process has been confirmed in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and in many other countries of former people's democracy, where party pluralism does not exist. In these countries capitalism has been re-established in various forms, a class of new exploiters is emerging and growing strong. If the country which goes through this regressive process is big in territory, population or economic potential, the state of this country turns social-imperialist, and if, on the con-

trary, the country is small, its state becomes a satellite of world capitalism, dominated by foreign capital and neo-colonialism, which exploit the wealth of the country and the toil of its people. Thus, all the so-called democratic states, whether with a system of pluralism, or one in which a single non-Marxist-Leninist party rules, do not want to substitute the new socialist society for the old exploitative capitalist society. There can be no genuine freedom, democracy, independence or sovereignty for the people in the old society where private ownership and capitalist exploitation exist.

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

Capitalist exploitation cannot be realized without intensive political propaganda to befuddle people’s minds or without a number of drastic laws to limit the rights of working people to the extreme. The large propaganda apparatus at the disposal of the bourgeoisie is at work every minute of the day against the proletariat and its dictatorship, against the people who have thrown themselves into the

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\* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 28, pp. 424-425 (Alb. ed.).

struggle for the defence of their rights. The entire economic and political potential of the capitalist-revisionist countries is in the hands of a handful of magnates, wealthy people, who have set up an extensive and strong network of state mechanisms in order to maintain their power through violence. The army, the police, agents, courts and other means of class coercion, which severely clamp down on any opposition, individual or collective, on the part of the proletariat and other working people, which stamp out people's revolts, serve this goal.

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



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

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

ready to give any other proof in order to win the trust of national and international capital.

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

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

The policy of our Party and state supports the oppressed rising in revolution and fights the oppressors who are doomed to disappear

as a class. Our Party states openly that the wiping out of the exploiters can be achieved by no other means than through war, violent revolution, and not through reforms of the structure or the superstructure. For the complete and genuine liberation of the working class and all working people of the world to be achieved, it is necessary to overthrow the old power from its foundations, and establish the new state of the proletariat in its stead.

We are against decentralization of the socialist economy and for an irreconcilable fight against the capitalist-revisionist theory of "self-administration," "self-government of enterprises," which Titoism and its supporters sought to smuggle into our country through the traitors Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezhi, Koço Theodhosi, and others. The socialist economy of our country develops on a scientific basis, according to a unified general plan, aimed at satisfying the material and cultural needs of society. As our Constitution puts it: "The state organizes, manages and develops all the economic and social life through a unified general plan..."

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

Of course, this effective control is based on complete freedom of criticism and on a high degree of self-criticism, which serve the

progress of work, a correct understanding of tasks and the communist education of the people. Checking up on the fulfilment of planned tasks is a complex problem of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the policy of the Party, of our Marxist-Leninist ideology, coordinated with all the great work done under the leadership of the Party.

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

The demolition of the power of exploiting classes, which lord it over the working people barbarously, and the establishment of the power of the working class frees man and raises him to a high pedestal, encourages him to work with a will, to give leadership with a pure conscience, to offer criticism and praise where they are due. Socialism puts man in a position to feel and see for himself that he is not isolated from the world, that he is a member of a

new society, which has as its aim the welfare of the individual within the framework of the development of the entire society. In this society man is raised to his rightful place, on the basis of his ability and the work he does, he is free to work and enjoy the fruit of his toil. Freedom for the individual in our society is inconceivable for the bourgeois, the capitalist or the revisionist, because they measure the personality of man with their own yardstick of the standardization and manipulation of people.

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

Of course, capitalism and its propaganda are and will be at war with our socialist reality, with our dictatorship of the proletariat, because they cannot put up with our morality which does not permit the economic, political and moral exploitation of man, nor his freedoms to be trampled underfoot. But our socialist reality cannot be obscured by any idealistic propaganda and "theory," capitalist or revisionist.

The capitalist world has plunged into a great crisis. The advocates of the bourgeois

order, the bourgeois economists and sociologists, compelled by reality, see that the theses of Marx and Lenin on capitalism and imperialism have not grown outdated, that in the present capitalist society capitalism and imperialism are in a process of deterioration, just as Marx and Lenin predicted, but, in order to emerge from the crisis, these champions of the old order loudly advertise the “fight against terrorism,” for the prevention of the revolts and the revolution of the masses of the working people against the capitalist order, or the fight against “riots,” as they call them. Otherwise, these sociologists and economists of the bourgeoisie cry in despair, capitalism cannot emerge from the crisis and “stabilize” its system.

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

The bourgeois state of the period of the domination of state monopoly capitalism seeks to give the impression that the law there is made by the parliament, where various par-

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

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

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

The bourgeois parliament opens its doors to the “elected,” but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie does its own job; there they carry on endless discussions, vote follows vote and things continue to the liking of those who make the law, the rich, the owners of trusts, monopolies and the banks, whose power, the second capitalist state, manipulates the parliament and the government, in spite of the fact that such manipulation is not stipulated



by the Constitution in force. Proceeding from these reasons, Lenin wrote:

*“In any parliamentary country... the real business of ‘state’ is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and General Staffs.”\**

In Albania, the national liberation councils which were created under the leadership of the Party at the time of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War and strengthened after Liberation and during the period of the construction of socialism are organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, elected by the people and representing the will and desires of working people. The representative organs of the people in the state power are the People’s Assembly and the people’s councils. Under the Constitution of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania “the representative organs direct and control the activity of all other state organs, which are responsible before them and render account to them.”

