

Enver Hoxha



Speaks

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Tirana ■ Albania

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**Declaration of the Democratic Government of Albania at
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23 October 1944

In this great anti-fascist liberation war, in which all the progressive peoples, united in face of the danger threatening mankind, have thrown in all their energies in a common effort against the Nazi fascist barbarians, our heroic people, with the greatest self-sacrifice, have made their contribution to the liberation of the homeland and the wiping out of the fascist plague. The Albanian people courageously undertook the most terrible, and at the same time the most glorious war ever known in our history, and have shown in deeds, which will remain as lasting monuments for the future generations of our country, that the blood of their heroic ancestors still flows in the veins of the Albanians, and that their spirit is endowed with the lofty virtues characteristic of our people. In face of the great torrent threatening to engulf our country, the people, regardless of the sufferings, hunger, burnings, and killings, embarked on the only road of salvation through which they were to smash the dreadful shackles of slavery, the road of merciless war against the occupiers and the traitors of the country. Through their war against savage and powerful enemies equipped with the most modern weapons, the Albanian people fought their way step by step to glory to raise high the name of Albania and the Albanians, earning for our country the respect of the whole world, and through the blood of their glorious sons, the right to take their place alongside all those peoples who undertook the great task of the salvation of mankind.

In the flames of this liberation war our heroic National Liberation Army was set up, the army of our invincible people, which dealt mortal blows to the occupiers and traitors and, in fighting bloody battles, armed and steeled itself with determination, discipline, and great experience. Through struggle and efforts the national liberation councils were set up, which became the true democratic state power of the people and which, together with our army, constituted the principal factor in our victories. Parallel with the victories of the army, the organization of our state power, too, passed from one glorious stage to another,

gradually becoming perfected. Peza, Labinot, Përmet, and Berat are the four glorious stages of our war. The great Congress of Përmet, where the delegates of the Albanian people elected the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Albania and vested it with legislative and executive powers, gave Albania the Anti-fascist Committee, the principal executive and directing organ of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council. The second historic meeting of the Anti fascist National Liberation Council of Albania, held in the liberated town of Berat, gave Albania its first Democratic Government, the principal executive and directing organ through which the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council fulfills its executive functions.

The Democratic Government of Albania, conscious of the duties it has been entrusted with, will remain loyal to the decisions adopted at the Congress of Përmet, will be the continuation of the Anti-fascist Committee, and will implement and uphold all the military and political principles of the national liberation movement on a wider scale.

The Government, exercising its functions, declares to the entire Albanian people:

1. The Democratic Government of Albania will remain loyal to the decisions adopted at the Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress of Përmet and by the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Albania. This Government will continue in the footsteps of the Anti-fascist Committee.
2. The objective of the Government is the continuation and extension of the war, the rapid and complete liberation of Albania, and the defence of its independence. 3. The Democratic Government of Albania will rally all the forces of the Albanian people around the national liberation state power, and will strengthen the power of the national liberation councils.
4. The Democratic Government of Albania, after the complete liberation of Albania, and after stabilizing the situation, will proceed to hold free and democratic elections to the Constituent Assembly, which will decide

Declaration of the Democratic Government

on the form of the state and formulate the Founding Constitution of the Albanian State.

5. The Democratic Government of Albania will review all the political, military, and economic agreements concluded with foreign states by the Zog regime, and will cancel all those which are to the detriment of the Albanian people and state.
6. The Democratic Government of Albania will guarantee and defend all the civil rights of the citizens.
7. The Democratic Government of Albania will try to establish closer cooperation with the great allies: Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States of America, as well as with all the other members of the anti-fascist bloc.
8. The Democratic Government of Albania will seek recognition as the sole government of Albania from the great allies: Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, as well as all the members of the anti-fascist bloc.

On behalf of the Democratic Government of Albania, PRIME MINISTER and Supreme Commander of the National Liberation Army of Albania Colonel-General **Enver Hoxha**.

Speech Delivered on Independence Day and the Arrival of the Democratic Government in Tirana

28 November, 1944

People of Albania,

On a memorable day such as this, in 1912, after a long period of bondage, independent Albania was born. When our country was menaced from all sides by foreign enemies, when new chains of slavery were being forged for our people, old Ismail Qemali¹ with a handful of valiant patriots hoisted the banner of freedom in Vlora, and the Albanian people paused for breath. We emerged victorious, but new cruel waves dashed over our poverty stricken people, and that banner of freedom was violated. It was misused, and became an object of barter for the satraps of past regimes; it was used to hide the shameful deeds and robbery perpetrated upon our people. But the banner of the people, the banner of Ismail Qemali, remained unsullied in the hearts of Albanian patriots; that banner was raised high, held aloft by the steel hands of the people's fighters, and passed through storms and tempests, always defiant and unbowed, the symbol of freedom and independence.

Today, after so much heroic fighting against fascism, the red banner of Vlora, dyed with the blood of the people's heroes fallen in this anti-fascist war, flies proudly in the skies of free Albania. Five years have passed since the beginning of the cruel fascist slavery, and five times over on each November 28 the blood of the heroic sons of the people, who faced the bayonets of the occupiers and traitors, has flowed in the streets of Albanian cities. The Day of the Flag has become doubly sacred, the day of the independence and the union of the Albanian people.

On April 7, 1939, we fell into bondage, into heavy servitude, when fascism, the greatest enemy of our people and of all mankind, invaded our country. The great war was in the making, the great slaughter was being prepared by Hitler and

¹ Ismail Qemali (born in 1844), diplomat, politician, patriot and undaunted fighter for the freedom of Albania. On November 28, 1912 he hoisted the flag of independence in Vlora and led the first Albanian government. He was poisoned by the Italian imperialists in 1919. People's Hero.

Mussolini. We paid the first toll. The international outlook was gloomy. Europe was arming at a feverish pace, and not a single voice was raised in our defence save the cries of our people betrayed by the government of the time, crying out for weapons to fight the Italians. The betrayal was complete. The intriguing politicians, the speculators were riding high. They extended their hands to the occupiers who made common cause with them in order to suppress the people, to make them slaves, fodder for their guns. The fascists and the traitors worked systematically to quell any resistance, to smother all patriotic feeling, to trample underfoot the honour of our country, to obliterate our customs and language, and to colonize Albania, so that the Italians could strike out from our country at our neighbours and at the Soviet Union. But amidst the black terror, the great resistance was born among our people, who rose to their feet to win back the freedom which had been stolen from them. Barbarous fascism, armed to the teeth with the most modern weapons and aided by the traitors, came up against our brave fighters who had freedom in their hearts, their iron will, and infinite self-sacrifice. The sons of the people, who felt the agonies of their homeland and who bore on their shoulders the sufferings, the hardships and the sorrows of an entire people, stood up to fight. Many of those who, in the first hours of the war, fell martyrs for this people whom they loved so much, fell with a song on their lips, happy because they knew what they were fighting for, and that with their life's blood they would raise a new Albania. This was the battle cry and the people's call to arms sounded by the vanguard; it told them that the country was threatened with death, that they must take up arms and, with merciless and unceasing war, liberate the homeland. The Albanian people heard the call of their sons; the blood flowing in the streets of towns and villages was their own blood, and so the people took up arms.

Our glorious National Liberation War began. It was an unequal war, we were unarmed, barefoot, and empty-bellied, but we were strong, for we were fighting for a great cause, fighting for the liberation of the people, to give them a happy life and to take our revenge on the enemy who sought to drown us in blood. We were a small people face to face with a huge beast; but we were strong, for in our hearts we nurtured a deep hatred for those

who had invaded our homes and robbed us of our possessions. We took up arms and threw ourselves into the fight, certain of victory, because justice was on our side, and because in this war we were not alone. The whole of the progressive and anti-fascist world, united in a solid front, was at war against the same enemies, the enemies of mankind: Nazism and fascism.

People of Albania,

Three years of armed struggle: glorious pages in the history of our country, written with the precious blood of the sons and daughters of the Albanian people. Our national liberation movement grew and gathered strength in a fierce armed struggle, in a political struggle. Our enemies were strong and cunning, they resorted to terror and demagogy and exerted all their efforts to crush our resistance. The traitors to the country, Mustafa Kruja, Mehdi Frashëri, Ali Këlcyra, Mithat Frashëri, Abaz Kupi, Shefqet Vërlaci and all the other quislings used every tactic to divide our people; their demagogy was powerful, and at the beginning a section of the people was duped to some extent by these bandits, who were always the short-sighted instruments of our internal and external enemies. The "Balli Kombëtar," "Legaliteti" and all the other terrorist organizations became active weapons of the occupiers. With extraordinary ferocity, together with the Germans, they hurled themselves upon the people, killing and cutting down innocent people en masse, women, old folk and children, while they looted and raped. These murderers hurled fire and venom upon our national liberation movement, upon our army, but our movement was undamaged, because it had sound foundations; because it was a people's movement, a progressive, democratic movement. Around our National Liberation Front rallied the honest people, the working people, the people who earned their bread with their own sweat, and not with intrigues and treachery. Our National Liberation Front rallied all the democratic elements, without discrimination as to political or religious tendencies, and became the sound and proper body to carry out this difficult and sacred mission. Our National Liberation Army, which grew and gathered strength in bloody battles, was the army of the people, where the peasants, workers and intellectuals, united as one,

fought for a common goal, for a free Albania, for an independent Albania, for people's democracy. After three years of heroic efforts, after so much bloodshed, suffering and sacrifice, we emerged victorious, we smashed the German barbarians and their traitor lackeys.

In the course of these three years of war, our National Liberation Front became a reality; the national liberation councils were created as organs of the war and as the foundations of state power, and these, in turn, were strengthened and became the true democratic state power of the people. This new people's power overthrew the old power, which had been the blind tool of the occupiers and the traitors. To create the Front and the state power, thousands of sons of Albania fell, fighting selflessly, convinced of our people's happy future. Our movement, with its correct political platform, opened broad vistas to the people and showed them the road to victory. Our national liberation movement had as its goal the unification of the whole Albanian people; by shedding its blood, it tried to make the misguided understand that the road they were following was harming our homeland. The Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee and the Presidium of the Anti-fascist Council of Albania, in the call they sent out to those who still remained in the ranks of the enemy, gave still another vivid proof of the aims of our movement.

After three years of heroic efforts, after so much bloodshed, we emerged victorious. The bloodthirsty German enemy has been driven from almost all our country,² the reactionary bands who committed fratricide have been smashed, and today the 28th of November is being celebrated with indescribable enthusiasm by the Albanian people, who have won their freedom with their blood. Today, to Tirana, liberated after fierce fighting from street to street and from house to house, today to the capital of free, democratic Albania, and to the midst of those heroic people who stood unflinching in the vanguard of our war, who were undaunted by the massacres perpetrated by the Germans and the traitors, which only strengthened their resolve, came the Democratic Government of Albania.

2 Shkodra, town in Northwest Albania, was liberated a day later, on November 29, 1944, and this date marked the complete liberation of Albania.

People of Albania,

Our victorious war raised high the prestige of our country, and made the name of Albania and of the Albanians honoured in the progressive world. Thanks to that struggle, we are spoken of with respect, for we stood and shall stand loyal to the great alliance of the anti-fascist bloc, and have poured out our blood in torrents beside our allies in the war to save mankind from the clutches of German Nazism.

Our heroic war was closely linked with that of our great allies, the Soviet Union, Britain and America, and with the war of the enslaved nations. In our struggle we had unshaken faith in victory, for we had the great support of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance. When the glorious Red Army, led by the great strategist of our time, Marshal Stalin, was ruthlessly crushing the Hitlerite hordes, liberating its territories and triumphantly marching towards the West for the decisive attack on Hitler's last citadel, our people's fighting strength was refreshed and multiplied, and their energy and confidence increased. The brilliant victories of the Red Army were also our victories, and the victories of the entire world, because they were the principal factor in the destruction of nazism. Thanks to these victories, the national liberation wars of the enslaved peoples grew stronger; these victories of the Red Army contributed to the arrival of this day which we are now celebrating so wonderfully.

Our nation, small but unbroken, expresses its boundless gratitude to the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union and to the glorious Red Army. In this great war, Britain and the United States did not yield to German Nazism; they fought and are fighting bravely for the common cause. Their land, air and sea war, which is doing so much damage to the German war machine, is an invaluable aid for our people.³ The opening of the second front and the smashing of the German resistance in France hasten the final victory.

In their National Liberation War, our people have had the

3 Despite the attempts made by the British and US governments to sabotage our National Liberation War, the British and US armies fighting against fascism and Nazism, despite the ends pursued by their governments, objectively accelerated the victory of our people.

support of the heroic struggle of the Yugoslav peoples. Our neighbours and brothers, from the very first days they were occupied, threw themselves into a resolute liberation struggle. Our army and that of Yugoslavia are shedding their blood side by side on the fields of Kosova and Metohia: our soldiers and the Yugoslav soldiers bind each other's wounds suffered in fierce battles against the same enemy, and our friendship is being consecrated in the mingling of their blood; our brigades, which have been ordered not to let a single German escape alive from our country, are crossing into Montenegro,⁴ where together with the Yugoslav brigades, they will put an end to the German resistance in those areas. The bonds of friendship between our people and the peoples of Yugoslavia are bonds of blood and hardships faced together. On this great festive day for our country, we send our greetings to the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia.

We have fought and bled together with the neighbouring Greek people. We have bandaged each other's wounds in this common anti-fascist war, and it is our desire to be always on good terms with this generous people. With regret, we observe that the chauvinist and reactionary bands of Zervas⁵ are martyring the Albanian minority, robbing them of their possessions and hounding them out of their territory. Zervas elements are crossing the border on the sly to kill or wound our partisans. We will never tolerate such acts in our country. The Greek Prime Minister, Papandreou, has presented claims to annex our regions of Gjirokastra and Korça, or as it pleases him to call them, Northern Epirus. Such claims, naturally, do not make for good relations with our Southern neighbours. Our borders are indisputable, because within them there is nothing but our land, the land bequeathed to us by our forefathers, land on which our blood has been shed. No one will dare to touch them; we shall know how to defend them if they do.

4 Immediately after the liberation of Albania, upon decision of the CC of the CPA and on order of the Commander-in chief, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the 5th and 6th divisions of the NLA of Albania followed the Hitlerite troops into Yugoslavia. In December 1944 and January-February 1945, the Albanian fighters, together with detachments of the NLA of Yugoslavia, liberated Montenegro, Sandjak and the southern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

5 During the Second World War, he was a tool in the hands of British imperialism, a rabid chauvinist.

Our national liberation movement has given the Greek minority in Albania equal rights with the Albanian people. The Democratic Government of Albania will guarantee the Greek minority in our country the freedom, and the democratic and national rights, for which their sons fought heroically in the national liberation brigades.

People of Albania,

Today another page is being opened in our history, a page which it is in our power to write, and which we shall make as glorious as our war against the occupiers: this is the battle to reconstruct Albania, restore the economy, raise the culture and education of our people, and raise their social, economic and political level. At the critical moment, our movement undertook that gigantic and unequal war and emerged victorious because our people were united as one around the National Liberation Front. Our national liberation movement will undertake this second struggle too, and will emerge victorious, because that is the dying wish of those who fell on the field of honour, because that is the entire life of the people and their future. The German Nazis and the traitors have sown disaster and sorrow in our country, entire regions have been burned, the fields have been desolated, the economy of our country has been ruined, thousands of families are without shelter and without food, schools need to be opened and the people's health must be protected. We shall accomplish all these important tasks if we strengthen our state power and bring into it those who deeply feel the sufferings of the people. Therefore, the task before us is to put everything we have into our state power to make it strong, and to mobilize all the people around it so that it can accomplish these vital tasks. We must strengthen our National Liberation Front, and this, in turn, should rally round itself the entire people, whom it should nurture with our correct policy, link closely with the state power, and make conscious of the tasks ahead of them. Here too, we must understand, as we did in the war with guns, that in order to carry out these tasks, in order to guarantee the people a happier and more prosperous life, it is vital for the entire people to become involved in this great undertaking. No honest Albanian should remain outside the Front, no energy should be wasted. On the

occasion of the 28th of November, on the occasion of the Liberation of Tirana, the Presidium of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council grants a general amnesty to all the members of the "Balli Kombëtar," "Legaliteti" and other organizations which collaborated with the invader. Excluded from this amnesty are the war criminals, all those who killed, burned, raped, or looted the wealth of the people. This is an additional proof of the lofty aims of the national liberation movement, the movement which fought and will fight for the people, and which has the greatest justice as its principle.

Let the whole of Albania become a construction site, and let old and young understand that they are not working for foreigners, but working to build their own country. For the country for which we did not spare our lives, neither should we spare our sweat or toil. We must exert all our energies so that our army, the major factor in these victories, will be strengthened and become a modern army in the true sense of the word. It must be the true defender of the people and of their state power. In order to fulfill this main duty, it is necessary to make it a politically conscious army, for only thus will it be in a position to finish the war with the greatest success, and become the living defender of the interests of the people.

People of Albania,

You must gather the fruits of your heroic war yourselves, because they belong to you, and you have paid for them in blood, so that they will not be snatched from you and stolen by thieves, speculators, intriguers, and tricky politicians, by those parasites who used to live on your backs. We must close our ranks more tightly than ever, all of us must rally round the state power, round the Front, round the Democratic Government, and thus march together towards our desired objectives, the improvement of the social and economic life of our country.

Long live free democratic Albania!

Long live the Albanian people!

Long live the National Liberation Army!

Long live our great allies: Britain, the Soviet Union and America!

Speech at Independence

Long live the brotherhood of the freedom-loving Balkan peoples!

Long live the heroic people of Tirana!

**Report to the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of
the CPA**

17 October, 1945

Comrades,

At this broad session of the Plenum of the CC of the Party, many problems face us, the most important of them being the problem of the Party in all sectors of its work: the state power, the army, the Front, etc., and the question of elections to the Constituent Assembly. In accordance with the agenda, we will discuss and decide upon the convening of the 2nd Party Conference.¹ At this meeting, we will not put forward a new political or organizational line, but by listening to the comrades of the Bureau, and all the other comrades, we will try to get a clear view of the situation in which we live and work, to get an exact idea of the strength of our Party and its whole development during the war. This will help us to define the new method of work required to solve correctly the problems facing us in this situation, which is different from that of the war period.

At every meeting, and especially at the sessions of the higher organs of the Party, it has become a custom to put at the top of the agenda the item: "The external and internal political situation." This is a commendable practice if it is interpreted correctly and does not degenerate into the enumeration of simple chronological facts; but if we are in a position to define the external and internal situation on the basis of these chronological facts, and to draw correct political conclusions from them, then we will be able to orientate our work correctly, determine our political stands, and facilitate the solution of complicated problems. The party member who does not see the development of events clearly and does not make the necessary deductions, will

¹ After the discussions, the Plenum decided to call the 1st Congress of the CPA, and not the 2nd Party Conference.

never be able to implement the party line correctly.

How does the external and internal situation appear to us in this new post-war stage?

We would be very mistaken to think like the average man who took part in the war, and now believes that everything is fine. Things are not so simple now in peace time, any more than they were simple in war time. We fought fiercely to win the war against fascism, but now we must fight and work with determination to defend and consolidate the peace.

We threw ourselves into a great war to annihilate fascism, the most ferocious enemy of democracy, but at the same time, we also fought for a happier life, for a sounder and more progressive democracy than that which existed in Western Europe before the war. The people took to arms not only to regain the freedoms the fascists had robbed them of, but also to shake off the yoke the imperialists and reactionary cliques had imposed on them under the guise of democracy. For this reason the war was not a simple matter, because in the allied anti-fascist camp there were states which had put all their forces into the struggle to defend their genuine freedom and democracy and that of the other enslaved nations, but there were also states which interpreted and waged their war against fascism in a different way. In the anti-fascist bloc, the Soviet Union was the standard-bearer of the liberation war; it bore the greatest burden of this war on its shoulders, it was the backbone of the anti-fascist alliance, the inspirer, encourager and defender of the enslaved nations, and the major factor in the defeat of Nazi Germany. Britain and America went to war against fascism after they saw their existence threatened by Germany, but their fight never assumed the character of a total war; on the contrary, they did not make great efforts to hasten the end of the war; they held back their forces to defend and consolidate their imperialist positions, and did not throw all

of them into the war; they tried to slow down the struggle of the enslaved nations, and strove to strengthen the position of reaction throughout Europe in order to have its support in the present period of peace. The development of events during the war made all the facts I have mentioned above apparent, but despite all these contradictions and diverging views which existed between the Soviet Union and the Western allies on the anti-fascist war, Nazi Germany and the British and US imperialist cliques did not succeed in splitting the great alliance of the anti-fascist bloc, for the sole reason that the Soviet Union, through its correct policy and heroic war, foiled all the manoeuvres of fascism and reaction.

So the tasks facing the communists, and the stand they should take were clear, just as the Soviet Union's stand was clear. The communists in all the enslaved countries had to rouse their people to a general uprising and merciless war against fascism and its lackeys. Through their open war against the occupiers and against their efforts to split the bloc, they had to defend and strengthen the alliance of the Soviet Union with Britain and America. At the same time, they had to consolidate the position of democracy, strengthen the position of the people and seize the reins of power and of government.

All the contradictions and divergencies in the anti-fascist bloc: different concepts of democracy, efforts to repeat the past, to strengthen the position of the reaction and to deprive the people of their power, became more evident after the defeat of Germany, and are deepening daily in the present period. So, in this stage of preparatory work for peace, matters are not so simple or easily solved. We must defend the peace at all costs, this is the concern of the Soviet Union, and should be our concern too. Just as we always orientated ourselves towards the Soviet Union over the whole period of the war, and achieved victory, now too we

must look to the Soviet Union, closely observe its international stand, march along its Leninist-Stalinist path, back up its efforts and defend its interests, for only in this way will we defend the interests of our country.

What is happening in post-war Europe, what are the positions and aims of the Anglo-Americans and of the Soviet Union in the international arena, and how do the interests of peace present themselves?

On the eve of Germany's defeat we noted a phenomenon which ought not to have surprised us: while the fighting continued on the Eastern Front and at the gates of Berlin with the greatest ferocity, the Western Front had totally disintegrated, the German resistance was insignificant, and the Anglo-American armies were pressing in on Germany. On all the other fronts where the Soviet Army or people's resistance armies were fighting, the fascists fought hard. We should be clear about this. The Anglo-Americans are trying to save as much as they can of the remnants of fascism; they are trying to strengthen the position of the reactionaries, to regroup and reorganize them in order to use them as a barrier against the establishment and triumph of genuine democracy. The great "exode" of all the fascist war criminals and quislings found asylum and support in the bosom of the Anglo-American army in their occupation zones. Besides this, wherever reaction is in a strong position, the British and Americans, the former directly and the latter indirectly, violating every democratic principle with the greatest brutality, are intervening militarily to suppress progressive movements, bring the reactionaries to power, and strengthen the positions of reaction and fascism. This is happening in Greece. Thus on the eve of Germany's defeat and its unconditional surrender, we see the first open offensive of the reactionaries to consolidate their positions at all costs, of course, to the extent that this fleeting moment allows, until they encounter the powerful resistance

of the Soviet Union, and the resistance movements of all the enslaved nations in general.

Thus, under cover of the anti-fascist alliance and the common victory, international reaction, headed by Britain and America, is waging a "sournoise" and provocative war against the Soviet Union and all the people's democracies which have emerged from this liberation struggle. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and all the other countries where people's democracy has been established, as well as all the progressive nations of the world, whose guiding principle is the preservation and strengthening of the peace, and the consolidation on a sound basis of the alliance concluded in this war, are striving for the triumph of democracy in Europe, for the elimination of fascism and its remnants, and the preparation of a just and lasting peace.

Of course it was not easy for Britain and America, at the beginning of the post-war period, to embark on an open campaign against the Soviet Union, but this campaign of slanders and denigration is gradually taking form and becoming sharper. Despite the divergencies between the Anglo-Americans and the Soviets, the Yalta² and Berlin Conferences were successfully concluded; but the recent London Conference ended inconclusively. Besides the innumerable difficulties which they raised there, the Anglo-Americans wanted to impose their will in the drafting of the different peace treaties, thus violating the decisions taken by the Big Three in Berlin. This was the first step towards open disagreement, not only on questions of principle. The world reactionary press launched a savage campaign against the Soviet Union, and the camouflaged fascists resorted to their usual threats and shameless provocations in their press

2 The Yalta Conference (Crimea-USSR) of the heads of governments of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, with the participation of the ministers of foreign affairs and chiefs of staffs, was held from the 4th to the 11th of February 1945. After drawing up the plans for the final destruction of Hitlerite Germany, the Conference laid down the principles of the allied policy for achieving lasting peace and organizing a system of international security.

organs.

The Anglo-Americans and world reaction are trying to bring within their grasp all the peoples who, through their struggle, succeeded in seizing state power during the war. The efforts of the reaction in this direction take first place. In many countries of Europe the fierce struggle of the people against the occupiers and their tools not only dealt a hard blow at the local reactionary cliques, but also gravely compromised the positions of Britain and America. During the war sympathy and friendship for the Soviet Union were awakened and grew strong. International reaction is now fiercely fighting to change this situation. The foreign policy of all the states of Europe which were previously occupied by Nazi Germany, especially those of Eastern and South-eastern Europe, is orientated towards the Soviet Union, which defends them and supports their efforts to strengthen democracy. In Poland and Yugoslavia the reaction tried to resurrect and bring the old reactionary cliques back to power, but it failed. The Yalta Conference solved the question of what governments these two countries would have. But this does not mean that reaction laid down its arms. The offensive of reaction against Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Albania is exceptionally broad, especially now on the occasion of the electoral campaigns, which will be decisive.

International reaction is restoring and strengthening the shaky or seriously weakened positions of the reaction in each country. The organization of the reaction in various European countries is taking concrete form. The Soviet Union and all the other progressive nations and governments are opposing the rise and strengthening of the reaction. But in this fierce struggle for the triumph of democracy, the main concern of the Soviet Union and the other progressive governments is to defend the peace. We take the same stand towards the Anglo-Americans. They do not look favourably

upon our government and people's democracy, but struggle against them. Up to now they have no intention of recognizing us, and in our opinion, recognition will not come easily or quickly. All our just demands in the international field have remained unanswered, or have received a negative reply. They bring accusations against our government, just as they do against those of Yugoslavia, Poland, etc. But, of course, this struggle has its variations, depending on the importance they attribute to each country, and the position it occupies. The reactionary press has not yet unleashed an open campaign against us as it has done against other countries, but this does not mean that this will not happen. On the occasion of the elections an all-out offensive will be mounted against us.

The thing is that we must know how to manoeuvre so as to give the foreign and internal reaction as few weapons as possible to fight us with. This calls for a policy which is flexible without slipping into opportunism, a policy aimed at strengthening our internal and external positions. Our stand and tactics will be determined in the discussions to be held here, after considering the situation concretely, and analysing the work we have done. The strengthening of our international position depends on consolidating our internal position which, in turn, hinges on our intensive and correct activity, and the correct implementation of the party line.

In such an international situation, without saying that the interests of peace have been jeopardized, we can say that they are very difficult to defend. We must exert all our efforts to defend and strengthen the interests of genuine people's democracy and guard against provocations which have occurred and will occur in the future, both from Greece and from the Anglo-Americans. The Soviet Union shows particular concern for us. Apart from the great moral support it gives us in the international arena, it is also giving us material and cultural assistance. The doors of the Soviet

Union are open to us; our officers have been admitted to Soviet military schools; the first contingent of our university students will soon be sent. Seeing our difficulties in the economic field, the Soviet government acceded to our request and sold us 20,000 tons of wheat, and deliveries have begun; we have also concluded a trade agreement. We have friendly relations with Yugoslavia and other Balkan states, such as Bulgaria and Rumania, and with Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Bulgarian, Rumanian and Polish governments have proposed recognition of our government.