With us, democracy is not a game to mislead the people; on the contrary, it is put into practice. Here, there is no dual power, one recognized by the law and the other existing *de facto*, here there is only one unified state power, which stems from the people and belongs to them. Our state is the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has made the laws and created its own revolutionary

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\* V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. 11, p. 174, Tirana 1958 (Alb. ed.).

apparatus, its new method and style at work, which expresses and defends the interests of the working people.

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

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

*“Each paragraph of the Constitution contains its own antithesis... liberty in the general phrase, abrogation of liberty in the marginal note.”\**

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

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\* K. Marx-F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. I, p. 265, Tirana 1975 (Alb. ed.).

comes conscious of his own role.

Comrades,

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

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

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

The Democratic Front is led by the Party of Labour of Albania, which is the vanguard of the working class and expresses the ideas, aspirations and policy which bring benefit to the Albanian people, while it exposes and fights everything which may harm our socialist Homeland. Thus, the policy of the Front is a monolithic, consistent policy, because in the Front there are no antagonistic political trends, no various parties defending the interests of different classes. The political struggle of the Front tallies to the hilt with the policy of the Party, with the policy of our socialist state. The policy of the Democratic Front of

Albania reflects and supports the revolutionary laws of our People's Socialist Republic.

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

Where does all this strength and maturity of the Democratic Front come from? Precisely from the fact that the content of this organization is really democratic, because our Front is an organization of the broad masses led by a Marxist-Leninist Party, which represents the most perfect democracy, the genuine democracy of the proletariat. The proletariat and its Party are always in war and in revolution for the construction of a happy society for the people, a free society, a democratic society, a society which with every passing day rises higher and higher in its economic and intellectual development, in its healthy proletari-

an knowledge and morality. And this is done through continuous creative work, which calls for strenuous efforts and democratic debate.

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

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

Our Democratic Front encourages sincere love for the peoples of the world and in the first place the peoples seeking liberation, languishing under the bondage and heel of capital. This policy of the Front gives all-out support to these peoples for their aspirations. With its invariably correct, humanitarian and revolutionary word, our Democratic Front

never hides the truth about the materialist development of history from the oppressed and exploited peoples and classes of the world, who aspire towards freedom, genuine democracy and sovereignty, it never hides from them the fact that their victory cannot be achieved without fierce class battles, without efforts, leading at times even to bloodshed, against the capitalist oppressors and exploiters. This is the basis of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Democratic Front, which is also the basis of the policy of our Party of Labour.

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

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

why their sympathy for the Albanian people is great, all too evident and tangible.

The various peoples of the world live under regimes different from ours; they are not governed by such regimes as the dictatorship of the proletariat which is established in our country. The governments there do not pursue the same policy as ours. Therefore, without budging from its basic principles, our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and consequently, our Democratic Front, with the Party in the lead and inspired by it, are able to make the necessary analyses of the evolving situations in the world, the individual characteristics of the various states, the aims and objectives of these states towards their own peoples, other peoples, and especially our people. This helps build a correct and sound policy, and not a policy based on passing circumstances. Relying on these universal principles, our Party and Democratic Front can distinguish the relative degree to which various bourgeois states wish well to Albania, and to all small nations in general, they can assess the danger posed by one big capitalist power in comparison with another big capitalist power, as well as the danger they pose to other smaller capitalist states, they know how to see the great danger posed by the imperialist and social-imperialist superpowers, in general, and to adopt the proper stand on all of these questions. The stand adopted by our Party, our socialist state and the Democratic Front of Albania, is not opportunist and unfounded, nor is it dictated by somebody else

— it is a principled, well-meaning and sincere stand. It is stern and irreconcilable towards enemies, but well-meaning and above-board towards those bourgeois states which pursue a policy of friendship with socialist Albania and adhere to some democratic principles, allow some reforms, and so on, within their own countries. We have our own views on the “democracy” that exists in these countries as well as these kinds of “reforms,” their content and the aim they are instituted for. This is our right which nobody can deny us, just as nobody can prevent us from expressing our views freely. This is precisely what we do when we explain to the peoples theoretically and politically the content of “democracy” and “reforms,” their limitations, character, and so on, in a bourgeois state. We do this without interfering in others’ internal affairs, because, after all, it is up to the peoples of various countries to judge for themselves the value of these phenomena in their own states.

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

Our policy does not resemble the policy of



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

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

issues, just as we oppose them on a series of questions of principle.

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

The policy of our Party and Front has been and is known to young and old at home and abroad, therefore it is not necessary to go into detail about it in this speech. I would only like to drive home especially to some circles abroad that the policy of our Party and the Democratic Front of Albania will not vacillate or depart, however little, from its correct, definite and permanent principles based on Marxism-Leninism. Our policy will always be

a class and principled policy complying with the lofty interests of our country, socialism and the liberation struggle of the peoples. Our people will always fight unwaveringly against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all reactionaries, and nobody must cherish the smallest illusion that socialist Albania will change its stand towards them. Likewise, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state will fight and expose Chinese social-imperialism which has taken sides with U.S. imperialism and world reaction in its struggle against the peoples, especially against socialism in Albania.

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

Comrades,

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

of the workers, peasants, youth, the women, our entire working people, burst our powerfully in this campaign in order to crown these elections with full success.

Long live our heroic people!

Long live the Party!

Long live the Democratic Front!





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