This is a general outline of the external situation, and our international position, as I have said, will be further strengthened as our internal position becomes stronger.

How does the internal situation appear and where does our strength lie? Since the time of the liberation of Albania, our internal situation has become much stronger. In our country, as everywhere else, the reaction was armed by fascism. And they fought us together. Although our internal reaction had only weak links with international reaction, and especially with British and American reaction, still it enjoyed their direct and indirect support. However, internal reaction has been dealt a heavy blow both militarily and politically. Its chiefs either went into exile or were captured and tried. The opinions of those comrades who claimed that we had completely eradicated the reaction were without foundation. Even after the liberation of Albania we had to carry out an operation in the North to suppress the aggressive armed resistance of the reactionary chieftains and bairaktars who had remained inside the country.³ We cannot say that our reaction has been rooted out; despite the blows it had been dealt, sooner or later, under more favourable conditions, it will act and organize. Over the first period after liberation, the reaction had its claws blunted and lay

3 This refers to the suppression of the armed resistance and the annihilation of the bands organized by the clan chiefs and the other war criminals who were fugitives within the country.

dormant. Faced with our strength and our lightning actions, the remnants of the reaction lay low. Their activity consisted in spreading rumours against the government, the state power and the army. The attitude of the Anglo-American allies towards our government and their intervention in Greece boosted their courage. They began to extend their activity and intended to attack the institutions which were strongest and posed the greatest danger to them. They openly tried to organize desertions from the army. But we may say that all the attempts of the remnants of the reaction to arm themselves and organize in fairly broad units, and to carry out open actions have failed. Our forces have pursued such chiefs and bairaktars as Muharrem Bajraktari, Fiqri Dine, Gjon Marku and others, not giving them a chance to organize and arm themselves. It is true that they have succeeded in eluding our forces, and this should deeply concern us, but it is also a fact that their freedom of movement has been greatly restricted. Naturally, these elements are a headache to us, because in many Northern regions our work has been and still is inadequate. Sometimes their slogans catch on, and there are still people who maintain a wait-and-see attitude. Only if we do intensive political work and our state organs directly concern themselves with finding a concrete solution to their problems, will these people be closely linked with our state power. The strength of the reaction does not lie only in its armed bands; we also see it displayed in various forms among other elements who, supported by external reaction, are preparing the resistance against our democratic state power. This process of the regrouping of the reaction is not a simple development. It would be a great mistake for us, who direct the policy of the Front and state, to let bygones be bygones, and take an idealistic view of our internal situation and of our state power.

We must look at the situation realistically, and

maintain close contacts with the masses, for otherwise we will be deeply disillusioned, and the reaction will gain ground. The international situation and the unfriendly attitude adopted by the Anglo-American allies towards our government and state power favour the consolidation of the reactionary and dissatisfied elements, the Catholic clergy, confused intellectuals who previously were either on the side of the enemy or did not commit themselves, the strata of the big merchants who have been hit by the emergency taxation on profits,⁴ the internal speculators, and the strata of beys and agas who have been affected by the Law On Land Reform. If we do not act correctly and do not properly implement the line of the Front, we may be sure that around these elements will rally all those uncommitted people who are not involved in politics, and who are unable to see through the manoeuvres of the reaction and understand our efforts in this difficult situation. People of this category are quickly influenced by every reactionary slogan and stand by us only if we keep continuous contact with them. All the strata I have mentioned should be carefully considered, not from the administrative viewpoint, but in order to work with them. It is not easy to work with them. It is not easy to work with the Catholic clergy. The clergy is influential in Shkodra and the surrounding region, and this influence cannot be eliminated merely by administrative measures. The Catholic clergy is a well-organized body, with strong traditions and close links with external reaction and the Vatican. Therefore we should confront its organization with our better organization, confront its policy with our correct political line, and oblige it to fight on our ground, and not on its own, or with the slogans it wants to use. We must find the correct method of struggle and appropriate tactics to use against

4 In January 1945 the Presidium of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council issued the Law On Emergency Taxation of War Profits, which was levied on all merchants and industrialists who, during the time of fascist occupation, had realized profits over 500,000 Albanian franks. The taxes were progressive from 15-80 per cent of the amount over 500,000 Franks.

individual elements of the clergy. There were moments when the Catholic clergy was openly at war with us, even with armed force. We replied by attacking it. But the Catholic clergy is not so naive as to insist on open struggle against our people's power at a time when its own position is weak and threatened, and the international situation is not in its favour. As our enemy, the clergy knows how to act politically, not for the good of the people, but to strengthen its own position. It would be political immaturity on our part if we did not know how to exploit circumstances and situations. We must be intelligent in our policy towards the Catholic clergy. We should never lose our sense of proportion and go from one extreme to the other, a mistake which comrades often make. The manoeuvre of the Catholic clergy will be the focal point of all the schemes of reaction, of the fugitive chiefs in the mountains, of the dissatisfied and the confused. This is where our political maturity will be demonstrated. We should know how to adapt the political line of the Front to different situations and places, to break up the concentration of the reaction, and to gain a strong position for ourselves. The strata of wealthy merchants, and the rich beys and agas, directly affected by the just laws of the state, are increasing the ranks of the dissatisfied. The rich merchants put up organized resistance in the first days of the tax collection, but had to pay up because of the measures taken by the state power. That does not mean that they were won over and became the readiest of tax-payers. On the contrary, they tried to avoid paying the remainder of their tax.

The description of the internal situation would not be complete if we did not show how strong we are, where our strengths and our shortcomings lie. We will emphasize this later on, when we speak about the Front and the state power. Here let me say that, confronted by these opposition forces, which should not be underestimated, we have reached the

situation existing at present on the eve of the general elections. With regard to the elections, we must work hard, and in order to win, we should know the political line of the Front well and apply it properly. To apply the line of the Front does not mean only to organize a meeting, but to implement it in practice, in various circumstances and with different categories of people, whose mentality, frame of mind, and aims should be studied attentively. To implement the political line well in practice means to understand well what the state power is and how it works, to know the laws well, to be the first to respect and apply them properly, to understand and implement the policy of the government in every field of activity, and to be in close contact with the masses of the people. We should base our propaganda and agitation on a sound foundation and make them understandable to the people, that is, we should base them on the various achievements of the state power in which the people, politically educated and enlightened, have taken an active part. It is only in this way that the Front becomes a reality, a mass organization which defends and supports the state power. This is precisely where the enemies are directing their attacks, against the state power, the Front and the army. There is no need to go into detail in this report about the manoeuvres of international reaction at this time of the elections. Its principal line of attack is the charge that our government is a communist government, and therefore there is no democracy here, only the dictatorship of one party, i.e. of the Communist Party, and as a consequence, free elections are not being held. Relying on these false accusations, the Anglo-Americans are trying in a thousand ways to sabotage the elections, or to intervene directly. Naturally this tactic of international reaction has become the tactic of our internal reaction.

Gjergj Kokoshi's words at the last meeting of the

Council⁵ expose the whole program of the reaction. In Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania, foreign reaction, in collaboration with local reaction, is very active, while here the reaction has just begun its work. We must not dream that, because conditions are different here, the reaction cannot act here as it has elsewhere. It is true that situations always vary, but the tactics of the reaction also vary. The first warning of the offensive of the Anglo-Americans against us on the occasion of the elections was given by Tajar Zavalani,⁶ although in a somewhat veiled manner. They are flying "ballons d'essai"* such as the rumours that "Zog has gone to Cairo," that "an Albanian government is being formed abroad," etc. General Hodgson⁷ wrote me his first letter and asked if we would leave all the British officers free to control the election campaign on voting day.⁸ This is only the beginning, without doubt there is more to come, on the other hand Gjergj Kokoshi, who had the courage to express the point of view of reaction, is certainly on the move. He is striving to extend his influence, naturally among the strata of the dissatisfied intellectuals and the bourgeoisie, among the strata of the capitalists and merchants. Without doubt Gjergj Kokoshi and his associate Mirash Ivanaj,⁹ who has just returned from emigration, allegedly known as opponents of

5 At the 5th sitting of the 3rd meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council (September 1945), Gjergj Kokoshi, the mouthpiece of the reactionary forces within the Democratic Front, opposed the Law on the Elections to the Constituent Assembly, labelling it as anti-democratic. As came out later, he and a group of traitorous deputies, with a certain Shefqet Beja at their head, had set up a reactionary organization, which was nipped in the bud by the organs of People's Defence.

6 Speaker of the Albanian section of the BBC, a pseudo-democratic bourgeois intellectual who had placed himself at the service of British imperialism.

* "Ballons d'essai" (Fr. in the original) — test balloons.

7 General D.P.E. Hodgson came to Albania in March 1945 in his capacity of head of the British military mission.

8 The US government also made such a demand. It consented to recognize the Democratic Government of Albania, provided the liaison officers of the US military mission in Tirana were allowed to supervise the election campaign, and all agreements the USA had entered with the Zog's regime were recognized, which had been clearly repudiated by the Congress of Përmet. The CPA turned down these demands.

9 Former minister of education and later on, in the period of Zog's regime, chairman of the State Council. He left Albania in April 1939 to return in October 1945. He was engaged in hostile activity in the service of British and US imperialism.

the Catholic clergy, will try to direct this reactionary force in Shkodra against us. There are still no signs of a party being formed within or outside the Front, although rumours are being spread here and there about efforts to create parties. But in any case they are carrying out a campaign to encourage abstention from voting using the propaganda arguments I have already mentioned, saying, "There is no freedom here," etc. Gjergj Kokoshi resigned from the Front, but the question remains: did Gjergj Kokoshi not have his supporters in the Front? We should have no illusions that all the non-party nationalists in the Front are one hundred per cent on our side. There are some who are very close to us and have linked their fate with our Party, there are the waverers who, given good sound work on our part, will always stand by us, but there are also others who do not think the same way we do, and who will be our opponents tomorrow. These people do not feel strong enough to come out openly against the Front, and up to now no serious attempt to form a group or a party within the Front has been apparent. Most of those people will remain in the Front until the elections are over, in order to have themselves elected to the Assembly under the banner of the Front. They will certainly form a group or a party, an opposition within the Assembly. There seem to have been disagreements on this point between Gjergj Kokoshi and the other wavering and hostile elements which are still in the Front, i.e. they disagreed on tactics. As the electoral campaign develops, it will become clearer what tactics¹⁰ the reaction is resorting to in order to undermine the state power and sabotage the elections. Faced with this situation, our Party should mobilize all its forces, and the Democratic Front should

10 The hostile tactics of internal reaction towards the people's power to sabotage the elections surfaced in two forms. Part of those in the Front, in order to make a sensation, stepped out of the Front demonstratively on the eve of elections, while the rest, under the guise of the Front, was aiming to be elected to the Assembly and undermine the power from within, through a group, a "legal" opposition, or a separate party.

become a reality. We have many times laid down the political line of the Front, so I will not repeat it.

To work in the Front, which is the duty of every communist, means to work with the people, to go beyond the bounds of your duties in the state organs or the army, to carry out the special work of the Party, the work which is most crucial — the education of the masses. Unfortunately some party members have viewed this in a very narrow way. Let us start from the political work with the masses of the people. Work in the Front has been interpreted like this: go and make a speech every fifteen days, and you have completed the task the Party has charged you with. This is only small part of the work, but unfortunately even this small part is not carried with the seriousness with which communists should work. The lower the political level of the comrades who hold meetings, the less they prepare themselves. They think the public is obliged to listen to the blather they prepared only half an hour before. This has had the result that no one wants to attend meetings, and we should not seek the cause in the passivity of the masses, but in the ignorance, negligence, and underestimation of the masses by the speaker, and if he is a party member, the mistake is inexcusable. But how can we prepare a good speech? I am convinced that many comrades have not yet understood this, for otherwise, they would find it simple, and the meetings would be more interesting. Speeches are not prepared by piecing together newspaper articles or other people's reports. I can understand this if a speech of a scientific nature is being prepared, but if it is a question of agitation and propaganda among the masses of the people, as most of our meetings are (unfortunately we have done nothing about scientific meetings), the speaker will find the themes of his speech, the thoughts he will expound to his audience, only in the life of the people, and not in newspapers and magazines. But this source of knowledge,

from which he will learn how to become a good agitator, is neglected, he does not live with the people, he does not know their problems or their complaints; he is up in the clouds and his speech harps on the same phrases. But the masses of the people are not satisfied with words alone. The masses will be pleased to listen to a good speech, but the things that are said there, they want to see realized in practice, they want concrete results. This is a characteristic of the masses. The strength of our Party lies in its deeds. Here I am not trying to tell you how to prepare a speech, but to point out what half-hearted methods we use to educate the people. Party members are often heard to say: "I have no time, I am up to my neck in office work, I can't go there, I can't do that." I say categorically on this point that in ninety per cent of cases this is not true. All of us, from me down to the rank-and-file party member, if we revise our sense of duty towards our work, will see that we can find time. It is impossible that a party member should have no time to do the job the Party charges him with on top of his official duties; but even if he has no time, he must find it; he can take it out of his sleep. That is the sort of people we should be. I have good reason to emphasize this. This is a serious weakness which we should fight because it harms us, and is the source of all political laxity and mistakes. I understand and respect the party member who is up to his neck in work and on his own, but who never fails to carry out his special party work. But this does not happen with everyone. With such a mentality and such a spirit we cannot make progress. On the pretext that they are very busy, comrades shirk their duty, or worse still, what they do they do not do properly. If you ask such-and-such a political secretary of a regional committee, he will answer, "I've got a lot of work to do," but at the same time many unpleasant things of an anti-Party nature occur in the organization he leads, and he sees them, just as all the people see them; a general secretary of a ministry says that he is snowed under with work, but when

asked to explain something, either he is not in a position to tell you anything, or produces false and unverified statistics. This is point one. Point two: our comrades do not make efforts to learn and raise their level; in general they are marking time. The people working in the state organs, and in the first place our comrades, do not know and do not try to learn the laws of the state. Astonishing things happen, which it would take days to list. A subprefecture, allegedly because it is self-governing through the people's council, accepts neither the directives of the region nor those of the centre, but becomes an "independent republic"; in another region, subprefectures spring up like mushrooms only to disappear in three months' time. One collects taxes in this way, the other in another way, one respects the law, the other completely violates it and cancels all taxes, because he considers this "reasonable" in his region. Such things are not unusual. But there are even more critical cases where the state power is not respected and government orders are disregarded. The centre may send twenty telegrams to a region without any reply. Why does this happen? It happens because some comrades have still not understood what the state power is, what centralism is, how the Party leads the state power, and what their responsibilities to the Party and the state power are. And, above all, a dangerous mentality is beginning to appear which should be swiftly combatted: once admitted to the Party, the communist becomes conceited. He becomes authoritarian, works less than others, and considers that he is untouchable and can do anything he likes. I am saying these things so that we may think deeply about them and eliminate such faults, because if we do not improve, the Front will be weak and the state power likewise. The Front is not something detached from practical reality. The political line of the Front becomes a concrete reality in the work of the state power, in the achievements of the state power. If we do not properly understand the political line of the Front, it will be difficult for us to

properly understand the policy of the government in all the fields of activity, and vice-versa. The policy of the Front and the policy of the government are two things that go together. We have said that we should broaden the Front, convince the dissatisfied, and activate the entire people. We have not done this in the proper way, or to the correct extent; sectarianism and hackneyed methods exist in our work, people persist in obsolete methods which may have been appropriate two years ago, but do not keep pace with time and the development of events. We forget that now questions can no longer be solved with partisan methods; we forget that the method of work should change, not only in form, but also in essence; we forget that the people now demand many things, the things we have promised them; they have begun demanding in a year things which they have never had in hundreds of years; the most remote village wants a school, and it wants electric power, for there is a stream close by. We fought and liberated the country, and this is a great achievement for us. This is our strongest recommendation, but it is not enough; now we must work hard in the correct way, for otherwise our laurels will wither. Apart from the important questions of the Front, the Party has been confronted with a host of problems. The important problem of the state power, and the implementation of government policy in the various fields of social and economic activity have been dominant throughout this period after liberation, and always remain on the agenda. Everything will be solved in the best way when our Party is strong, and we can see improvement in it from day to day.

I will deal in general outline with the question of the state power and the policy of the government.

With the state power we will be able to solve all our problems, and this is where our strength lies. We should know how to perfect the state power and make the best use of it. Our Party leads the state, and it is self-evident that the

stronger the Party the stronger the state power. Before we go deeply into the question, the comrades should understand one thing: our Party leads the state power through its people whom it has everywhere in the key positions of command. All the decisions are worked out in the Party and implemented by the organs of the state power. The party members transmit these decisions of the Party to the state power. It depends on the party members how these decisions are presented to the people in the state power, to those in the Front. From this it becomes apparent how well we have understood the party line, and how we are implementing it in the Front and in the organs of the state power. Besides this, the party member should be conscious that the Party is there, wherever he is working, and that he is responsible to the Party and to the state power simultaneously, to his superiors in the state power, whoever they are, whether party members or not. The ability of a party member is recognized and evaluated in the work he does in the position the Party has appointed him to. That is where it is seen how capable he is, how disciplined and how loyal to the Party. Misunderstanding this question leads to such mistakes as: failure to respect the authority and the hierarchy in the state power, breach of the law and failure to fulfill tasks; and hence sectarianism, both in the Front and in the state power organs. These shortcomings exist among our comrades, and for this reason our state power is not as strong as it should be, and mistakes are made.

In the first place, the bases of the state power in the village, the people's councils, are still weak, because they are not elected according to sound criteria, and still do not properly understand their role in the village. These councils, especially in the North, are not given the necessary help by our comrades.

In form, the state power in the North appears to be more or less the way we want it to be; but in practice work

carries on in the old way, that is to say, the subprefecture councils show very little, if any, interest in the work. Laws and regulations hardly reach them. Likewise, the press, agitators and propagandists very seldom go to them. This weakness of the grass roots councils inevitably causes shortcomings in the district and subprefecture councils. Some regional councils are not in a position to properly guide the whole region, all the councils of the subprefectures. There are no strong contacts between them, and the work is not coordinated. Our comrades are young, they lack experience and foresight, and they are not very good organizers. They often take a narrow and rigid view of things, get tied up with trifling matters and forget major questions. The comrades do not make serious efforts to learn and to raise their ideological level; many of them do not know the laws, or know them only superficially. They do not study the local problems with the due seriousness, and the centre receives very few suggestions or proposals from them. In general, they are not abreast of the situation, because their contacts with the centre are purely formal, and thus the plan of work in their region is not well coordinated with the general plan of the government. They often slip into the position of one section of the people, through a wrong interpretation of the spirit of the law, and create baseless and unnecessary administrative divisions; they view issues and problems in a parochial spirit without considering problems as a whole. All these shortcomings make the state power weak in some centres. On account of this the people are not properly mobilized around the organs of their state power, and this prevents them from becoming the most important support for these organs, especially at this moment when the economic and financial situation is not at all prosperous. This leads to bureaucracy, lack of responsibility and work being left undone. Our comrades have not understood the importance of the state power, the importance of organization, the importance of leadership. There is a

process developing, which may turn to our disadvantage if we go on dreaming; the state power could slip from our hands, if we are not skilful. A sectarian spirit exists in many cadres of the state power. Many people, who have had scientific training but are not communists, are not made good use of. They are engineers, doctors, agronomists and technicians of various kinds, without whom the state machine cannot function. It often happens that the organs of the state power are filled with communist comrades who are incompetent and incapable and who, in order to conceal their incompetence, treat these cadres badly. Such a situation cannot be tolerated. The communist should be in the place he deserves, he should show himself more capable than the others in deeds and not in words, for words are only wind. Without correcting these mistakes we cannot have a strong state power, because the state power is not something infallible, ideal, and beyond reproach, but is a reality which improves with the improvement of work. Nevertheless, we have achieved many things through this state power, which I will not analyse here one by one; I will only put forward in broad outline some major problems of the government and its policy in the most important state sectors. The state organs will apply this government policy in the various, complicated and difficult circumstances which face us, and the whole Party should be mobilized to solve these problems, a task which will be properly carried out when the Party is in the lead, and when the state power is strong.

It is not the first time that the Party, and when I say the Party, I imply the government too, has defined its policy for the different sectors of state activity. This policy has been defined through the various laws approved by the Anti-fascist Council which have been worked out in advance in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party. During this period, the government has also laid down the program of work for the various sectors, a program that has

been carried out with the good results and shortcomings which we have often spoken about.

At the Berat Plenum,¹¹ decisions were taken in broad outlines on the urgent measures dictated by the situation, but later, under the new circumstances created with the complete liberation of Albania, these decisions were better defined. We now have more experience in solving problems, and we are in a position to define our economic and social policy better and more clearly.

What are the major problems which we should devote our attention to solving? In our opinion, the main problems are: the question of the economy, agriculture, education, finance, reconstruction, and the army, but this does not mean that other government questions cannot also be discussed here.

The economic question is the most important for us, but it is also the most difficult, so I shall try to give a general outline of the situation and lay down our economic policy. Our economy is at a very low level, it is seriously damaged. Various sectors, such as industry, the mines, and home and foreign trade are either very weak or completely paralysed. Our country was devastated and ruined by the war, and its production is low, which creates a critical situation. The war is the main reason for this situation, and then come other factors: lack of tools, transport, capital, and foreign markets, the international situation with regard to our state power, etc.

What must we do to improve our economic situation? First, we must increase production and improve our product, rebuild the small-scale industry that existed in our country prior to the war, strengthen the state sector: especially the oil wells, the Selenica bitumen mines, and then the other sectors, and we should enliven both local and foreign trade.¹²

11 This refers to the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA called in Berat on November 23, 1944

12 The first measure adopted in foreign trade was the establishment of state control over

Our state cannot be strengthened and the situation of our country improved unless we correctly tackle the question of economic reconstruction. The process of large-scale reproduction and of the industrialization of the country is closely linked with the form of our state power. In this process of development, the state sector should be constantly strengthened. In the first stage of reconstruction we should rebuild all that was destroyed by war in the economic field, and reach the prewar level within a short time. To achieve this, the small merchants and industrialists should begin work again under new conditions, obtaining, under our control, a certain profit, but being barred from speculative activity. Yugoslavia has supplied us with materials, on the basis of an agreement under which we repay Yugoslavia with the equivalent value in our products. We must meet these commitments. We have signed a trade agreement with the USSR to buy 20,000 tons of wheat and a small quantity of chemicals. Repayment of their total value is due at the end of 1946, either in other goods which we have available, or in foreign currency. If we do not improve the economic sector, our obligations to our people and to the states, with which we have entered trade agreements, will cause us to become politically dependent. We should never forget this; we have had a bitter past. Apart from the Soviets towards whom we must act very correctly from every point of view, the Anglo-American allies do not help us because they like the colour of our eyes.¹³ We know their aims.

Before the war, our state, despite its backwardness and the measures taken by Zog's regime, still managed to export something abroad. Of course, export is connected with the development of the different sectors of production:

it, later on it became a state monopoly.

13 The US and British imperialists planned to exploit the grave economic situation for their specific aims, and hurried to offer their "aid" to Albania. The CPA rejected this enslaving "aid" and chose the road of building the country relying, first of all, on the internal efforts and the fraternal aid by the Soviet Union and the states of people's democracy.

agriculture, livestock farming, the fishing, timber, and other industries. The war has done great damage to these sectors, but with better organization and through activating all the capital in the country, we can achieve satisfactory results. We have made the large state sectors operational, but they are at a rudimentary stage of development. Our country's main income comes from the output of the mines which will help us strengthen the other sectors as well. Oil is our main resource, and interests everybody. Of course, in this vital sector we will rely on the help of the Soviet Union, but we will consider the interest of our country first. Preliminary talks have been conducted, and the Soviets have agreed to send some specialists to study the question on the spot, to see what assistance they can give us and what equipment is needed for the maximum exploitation of the Kuçova and Patos oil fields.

The question of agriculture is also very important and very complex. Our agriculture is extremely backward, our peasants are very poor and their farming methods and tools are antiquated. With the changing situation of the peasantry as a result of the land reform, the nature of their work and production should also change. We should produce as much as possible, leaving no inch of land unsown, encouraging the peasants to cultivate other necessary crops which they did not previously grow, either because of ignorance or because of the difficult conditions of their existence. That will be our policy in this field. It is imperative for us to work systematically. The question of agriculture, the land reform, and the problems stemming from them should be considered broadly. Concrete assistance should be given to all sectors of agriculture as regards seeds, tools, and draft animals, in the field of livestock farming and the setting up of small factories to process livestock products, and also to forestry and the timber industry. For this purpose it appears necessary to set up an agricultural bank to assist agriculture,

and not to skin it, as was the case in former times. This bank is being set up, but we should see to it that the credits advanced to the peasants really go towards developing agriculture. We must do large-scale educational work with the peasants so that these credits will be used correctly. A good policy in this field will be one of the main factors in raising the economic level of the country. If we increase the production of wheat and maize, as well as other crops, we shall reduce the quantity of grain which we have to import from abroad, and this will enable us to import other things to help develop other sectors and increase their production. Apart from this, the improvement of livestock will enable us to export wool and to establish an industry in our country. At present, hides are in great demand everywhere. Our timber industry has been very backward. We imported a great quantity of timber from abroad, whereas now we can set up a local wood-processing and paper industry to meet at least the needs of the country. Apart from the heavy burden which falls on the state, we can quite easily mobilize private capital, too, especially in the sector of livestock and related industrial products.

The land reform¹⁴ was one of our greatest reforms which will certainly boost our agriculture. But, first of all, we should work to implement the land reform well and as quickly as possible. Closely connected with the land reform is the question of land settlement and land improvement schemes. Will we be able to achieve this under the present circumstances? It will be difficult to do it properly, but this does not mean that we should not begin. According to available statistics and the first results achieved after the division of large estates, at present we do not anticipate that we will have much land to populate, and settlement will be

14 The Law on Land Reform, which gave the land to the tiller and prohibited its sale, purchase, and renting, was issued in August 1945. In the beginning, as a result of Sejfulla Malëshova's opportunist stand towards the former exploiting classes, the law had some errors. After the measures adopted at the 5th Plenum of the CC, the errors were corrected, and in November 1946 the reform was concluded with success.

limited until the large scale land improvement schemes have begun. We must at least ensure a minimum of work tools for the peasants' families which we transfer to these newly reclaimed lands. We must see to it that the families of martyrs, soldiers, and poor peasants are the first to be settled on the expropriated land. Owing to budget problems and technical difficulties, the land improvement schemes cannot yet be carried out on a large scale. But the masses of the people have begun with great determination to dig drainage and irrigation canals. This activity should be further encouraged and assisted.

The financial question is also a great problem which should concern all of us. Expenditure — and everyone should know this — is far greater than our normal income. If we add to this the emergency taxation, then we manage with much difficulty to balance the budget. As you know, more than half of our budget comes from emergency taxation. The rest of the income comes from various taxes. It is self-evident that with trade paralysed, industry in ruins, agriculture weak, the people impoverished, and almost all direct taxation abolished, the income from taxation is small. This situation, of course, hampers various projects from being realized. Many regions complain because credits allotted to them in the budget are not forthcoming, but they do not think about where these credits are to come from. Many regions have totally neglected the collection of taxes, and maintain themselves only with the funds allocated by the centre. Some regions, without giving any serious thought to financial problems, even break the law, asking to be allowed not to collect taxes at all, for in this way they would make a good impression on the people. We all know that it makes a good impression if we ask for nothing from the people, but if no one pays or does not pay the set amount, how can the work be done? How will we cope with this fiscal year? In the first place, by economizing, and when we say

economizing, we should not think that we must pay thousands of civil servants who do not work, and abandon our projects. We can economize by clearing out the parasites from our offices, as well as by activating the people to do voluntary work for their own good and that of the society. People must be given to understand that the situation is difficult. Then, above all, we must save state money, use it properly, and duly check up on it. We are lagging far behind in this, and we must take a turn for the better, otherwise we will find ourselves facing bankruptcy. The foreign goods which we bring in and sell allow us to meet the needs arising from delays in collecting taxes, but we must not forget that these sums will always remain on the debit side of the state budget. With the circulation of the new currency, the question of a new deflation also arises. While we are discussing money matters, I want to emphasize that the party comrades who work in the organs of the state power and, especially, those who are in the offices concerned with the distribution of goods, both at the centre and in the regions, should be rigorous on financial matters and keep their accounts in good order. This is no small matter. Millions are involved, and I say this because there have been abuses in different sectors, even in the army and by some people who consider themselves party members. Such things will be dealt with mercilessly, whether they are done wittingly or unwittingly. The party member should have a good head on his shoulders, and a clear conscience.

Let us look briefly at the question of *reconstruction* and of what we should do in this sector. All of us know how things stood. The government plan was to give urgent priority to normalizing communications, roads, bridges, and transport. We achieved great success in building bridges. Why? In my opinion we succeeded because the work was carried out conscientiously, and those responsible for this sector themselves stood in the front-line of the work. In

addition, a great deal of material was found by our people and bought by the state organs. These factors contributed to the success in this sector. Almost all the power stations are now operational, but they are very out of date. After rebuilding the bridges and repairing the roads more or less adequately, the most pressing problem is that of housing, many people have lost their homes as a result of the war. Can we do much in this direction on a long term basis? At present it is difficult. We are unable to build new mass-product houses in the various villages burnt down and ruined by the war. But we must try to see that all our people have somewhere to lay their heads. Therefore we must do everything within our means to help private or collective initiatives for the provision of huts or temporary housing for this winter. On the other hand, in this sector we should work out projects and plans for rebuilding the burnt out villages or ruined towns, so as to start their reconstruction as soon as circumstances permit. But this important question, like the electric reticulation of the country, requires more favourable conditions than those we live in at the moment. The sector of transport is very weak. Take for example the question of vehicles. All of us know that we face difficulties which may become even worse. No one will supply vehicles, because they are needed everywhere. All of us keep saying that we should economize and maintain them carefully, but nothing is done about it. Those who drive vehicles for the state enterprises take little care of them. Those who have none criticize loud and long, but when a vehicle is handed over to them, they belt it along until they wreck it. This is not a laughing matter. Those motor vehicles we inherited were obsolete, but it is a fact that we have misused and continue to misuse them. As in any other field of activity, especially in the field of transport, the party people should without fail put things in order. On those five trucks we have, depend the people's bread, the transport of salt and kerosene, the functioning of industrial enterprises, public works and the

exploitation of the mines. If we attach due importance to this major problem, then we should think in earnest about it. There is no other solution. The prospects are not bright. This is the reality of the situation.

The question of education should become the concern of the entire Party. What should be the educational policy of our Party and state? Everyone should be educated. We must fight illiteracy and make elementary schooling compulsory for all, we must try to provide the younger generation with a sound general education, channel the largest and most dependable section of the youth into the branches of agriculture and industry, train reliable cadres as teachers, and increase their numbers. We must do away with the attitude that "even without education and culture we can do everything." We are now acutely aware of what it means to have a shortage of trained people to direct the work, to have no engineers, technicians, agronomists, and others. What will happen later if we do not begin to take the necessary measures now, and if we do not follow a sound and broad educational policy? We shall begin with what we have. We have to devote special importance to the elementary school teachers, for they have the new generation in their hands. With a correct policy towards them, we can be successful with them; it should not be forgotten that the majority of them are the sons and daughters of the people, they are poor, and close to us, close to the people, with whom they live. The teacher means everything to the villagers. But this does not mean that we should not also adopt a correct stand towards the secondary school teachers, though many among them are indifferent or still remain aloof from our state power. The demands to open schools are great and exceed our possibilities. Every village wants a school. The budget does not permit this, and technically we are not in a position to do it. Nevertheless, we should open a number of schools, and try to train young teachers in pedagogical courses which

we should set up. In time these young teachers will improve and expand their knowledge. It will be difficult to draw up the school programs for this year. We are in the process of studying the programs of the Soviet secondary schools, but it will be a long time before we have translated and studied them, and then decided on a program suitable for our schools. For the time being, we are compelled to work according to the old programs, paying attention to the way history, education, psychology, and moral education are taught, because in these subjects teachers with the old mentality could easily confuse the youth, and head them not in the way we want them to go, but in the opposite direction. The opening of boarding schools, which is essential, also presents great difficulties because of the economic conditions of the country and, in particular, the lack of the material base. We have decided to open four boarding schools which will mainly admit the sons of peasants and workers, children of martyrs and fighters, and children from poor families. In addition we are trying to send some students to study at universities abroad. Here too we are handicapped by financial worries and financial relations with other countries. We have asked friendly countries to admit our students on bursaries.

The question of the army is, of course, important, and we should discuss it. In such an international situation, with everything so unstable, we should maintain a strong standing army. We have an effective army of... strong. As you see, this army is very large for our country. It is impossible to maintain an army of such numbers for long. By maintaining an army of such a size on a long term basis, not only might we harm ourselves economically, but we could also impede the strengthening and modernization of the army itself, because we have a great shortage of army officers to educate these large masses of rank-and-file soldiers. Therefore, we are faced with the task of reorganizing the army from the

point of view of the rank-and-file and cadres, and with the related task of drawing up the basis for recruitment, and for what army personnel is needed in peace time. Now we have just begun to regulate the question of recruitment, which must be done before we can proceed with demobilization and the next intake. Until we have organized the recruitment and prepared the list of personnel needed in peace time, as well as the troop effective, reserves and weapons required, we think that the existing divisions should be amalgamated into a smaller number. Of the troops left over, some of them are to be demobilized and incorporated into the reserves, while another section can be transferred to the Defence¹⁵ detachments to complete their effective force. The soldiers of the Defence detachments and those of the police will receive pay. The situation later on will show whether or not we should reduce the size of our army. The territorial organizations of our army are still quite weak, and our cadres, despite the numerous difficulties they encounter, have not yet accumulated the necessary experience of organization and responsibility. This is why we find ourselves facing a difficult situation, as for example in providing barracks and clothing for the army. In this direction things are bad, to say the least of it. Our soldiers still sleep in the open, or we are obliged to adopt measures which are not suited to the present time. The problem of clothing for the army should be solved locally, and the soldiers should always be supplied with clothing and footwear. We must not imagine that their enthusiasm will last for ever, if we do not know how to nurture it and keep it alive. The party comrades should exert all their energies and pay great attention to this question, for many things depend on it. We must work hard to improve the political and educational level of the young cadres. We are lagging behind in this. Without trained officers, we cannot have a modern

15 Defence detachments which had the task of destroying the bands of war criminals and diversionists.

regular army. Of the old partisans, some have become officers, some have entered the state service, and others will be demobilized, because they cannot be kept in the army all their life. They will pass into the reserve army. In this way, our army will be renewed with the new age-group whom we must educate in a new way, instilling love for the army in them, and training them properly. This will be done when we have good, well-trained cadres and officers, or otherwise our army will be like Zog's army, in which ignorance reigned. We note with satisfaction that the officers emerging from the war, whom we have sent to the Soviet Union to study, are keen to learn and are making good progress. So we have a generation of officers who promise a fine future for our army. We should also work to improve training in our country, by improving the existing schools, the various courses, and the entire method of education in the army. This education should not be superficial, but thorough.

In this internal and external situation, with this state power and this program of work, the Party faces the great test of the impending elections for the Constituent Assembly, to determine the form of the regime and of the Founding Constitution of the state. The elections are not a simple operation, and in them the strength of the Party, its leading role, will become evident, and the ability of every party member will be evident. The values of the Party will be put to a test in this election campaign, and this great test will serve as a guide in the distribution of the party cards.¹⁶ The work for the elections does not consist solely in holding some meetings. Success in the elections will be ensured through carrying out the work program, constructing roads and houses, making a fair distribution of maize, wheat, salt and kerosene; success will be ensured through the proper implementation of the Election Law, the strengthening of the state power, and the participation of all the people in the

¹⁶ This refers to party membership cards, distribution of which began in 1946, after a general revision in the Party.

voting. The people should see concretely that those who liberated the country from the occupiers and traitors are able to govern, are able to reconstruct the country and to improve its economic and social life. The comrades should come out of the election campaign with great experience, it should be a school for them, and should arm them to solve other great problems which we shall face.

Speech to the Constituent Assembly on the Presentation of the Resignation of Government

12 January, 1946

Members of the Constituent Assembly,

On October 22, 1944, in Berat, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Albania entrusted me with the great honor of heading the first Democratic Government of Albania, which had the attributes of a provisional government.

Responsible to the people for the accomplishment of the heavy tasks assigned to it and loyal to the decisions of Albania, the Government acted in the most democratic way for the election of the Constituent Assembly¹ of the Albanian people.

Today I consider it my duty to present to this sovereign Assembly, which represents the will of our entire people, the resignation of the Government I have the honour of leading.

I am confident that the Democratic Government of Albania has carried out with honour, loyalty, and success the tasks which were laid down before it. Under its direction, the heroic war of our people against the occupiers was continued with the utmost intensity, and our beloved country was liberated. Under its leadership the people's power was consolidated, and order and tranquility were established. The deplorable economic conditions of our country which had emerged from a devastating war were improved, part of what the enemy had destroyed was reconstructed, major social and economic reforms were implemented for the benefit of the labouring people, public education was restored and improved, and our heroic army, the invincible defender of the people's interests, and of Albania's independence and sovereignty, was strengthened, and its modernization begun.

Through its just and wise policy, the Democratic Government of Albania ensured for our people the sound and

¹ The December 2, 1945 elections were democratic, secret, free, equal and direct. Despite the manoeuvring of the British and US imperialists, and the efforts of internal reaction, 90 per cent of the voters went to the polls, and 93 per cent of them voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front.

sincere friendship of the democratic peoples, their allies and friends, and consolidated the international position of Albania by gaining recognition from many powerful and progressive European states. The Democratic Government of Albania works successfully to make our small country an important factor for fraternity and peace in the Balkans and Europe.

We pledged to our people that we would carry out the duty with which you charged us at the most critical moment. It is now up to you to judge our actions and adopt the necessary decisions in the interest of the homeland.

Along with the presentation of the resignation of the Government,² I have the great honour to thank the Anti-fascist Council of Albania, all state functionaries and the entire Albanian people for the great aid they have rendered to the Government in the exercise of its functions, and we pledge to our people that we shall remain their invincible soldiers, loyal to the death to their sacred cause.

Long live the Albanian people!

2 At the proposal made by a group of deputies and after its unanimous approval by the Constituent Assembly, comrade Enver Hoxha was charged to form the 1st Government of the People's Republic of Albania.

**Program of the First Government of the People's
Republic of Albania¹ Presented to the People's Assembly
of the PRA
24 March, 1946**

Comrade deputies,

With the proclamation of the Founding Constitution of the State,² the supreme Constituent Assembly accomplished the historic mission the people had assigned to it. The proclamation of the Constitution gave the State a genuinely popular character, and gave Albania a republican regime expressing the aspirations of all our people. With the proclamation of the Constitution, a brilliant stage is closed, a stage full of heroic exploits and sacrifices, of relentless struggle and tireless work, achieved under the most difficult internal and external conditions. With their own forces, our people liberated their homeland from heavy bondage, won their independence and sovereignty, established their people's power, and set about the reconstruction of their ruined country. During this post-war stage, the Albanian people scored successes not only in consolidating their state power, but also in reconstructing the country's economy, and in the political and cultural development of the broad masses of the people. The proclamation of the Constitution opens up a new stage for the whole people, and in this stage they will advance steadily towards the objectives laid down by the Constitution.

The mobilization of the whole people has been indispensable to achieve the victories we have won so far, because neither the great liberation war nor the first stage of the country's reconstruction could be carried out without this

1 On January 11, 1946 the Constituent Assembly proclaimed Albania a People's Republic.

2 The CPA presented the draft Constitution to the entire people to pass judgment on. After two months of discussions, it was presented to the Assembly, which adopted it on March 14, 1946.

broad participation. The liberation of the country concerned all the people and was a sacred task, but equally sacred and vital was the task of the country's reconstruction, which required the same sacrifices, the same energies and the same sense of duty that characterized our people during the war. Our task is difficult, for obstacles will bar our path. The first government of the People's Republic of Albania, set up on the basis of the Constitution, is conscious of this, just as it is aware of its great responsibility towards the Albanian people. We must and will carry out the heavy tasks which face us, because the Albanian people have proved conclusively that they are capable of building and creating, because they have great vitality and inexhaustible energy, they do not fear hardships and obstacles, and are conscious that they are building their future, building new Albania. For the accomplishment of these tasks, as well as enthusiasm, drive, and a sense of duty, sound organization and work to a plan are required. Planned work and sound organization must become second nature to the Albanian people and the state functionaries.

If these tasks are to be carried out well, all must understand that they have obligations towards society; they must realize that personal interest is closely linked with the general interest, and that the improvement of everyone's economic lot depends entirely on the economic situation of the whole country. Therefore, in order to perform its mission successfully, the new government requires the support and assistance of the entire people. On the other hand, from the state functionaries, from the lowest to the highest, from the oldest employee to the youngest is required discipline in work, conscientiousness, honesty, and enthusiasm.

Those officials who imagine that in new Albania work can go on in the old spirit of cliquishness, bureaucracy and idleness, are grossly mistaken; those, whether old or young, who fancy that the state administration is a refugium

peccatorum,* where they can draw a salary without tiring themselves or doing anything, will soon be bitterly disillusioned. Work must become an honour to every Albanian.

With the Constitution given to us by the Constituent Assembly, vast prospects of work are opened for the construction of a happy society which will guarantee us everything we need to march forward successfully. The Government of the Republic, relying on the successes scored on the first stage and, in particular, on the creative efforts of the masses of the people, on the energy and vitality of the Albanian people, will certainly surmount all the difficulties which it may meet in solving our country's vital problems.

The question of the construction of new Albania

This is the most important question which will preoccupy the government and the whole Albanian people, because it is a most delicate and difficult question, although not an insoluble one. We must mobilize all our forces, since the country's happy future depends on this.

To build new Albania means, first and foremost, to reconstruct everything the enemy burned and destroyed, and to march forward with redoubled energies; to rebuild gutted houses, improve and extend communications, which are indispensable to a more rapid economic development, repair and bring into operation the mines, our country's greatest wealth, rebuild light industry, and encourage the growth and improvement of production. To build new Albania means to rehabilitate the national economy, to improve and enrich the people's life, give them a sound culture and education — in fact, to build a new society in a new Albania.

These are the difficult tasks which fall, first and foremost, upon the Government of the Republic and the

* "refugium peccatorum" (Lat. in the original)—refuge of sinners.

whole Albanian people, and the solution of them requires the mobilization of all our energies, from the political, technical and organizational viewpoints.

We should be clear about one thing: all the vital projects we are going to carry out cannot be financed by means of the ordinary state budget alone. The gap must be filled by the living energies of the people, by their spirit of initiative and the sacrifices they are ready to make in the service of their country. This is our people's second glorious war, the fight for the construction of our new society, from which heroes of labour will emerge.

The new government is preparing a work plan and a new state budget, this government plan provides, first of all, for:

1. The restoration and the maximum exploitation of our oil fields, bitumen, copper and chromium mines. The best possible use of chest precious resources will form the main basis for setting up and reinforcing the other industrial sectors. The government will devote all its energies to this important sector of work, and it calls on the Albanian workers to give their valuable assistance, strengthen their class feeling, and become conscious of their important role in leadership and reconstruction. With their spirit of sacrifice, our workers should set an example to the entire people, an example of organized and disciplined work
2. The achievement of maximum efficiency, in the service of the general interest, in the whole light industry of the country, which up till now has operated without criteria, and has served merely to enrich a few at the expense of the people.
3. The restoring of damaged houses. Up to now, the government has done its utmost to provide shelter for those left homeless by the war; it has assisted with

materials for temporary repairs to most of the houses in villages destroyed during the war. But this was never sufficient. This year we will still not be able to draw up a general plan for the construction of razed villages and towns, but the new government does provide for the reconstruction of the houses in those villages which have suffered most from the war, and first and foremost, the villages of the Kurvelesh, Vlora, Mallakastrë, Gjirokastra and Korça regions. This is not only an obligation of the motherland towards those who fought heroically, who were killed or lost their homes, but also an urgent need which must be met next summer and autumn. For this purpose, the government requires the support of the entire people: saw-mills and brick-yards, cement factories and lime-kilns should rapidly increase production, the broad masses of the people should be mobilized for voluntary work, and technicians, bricklayers, carpenters and all those who can help their brothers, who had their homes burnt during the war, should be mobilized to work conscientiously in the reconstruction of the ruined homeland.

4. Our country needs new roads, both local and national. In its program, the government provides not only for the maintenance of the existing roads but also for the construction of new ones. Projects will be carried out in both North and South. Certainly it will take a long time to build up a perfect road network, but we should begin this year to build roads in our North mountain regions, in order to assist the mountaineers in those areas and to raise their economic and cultural level. The roads will be an important means in uprooting the surviving medieval and feudal practices in those areas. No longer will the voice of the Jesuits, or of Maliq Bushati and

company, go there, but the voice of free Albania, new Albania.

In our country's reconstruction, the war reparations we are to receive from Germany and Italy will also assist us. Those two countries started the Second World War; they burnt our country and laid it waste. They have to pay for this devastation unprecedented in history. The Reparations Conference held in Paris,³ fixed a quota for our country, which consisted of a number of factories. In order to take possession of these, the Albanian Government has sent its own commission to the Reparations Committee in Brussels. The Reparations Conference quite unjustly gave us a quota, very small in comparison with the destruction Germany wrought in our country, but our government will insist that this does not happen in connection with the reparations we demand from Italy. Italy plundered and ransacked our country for years on end, stole our country's riches and mineral wealth, and finally burnt down or destroyed our villages and towns, maiming and murdering hundreds of thousands of Albanians, and must pay for all that damage. The government will insist on this point, and some allies of ours should not forget that our country was the victim of the most villainous aggression, and resisted it, arms in hand, up to the end.

In all these undertakings of the government, powerfully backed by all strata of the people, we should have as our first aim to increase and improve production. The achievement of these objectives will mean the supply of goods to the masses of peasants, Workers and other citizens, to the extent possible and, at the same time, the opportunity to expand industry and factory products. In our poor and war ruined country, frugality, and concern to preserve and defend state property, should be encouraged to the maximum,

3 The Reparations Conference was held in Paris in November-December 1945; it was attended also by a delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, headed by Hysni Kapo.

because economizing, protecting state property and cutting down production costs means to lower the cost of products, to create confidence in the present administration among the people, and to strengthen the unity of the peasants, workers and intellectuals in the People's Republic of Albania.

In the cultural and educational field, the government shoulders a heavy burden. Our people need more bread, but they also need more culture and education. Culture and education should not be useless adornments, but should serve the general interest, helping to increase and improve production, and to raise the living standard in our country. We need the kind of culture which will make our people capable of working better and producing more; we should make this culture and education a weapon of the broad laboring masses. The government will fight everything that hinders advance in this direction. In the new Albania, which we are building with the new Constitution which guides us, the old method of organizing work and the old programs cannot be continued any longer. Everything must be adapted to the time and the existing situation, and must be changed not only in form but also in content.

As for schooling, the government will increase the number of primary schools and will temporarily solve the problem of teachers by opening short term teacher training courses. It will be severe towards those teachers who fail to carry out properly the important function assigned to them, as well as towards those parents who do not respect the law⁴ and refuse to send their sons and daughters to school for the whole period required by law.

The doors of secondary schools must be flung wide open to the broad masses of peasant and town youth. The

4 In August 1946 the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania approved the Law On Educational Reform, according to which education became general, free of charge, equal and secular, and the school system was given a state unified character. Tuition fees were abolished and elementary education became compulsory.

government will strive to create greater facilities for the poor strata, to enable them to continue secondary school; the government will also do its best to have as many girls as possible attend school so that the Albanian woman may be capable of playing her great role in new Albania.

Educational reform and changes in school programs will be the first tasks of the government in the educational field. The reform and the changes in the programs will take into account the conditions created in our country, and the needs emerging in the process of the construction of new Albania.

The education of cadres will play the principal role in this direction, and will be the greatest concern of the government. Capable young people will be sent abroad to continue their studies.

In order to raise the people's cultural level, the government will mobilize all its energies to fight illiteracy. It will organize evening courses, special workers' courses and courses for specialists. It will give the theatre, radio and cinema all the necessary support to turn them into useful media to raise the people's cultural level. The government will encourage sports and physical culture, so that the younger generation is tempered, and becomes capable to work and fight for the new Albania.

The question of agriculture

This question is one of the most essential, and must be correctly and rapidly solved. Our country is an agricultural country, and the first measure adopted, which is of historic importance, was the implementation of the land reform, which gave the land to those who till it, first and foremost, to the poor and middle peasants. Progress has been made in allotting land to the peasants on the basis of the Law On Land Reform, but this work has not yet been completed.

The government will endeavor to do this as quickly and as well as possible. For this purpose it will increase the number of personnel to carry out the land reform. Besides this, the government calls on the peasants' committees⁵ to give the greatest possible support to do this work quickly and fairly in conformity with the interests of the peasants and of Albania. The Albanian peasants should fight with the greatest severity against any trickery or injustice, or misinterpretations of the law, on the part of any irresponsible official involved in the implementation of the land reform. No one should spread illusions or resort to trickery. The government will not allow any trifling with the land or the future of the peasants. If some clause in the law is open to more than one interpretation, this must always be done in the peasant's favour. The government will not only speed up the land distribution, but will also help the peasants with agricultural credits in money and tools; it will increase and improve the farm machine stations to be put at the service of the farmers. This year it will be difficult to carry out a broad plan of land reclamation, but the government program provides for digging numerous canals, and draining swamps, such as that of Maliq, etc. All these measures are aimed at raising our agriculture from its primitive stage to a more advanced level, tilling as much land as possible, increasing and improving agricultural production. Here our motto should be: "We must make our bread ourselves, and not depend on imports." The concern of the government alone is insufficient to accomplish these vital tasks, therefore the whole people should be mobilized to work voluntarily and make sacrifices for a happier future.

In connection with agriculture, we will pay great attention to livestock farming, in which we will increase the numbers and improve the breeds of our animals. Naturally,

5 In order to implement the land reform quickly and correctly, the CPA set up the committees of poor peasants which had a great influence in chancing the class political consciousness of the poor peasants themselves.

this will come about when we have not only helped our farmers to plant and ensure food for themselves and their livestock, but when we have taught them how to improve this important sector. Besides agricultural courses and schools, the government will open up special courses for peasants. Many branches of our country's light industry, which will grow and flourish in the near future, depend on the improvement of this sector, and milk, wool, and leather processing factories are closely linked with it.

The question of the conservation of forests and of the afforestation of our country will also be the subject of particular attention of both the government and the people, because forests are not only beneficial for improving the land and weather conditions, but they also constitute a great asset for the development of the timber and paper industries which are indispensable for the reconstruction of our country. To promote agriculture and eliminate anarchy in agricultural production, it must be under the control of the state organs. Peasants must be supplied with good seed, fertilizers, and farm tools, and at the same time be given instructions on what they should sow and what products the country needs most. We should take advantage of the varying weather and soil conditions, and encourage the production of crops whose value and importance our farmer does not yet appreciate. It is only in this way that agriculture will make progress and become more productive, and this in turn will consolidate our economy. The setting up of peasants' cooperatives, provided for in the Constitution, will have energetic support from the government, and these cooperatives will be a primary concern of the state, which will ensure that they remain in the hands of the masses of poor and middle peasants, and are not exploited by speculators.

The financial problem

We are going to solve this important problem through our own resources. The principal source of income will be ensured by the correct development of the country's economy and industry. The problem of the development of the economy and the financial problem go together, and will be solved together, in harmony. The Albanian State Bank will be an important factor in the correct development of the state sector. It will no longer supply credits to enrich the big merchants, but will help the large state enterprises, the economy and agriculture. Besides this, volunteer work, initiatives of the masses in work, sacrifices, and the people's help for public undertaking will contribute immeasurably. We should never lose sight of the fact that the needs of our war devastated country are great; as I have already mentioned, they cannot be met by our ordinary state budget. We must work hard, and economize, too. Our taxation will be aimed at all those who have grown rich at the expense of the poor people, and taxes will be heavier for those who have most.

The social question

The government, guided by the provisions of the Constitution, will adopt measures in the social field. It will take proper care of orphans made homeless by the war, and the disabled. It will create special employment for the war invalids, and public works will, first of all, employ people who have no income. The state has given considerable aid to the poor, but some people who had no right to this aid profited from it, including some who were quite able to work. We must put an end to such irregularities, and the State Control Commission, set up within the government, and proceeding on the basis of the Constitution, will adopt measures to make the state apparatus function correctly, eliminating these faults and abuses committed by parasitic,

unscrupulous elements, which damage the state and society. The government will be harsh with those who violate or bend the law, or those who do not fulfill their obligations towards the government and the state.

The government will end the exploitation of workers, and will assign them to work according to their capabilities, particularly as far as women and young people are concerned. It will also organize state insurance for those disabled by accidents at work,⁶ set up holiday camps for working people, and see to it that the eight-hour working day and rest days are observed as laid down by law. In particular, the government will try to ensure a dignified life for the war invalids.

In the domain of Justice

Important changes will be made in the field of justice, in harmony with the basis outlined in the Constitution. In order to have a truly people's system of justice, we must proceed to make reforms. The system of justice must conform to the new social and economic conditions. The principal task of the judges is to ensure that the laws made by the people are scrupulously applied, and every decision they take should reflect the new spirit. In electing their judges, people will take into account not only their professional ability, but chiefly the qualities needed to guarantee the defence of their interests and the fruits of the war, which cost them so much blood.

The people's health

The government will show particular interest in the people's health by engaging in extensive propaganda for hygiene and prophylactic care. It will also intensify its concern for hospitals and specialists, and supervise them to

6 This refers to the Social Insurance Branch at the Labour Department.

ensure that they do not trade on their profession, but consider it as a great humanitarian mission. The government will also make efforts to build some more hospitals, and to set up as many clinics as possible, especially in the countryside. The government will take severe measures against all those who try to speculate with medicines. Setting up nursing courses is also included in the government's program.

Foreign policy

The foreign policy of the new government will be a continuation of the previous government's policy. The government will defend the interests of peace and democracy just as it defends the interests of the country, Albania is no longer a country to be trampled on, or an object of barter for the diplomacy responsible for the Second World War. The position of Albania among the anti-fascist nations was not donated; it was won at the price of bloodshed and superhuman sacrifices. Having fought unreservedly in the anti-fascist war for their rights, the rights of mankind, the consolidation and triumph of democracy, and for the people's freedom, our people hold their heads high and insist that their rights be respected. The Albanian people, loyal to the end to the great anti-fascist alliance, are angry and indignant to see the postponement of their legitimate demand to be admitted to the United Nations Organization, and they are even more grieved to see this instigated by their allies, Britain and the United States of America. I cannot even imagine the motives behind these obstacles placed before our country, which is demanding "de-jure" its deserved place in the United Nations Organization; neither Mr. Bevin⁷ nor Mr. Stettinius⁸ were

7 E. Bevin (1881-1951), British politician. From 1945 to 1951 he was foreign secretary; one of the organizers of the NATO in 1949.

8 E. R. Stettinius (1900-1949). During the 1943-1945 period he was under-secretary and later secretary of state of the USA.

able to formulate or express them openly in response to our request, or in reply to the friendly defence of the heads of the Soviet, Yugoslav, and Polish delegations; our people are very grateful to these delegations, and their countries.

We believe that the United Nations Organization should include those states which made sacrifices for the attainment of the objectives this lofty organization aims at: the consolidation of peace, and sincere international cooperation. Fully convinced of this, we say that we deserve a seat there before those countries which openly or indirectly collaborated with the Italian and German fascists. The government I have the honour to preside over will not only strive to win these rights, which our country deserves, but will make everyone, particularly those who have Hitler and Mussolini in their blood, respect the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Albania. The government of our Republic enjoys the support of the whole Albanian people in this resolve.

But small Albania has great friends in the world, sincere friends who love our people, and do all in their power to help them on the road of reconstruction and progress, because they have seen the sacrifices our people made for the great common cause, because they have seen our country burned and devastated, but never yielding to the German and Italian machine of oppression. Today they see our country marching steadily towards restoration, progress and genuine democracy, and becoming an important factor for peace in the Balkans and Europe. In the interests of our people, peace and democracy, the Government of the Republic will do its utmost to consolidate and be worthy of the sincere friendship and confidence that our friends have towards Albania.

One of the most important factors in the victory over fascism, the principal external factor for the liberation of Albania, was the glorious Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics. The Soviet Union is a major factor in the defence of small peoples, in the defence of their sovereignty, freedom and independence. The Albanian people have understood this well, and for this reason they have a great heartfelt, sincere love for the Soviet Union and its great leader, J.V. Stalin. In the course of their history, our people have never before felt themselves so closely bound by sincere friendship to any other people as they do to those of the Soviet Union. During the terrible war. Our people saw with what legendary heroism the Red Army fought for the liberation of nations, and they observe how, with every passing day, the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin defend our legitimate rights in the international arena, and how they help the Albanian people to restore their economy and culture.

The Albanian people, and the Government of the Republic representing their will, cherish these lofty sentiments of friendship and sincere affection on the part of the Soviet Union for our country, and will do their utmost to make the relations, and the political, economic and cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and our state a sound reality. The Albanian people are grateful to the Soviet Union and to Generalissimo Stalin for their great friendship towards our country and the assistance they have given it.

With regard to the great British and American peoples, the new government will continue, as in the past, to strengthen friendship with them, and fight against the manoeuvres of the neo-fascists and the international reactionary cliques. Our government has diplomatic and friendly relations with many European countries, such as Yugoslavia, Poland. Czechoslovakia and France, and it will strive to consolidate these good relations. We have been bound by an old friendship with the Bulgarian people, ever since the epoch of the Albanian Renaissance during which they supported and helped our patriots. Our government will

place this friendship on a new, firm basis with the Bulgaria of the Patriotic Front.

The cordial relations established during the war between our people and the Greek people, in opposing the common occupier, have unfortunately been severed; this is not our fault nor that of the Greek working people; the fault lies with the fascists ruling in Athens, who suppress the aspirations of the Greek people and seek to disturb the peace in the Balkans and in Europe. The fascists of Athens and international reaction are playing the most disgraceful and perfidious game against our country. A vast, systematic press and propaganda campaign of slanders and provocations has been directed against an honest nation which fought so hard against fascism and asks only to be allowed to live in peace and freedom in its own territory. Slanders, armed provocations along our borders, abduction of Greek minority women by the Hitos bands⁹ and the shameful, brutal torturing of the mother of the martyr and patriot Thanas Ziko, an elderly Greek minority woman, by the men of Athens, bring great disgrace both on the Greek fascists and on those who help these bandits.

The Albanian people must be well aware what the Greek fascists are demanding. They want nothing less than Gjirokastra and Korça, up to the Shkumbin river, because, they say, this is their land. Moreover, international reaction is helping them in this great farce, since they want Albania to be turned into the private estate of the Albanian war criminals living in the palaces of Rome and Cairo.¹⁰ Every Albanian, young or old, is astonished and enraged to see that, after this terrible war against fascism, there are still people and states who pose as democrats and yet support such a crazy and disgraceful claim as that of the Greek fascists. Can there be a single Albanian who is not revolted

9 Members of terrorist bands in the service of the Greek gendarmerie.

10 Ahmet Zog and his suite resided for a while in Cairo as guests of King Farouk of Egypt.

against such claims? Can there be a single Albanian who does not want to take up arms and defend his homeland against any aggressors, be they Italian, German, or Greek fascists? No, there can be none; the Greek fascists and those backing them must be clear that if anyone dares to shift the markers of our southern border even an inch, blood will be shed, and a bitter experience will be the lot of those who wish to provoke such a thing. The government of Athens, and Mr. Rendis, its foreign minister, try to make the Albanian people responsible for the Italian-Greek war, putting them on the same plane as fascist Italy and, on this basis, demanding reparations. "Albania declared war on Greece," screams fascist Rendis, with the aim of adding weight to his ridiculous thesis of "Northern Epirus." The Albanian people have never declared war on Greece; on the contrary, better than anyone, they fought the Italians and the Albanian quislings, the perpetrators of this crime. The Albanian people sympathized with the Greek people. They attacked the Italian forces and supply convoys heading for the southern front; they fought skirmishes with the Italian carabinieri in the streets. Those few Albanian soldiers who were conscripted by the Italians threw away their arms, deserted, and were either shot or interned by the SIM. Our war against fascist Italy is witnessed by our victims, our burnt out villages, the declarations of the allies, and the testimony of the sons of the Greek people; they saw with their own eyes the firm will of the southern Albanians, who wanted to fight side by side with them against the Italians, but were refused by the commanders of Metaxas' army.¹¹

Let our people clearly understand the perfidity of this argument: the Greek fascists and international reaction accuse our people of a crime they never committed, but which, instead, they opposed with all their might. Now the real authors of this crime are living it up in big hotels in

11 Fascist Greek general, head of the fascist dictatorship in Greece, 1936-1941.

Rome, where certain people vie with each other to offer them fat salaries. The fascists forget the wolf in order to hunt for his tracks. Why do Mr. Rendis and company protect Italian war criminals and Albanian quislings, the instigators of the war against Greece, such as Victor Emmanuel, Shefqet Vërlaci, Mustafa Kruja, Kolë Bibë Miraka, and others?

They are responsible for that base deed against Greece, not the Albanian people. The Albanian people and their true government have never declared war on Greece; on the contrary, they sympathized with the Greek working people and helped them in their efforts for liberation. Mr. Rendis and company protect the war criminals who were responsible for the Italian-Greek War, perhaps in order to repeat the tragic comedy of Mussolini. But the gentlemen in Athens must be well aware that the Albanian people are not like Mussolini's Italian fascists.

The progressive world must put these people in their place, who are endangering peace and the normal and peaceful development of relations between states. Our country wants to live in peace and maintain good relations with everyone, but it will allow no one to trample on its rights; it knows how to defend them heroically, and to triumph.

The Government of the Republic will show the greatest care and affection for its heroic army, which liberated the motherland through bloody battles, and assured its independence and sovereignty. The government will do its utmost to ensure that our people's army, the reliable shield of the independence and territorial integrity of Albania, becomes a really modern army, the symbol of the great affection of our people, who gave birth to it and raised it, amidst so many tempests.

Comrade deputies,

In setting out briefly the tasks of our new government, I wish to stress once more that the happy future of the People's Republic of Albania depends on accomplishing these tasks. We will solve these vital problems by relying on our own material resources. Therefore, it is necessary that the entire Albanian people mobilize themselves and be conscious of the fact that we must make sacrifices and give up many things, until we have overcome the major difficulties. With such mobilization in work where we shall pour out our sweat and demonstrate our skill and consciousness, we shall succeed in building new Albania, as would have been wished by those who fought and fell on the field of honour, in order that Albania may be proud, prosperous, cultured and happy.

**Speech Delivered at the Plenary Session of the Paris Peace
Conference**

21 August, 1946

Mr. Chairman,

Messrs. Delegates,

On behalf of the Albanian people and their government, I greet the Paris Conference, wishing it full success in its noble work.

I feel it my duty also to greet the French government and the heroic French people, and to thank them for their traditional hospitality.

Following this incomparably savage war, during which the civilized nations, their very existence menaced by German Nazism and Italian fascism, threw themselves into the terrible conflict with the single slogan: "Victory or death", we have arrived at this high level conference, which must establish the lasting peace which is so great]y desired. The civilized nations waged a liberation war, and now they are waiting anxiously for this peace to be established in accordance with the principles and ideals for which millions of people gave their lives, in order to ensure mankind a happier future and genuine justice.

The Paris Conference has been convened to work out the peace treaties between the former allied countries and the satellites of Germany, and to put an end to aggression by ensuring sound relations among the peace-loving peoples, eager for freedom, justice, and democracy.

To this end, Albania, too, has been invited to put forward its point of view in relation to the Peace Treaty with Italy. However, Albania considers that the decision not to invite it as a participant in this Conference was unjust. The Albanian people were the first to take up arms against the Italian fascists, who had brought the torch to set Europe ablaze, and they ceased their fight only when Hitlerite Germany was defeated. They deserved greater justice.

The Albanian people, loyal to their fighting traditions for

freedom and independence, and loyal to the end to the allied cause, from April 7, 1939 till the day of victory, never shirked any sacrifice. Albania rendered a major and unstinting contribution in bloodshed for the common cause. Albania's fight earned it the right to participate in this Conference, with the same title and same rights as those of the twenty-one victorious nations.

The small Albanian nation, alone and defenseless, was the first victim of Italian aggression. The fascist Italy of Mussolini attacked our country on April 7, 1939, thus crowning the predatory policy of expansion it had obstinately pursued against our country for half a century.

The civilized world recalls that black Friday in the year 1939, when 173 warships moved into our ports, 600 bombers roared in our skies, and over 50,000 soldiers armed to the teeth hurled themselves like wolves on our small but valiant people. The Italian fascists wanted to capture us, to crush us, to rob us forever of our freedom and independence and enslave us. But Mussolini's fascists were wrong in their reckoning. The Albanians are not the kind of people who endure slavery. Our history is proof of this; our mountains and forests are filled with the echoes of the heroic struggles of our ancestors, who fought fiercely for centuries against their oppressors.

In 1939, while Europe stood by in silence, our country's sons were falling on the field of honour for a just cause which, before long, would become the cause of all mankind.

The Italian fascists might invade our country, but they could never crush us. Our bones were tempered by the suffering that had befallen our country over the centuries.

Completely alone, facing a ruthless enemy, we have kept our head erect in the storm, and have declared war without quarter on the enemy. Our mountains, plains and valleys, our cities and villages testify to the heroic struggle of my people, who are jealous of their independence and freedom, and would rather die arms in hand than bow their heads in servitude.

Fifteen thousand Albanian volunteers fought heroically in Durrës, Vlora, Saranda, and Shëngjin as well as in the interior of

the country, against the hated occupier. But what could this small nation do, with so few arms and so little ammunition, against such an enemy? But, although the country was occupied, our people never considered themselves defeated. With heads held high and unshakable will, we followed the path of suffering and glory. We were sure of victory, for our cause was just.

Following the bloody days of April, the resistance continued and grew; 3,000 armed Albanians took to the mountains, our people's eternal strongholds. The whole people knew the perils and sacrifices of the heroic deed they were undertaking, but at the same time they also knew that their destiny, their very existence, would be decided in those battles. In the towns, bloody skirmishes against the occupiers followed hard one on another; our men fell under the bullets of the enemy's machine-guns as it tried to break our resistance.

From the towns and villages, from the streets and alleys, the Albanian partisans hurled themselves on the enemy to sabotage its military machine, to attack roads, transport, and bridges, blow up munitions depots and to kill spies, officers, and collaborators. It was a ruthless war. The Italians responded with a reign of terror in the towns and villages. The prisons were filled with patriots; dozens of Albanians were hanged and thousands more were exiled to the death islands of Lipari, Ventotene, and elsewhere.

But all this terror, these hangings and shootings, merely increased our people's hatred for the Italian fascists and incited them to fight. When the Italians attacked Greece, the daring and powerful armed actions of the Albanians were a great assistance to the Greek people who were suffering the same fate as ours. We were bound to each other by the same misfortune, caused by our common enemy. Along the roads of Durrës, Tirana, and Gjirokastra, the Albanian partisans attacked Italian military convoys heading for the Greek front.

Clearly seeing the danger threatening them, the Italians and the Albanian quislings redoubled their efforts and stepped up their terror. The mountains were full of partisans, organized in regular formations, who made incessant attacks on the enemy.

In reprisal, hundreds of villages were burned, but we defended the liberated territory inch by inch. The Italians were obliged to take refuge in the towns, because the mountains were not so good for their health. The quisling governments, under Italian domination, fell and were replaced every ten months. The Albanian people made life impossible for both them and their bosses. This showed the great gulf which separated the quislings from the heroic Albanian people.

Following the capitulation of Italy and the occupation of the country by German troops who came from Greece, the Albanian people closed their ranks still tighter because they knew they had to deal with another ferocious, bloodthirsty enemy.

As soon as they entered Albania, the Germans were attacked by our partisan formations along the Perat-Korça highway. Dozens of trucks were set on fire, and hundreds of Germans were killed. As a reprisal, the Germans razed the village of Borova, and murdered everyone in it: women, old men, and children. With the aim of annihilating us, the Germans mounted two great offensives. Four German alpine divisions, expert at fighting partisans, were thrown in against us. We were in the middle of winter, without food, without boots, but the partisans fought bravely and emerged victorious.

When the British and the Americans, our allies, landed in France, we were fighting furiously against four German divisions. We felt proud, in this bloody clash, to be doing our duty towards the allies and the friendly French people.

The war of the Albanian people against the Germans was crowned with the heroic battle of Tirana, where we fought day and night for 19 days on end, from street to street, from house to house, liberating every inch of our capital, sacrificing our best fighters, but killing thousands of Germans. The remnants of the German army tried to get through to help their besieged garrison in Tirana, but they were wiped out at Krraba Pass. The National Liberation Army had received from our General Staff a firm order not to let the Germans cross Albania's borders, but to annihilate them on Albanian territory.

This was how we understood the great anti-fascist

alliance, this was how we understood loyalty towards the allied cause.

The pursuit of the German troops outside our borders, in the Yugoslav territory of Montenegro, Sandjak, and Hercegovina, is another clear proof for those who really want to know and have the heart to feel how great the sacrifices of our small nation were.

For more than five years the Albanian people fought the Italian and German fascist occupiers as well as their Albanian lackeys. Organized in the National Liberation Front, they fought an unequal but decisive war. Facing hunger and cold, but armed with courage and unshakable confidence in their own forces and in those of the allies, they marched forward boldly towards their objective, the liberation of Albania and the destruction of fascism.

Albania became a bastion of the struggle for freedom and independence. Our liberation war was soon recognized abroad. In December 1942 Messrs. Eden, Hull, and Molotov sent their congratulations to the Albanian people for their resistance, which ensured their independence, and contributed to the common struggle.

The National Liberation Army, which arose from the first partisan units, was organized and consolidated through fierce battles, and became a strong and valiant army. It crushed the enemy's military machine and seized the weapons, with which it triumphed. It successfully coped with the great offensives organized by the Italians and the Germans, who tried to crush our National Liberation War. The enemy suffered heavy losses during these offensives, whereas our army emerged ever stronger and more tempered. Our war was essentially a people's war, inseparable from the people; it was their sole means of salvation. The fascist and Nazi occupiers resorted to the blackest terror in order to alienate the people from the just liberation war; thousands of people were murdered or hanged in the towns and villages; more than 300 were gunned down in broad daylight in Korça, Tirana and Vlora, during the protest demonstrations against the occupation, 10,000 Albanians were thrown into Albanian prisons, into the concentration camps of Porto Romano, Mborje, Burrel, Kavaja and Prishtina, as well as the death camps in Germany,

because of their anti-fascist sentiments and activities.

They burned down and drowned in blood entire towns, such as Leskovik, Pogradec, Saranda and Përmet, and whole regions, such as Mallakastra, Kurvelesh, Peza and Skrapar, were laid waste and suffered savage reprisals at the hands of the fascist and Nazi soldiers. But, despite these things the Albanian people themselves, with their incessant war, and with great sacrifices, liberated the whole of their country with their own forces.

The following figures clearly show the size of our resistance on the eve of the liberation of Albania: our National Liberation Army had 70,000 fighters in its ranks, including 6,000 women. Italy was obliged to maintain over 100,000 soldiers in Albania, and Germany over 70,000 to counter our resistance forces.

The sacrifices of our people were very great. Out of a population of one million, 28,000 were killed, 12,600 wounded, 10,000 were made political prisoners in Italy and Germany, and 35,000 made to do forced labour; of the 2,500 towns and villages of Albania, 850 were ruined or razed to the ground; all the communications, all the ports, mines and electric power installations were destroyed, our agriculture and livestock were plundered, and our entire national economy was wrecked.

On the other side, the enemy suffered these losses: 53,639 Italians and Germans were killed, wounded or taken prisoner, about 100 tanks and armoured cars knocked out, 1,334 artillery pieces and mortars, 1,934 trucks and 2,855 machine-guns captured or destroyed, not to mention the rifles, munitions, and stores destroyed or captured.

The allies appreciated our contribution to the common cause. In June 1943, they sent military liaison missions to the General Staff of our National Liberation Army, and dropped supplies by parachute. I want to mention here some of the heads of these missions: the Englishmen Major Bill Mclean, Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer, and General Davies, the American Captain Thomas Stephen, and the Russian Major Ivanov. From 1944 an Albanian military mission was accredited at the Allied Mediterranean High Command in Italy. The allied leaders have

often acknowledged our people's contribution to the common cause. Mr. Winston Churchill, answering a question in the House of Commons on November 4, 1943, declared:

"Thousands of Albanians are fighting in their mountains for the freedom and independence of their country and, according to the reports of the British military mission in Albania, they are carrying out brilliant actions."

Mr. Cordell Hull, on the occasion of Albanian National Day, November 28, 1943, in a letter to Mr. Charles Hart, ex-ambassador of the United States of America to Albania, and President of the "Friends of Albania" Association, wrote:

"The Government and the people of the United States have always been aware of the struggle of the Albanian people to safeguard the integrity and independence of their own country.

We have followed closely, with sympathy and admiration, their resistance against fascist Italy, as well as their patriotic determination to defend their national sovereignty. Today these valiant fighters are continuing their war, fighting the Nazi enemy, like all those who love freedom, as we do ourselves.

On November 28, 1912 the Albanians proclaimed their independence. Today, on the anniversary of this date, they could hope for the complete fulfillment of their great objective.

Although the Albanians do not have a government abroad to express their national aspirations, we see in their national will the ideals and principles which inspire us and our allies, as well as the desire to carry on the war until Nazism is totally wiped out."

Mr. Hull's successor, Mr. Edward Stettinius, on May 22, 1945, sent me the following message:

"I am well aware of the incessant war the Albanian people have waged against the aggressor, and I fully appreciate the sacrifices they have made to achieve the liberation of their country, and their contribution to the attainment of the ultimate victory against the common enemy. . . I want to assure you of the sympathy and friendship the people of the United States cherish for Albania and its people, and I know that in the future Albania will make the same important contribution to the cause of peace

as it has made to the achievement of victory".

The General Commander of the allied forces in the Mediterranean, Maitland Wilson, wrote me these words on the October 12, 1944:

"I have watched with admiration the way your National Liberation Army has fulfilled its tasks, in its brilliant attacks on our common enemy, for our common goal".

I could, gentlemen, also cite a great number of documents demonstrating how much our efforts were appreciated by the allies. But the brave deeds of our people do not need documents. They speak for themselves: when the aeroplane in which they were traveling was damaged, 13 American women were obliged to land in German-occupied territory. Those women let the whole world know about the sacrifices and selflessness of the Albanian partisans who risked certain death to save them from the Germans' clutches. As the New Zealand and Australian airmen whom our men rescued from the German shells were leaving our Staff Headquarters, they shook hands with me and said:

"Our wives and children will be grateful to you for saving our lives."

But our partisans were merely doing their duty by their comrades-in-arms and allies.

With the aim of distorting history and denying facts that are as plain as day, great efforts are being made to prevent those who fought heroically for the common cause from being treated equally. A great deal has been said at this high level Conference about defending the interests of the small nations, but in reality the opposite has occurred as far as our people are concerned. The Albanian people, few in number but mighty in terms of the deeds they have done, should have been present now, at this Conference, with the same rights as the other victorious nations, rights for which they have paid very dear.

The Albanian people feel offended at being put on the same plane as Austria, which did not fire a single shot against the Germans, but on the contrary, sent its soldiers to murder our women and children, and burn out towns and villages, in

collaboration with the Germans.

No one can deny the Albanian people's loyalty to the allies and the great anti-fascist cause. All those who try to prove the contrary, using false arguments, will make themselves ridiculous and suffer a great defeat.

The Albanian people come proudly to this Peace Conference convinced that they have completely fulfilled their duty as allies. Albania appears here to claim its right to reparations and to demand justice from Italy, which set it ablaze and drowned it in blood, and to dictate its will as a victor, so that Italy may no longer represent a threat to peace in the world, or to the independence and sovereignty of my country.

However, before stating the viewpoint of my country on this question, I feel it my duty to answer the false accusations of Mr. Tsaldaris, the head of the Greek delegation, accusations and claims that he has formulated against Albania at various earlier sessions of this Conference.

Mr. Tsaldaris tries to prove that Albania is not an allied country, that Albania attacked Greece, and consequently, is in a state of war with Greece. On the other hand, Mr. Tsaldaris lays claim to South Albania, pretending that it is Greek territory and belongs by right to Greece.

On the question of whether Albania is an allied country and whether it has fully deserved this title, Mr. Tsaldaris has our reply in the words I have just spoken. The Albanian people contemptuously reject the vile accusations of the Greek delegate, who labels my country an aggressor. The Albanian people have never attacked the honest Greek people, and have never declared war on them. On the contrary, they sympathized with their cause, which was also the cause of the Albanian people, since both nations had suffered the same fate and had to deal with the same enemy.

The Albanian people demonstrated, not only during the anti-fascist war, but also during the First World War, their determination to fight Italian imperialism, which had its eye on our land and resources. Between the Albanian people and the

Italian fascists, a terrible and merciless war was waged. That is why Mr. Tsaldaris will not succeed in convincing anybody, even the stupid, with his "famous" arguments; Mr. Tsaldaris should demand a settlement of accounts from fascist Italy for its disgraceful attack against his country, and not from us. He should call to account the war criminal Victor Emmanuel, not the Albanian people, who were invaded by the same enemy as Greece, and who, like the Greek people, fought furiously for their independence and sovereignty.

It would be ridiculous to think that, by a paltry decree, Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, could lay the blame on the Albanian people who waged a merciless war against Italy right from the first days of the occupation, and who even made an attempt against the king's life during his only visit to Albania, in May 1941. Mr. Tsaldaris uses the declaration of war on the part of the Albanian quisling Vërlaci as an argument to defend his thesis. The Albanian people lumped the occupiers and quislings together, and made no distinction between them. The Albanian quislings, like all the other quislings of Europe, have nothing in common with our people. They were the filthiest enemies of the people and, as such, have been fought consistently. The Albanian quislings were not able to muster more than a few weak battalions against the liberation army and the allies, whereas the Albanian people rose as one man against the oppressor and the traitors. That is the difference between our people and the quislings. Would Mr. Tsaldaris like to know in addition what the Albanian people did with those quislings. Just this: they wiped them out, all of them, and thus they paid with their lives for the crimes they committed. And if he wants to know more about the fate of their associates in the war, who fled with the German troops, he should know that these criminals may be found in the best hotels in Rome, the city from which the planes which so cravenly bombed Albanian and Greek women and children took off.

I would like to ask Mr. Tsaldaris: why does he not mention the quislings of Europe who so gravely damaged the allied cause, and in particular, those quislings who, after having committed horrible crimes, now walk freely in the streets? Why is it that Mr. Tsaldaris dare not confuse the other European quislings

with their respective nations?

I would like to remind you that during the Italian-Greek War, some hundreds Albanian soldiers, forced into service by the Italians, rose against them and made common cause with the Greek people; some deserted and went over to the Greek troops, to fight alongside them, but they were treated as prisoners of war and sent to Crete, where during the German landing, they fought valiantly beside the British soldiers. Some joined the Albanian partisans, while others were disarmed by the Italians, withdrawn from the front, confined to the Shijak concentration camp, and court-martialled for "high treason".

On December 22, 1940, the Reuter news agency sent out the following item from Manastir:

"The Albanian soldiers, forcibly conscripted into the Italian army, yesterday rebelled in a sector of the Italian rear-lines, causing the enemy heavy losses before being captured. Some have taken to the hills, and are continuing to offer resistance."

On December 4, 1940, the "Anatole" news agency reported from Athens that "an Italian general taken prisoner by the Greeks has declared that the Italian army is suffering heavy losses because of the defection of the Albanians."

Mussolini himself, in a letter to Hitler on November 22, 1940, tried to justify the Italian losses in the same way.

Here is what Badoglio says in his memoirs:

"The campaign has begun. The entire world knows of its progress. The Greek troops in Epirus are resisting valiantly on the Calamas river, while the Albanian bands and troops which were part of our divisions have either betrayed us, sabotaging our operations, or have gone over to the Greeks."

The newspaper "Le Figaro", in its issue No. 588 of July 4, 1946, referring to the Italian-Greek war, writes:

"The Albanian partisan detachments, for their part, attacked Italian convoys and troops on the roads leading to the front."

On October 26, 1940, the BBC broadcast:

"We are informed from Albania that Albanian partisan units,

operating behind the Italian lines, are cutting and sabotaging lines of communication, sowing terror among cut-off Italian detachments. Armed groups have succeeded in entering the capital and have posted proclamations on all the government buildings, and even on the palace of the Italian government, calling on the Italians to get out of Albania."

Likewise on January 4, 1941 the AA (BBC) broadcast:

"In military circles it is pointed out that the Albanians are giving the Greeks great aid against the Italians."

But along with his lying accusations against the Albanian people, perhaps Mr. Tsaldaris should give us here some explanation of these questions:

1. Does he also consider as aggressors, as he does Albania, the various nations of Europe, whose quislings not only sent battalions but even organized entire expeditions against the heroic Red Army, which was an example of heroism and valour to all nations and, at the same time, their surest support? It is difficult for him to answer this question.
2. Does Mr. Tsaldaris perhaps consider France, from which Hitler intended to launch his offensive against England, to be an aggressor country? He will find it difficult to answer this question too.
3. Mr. Tsaldaris thinks that he can say what he likes against tiny Albania, but he is mistaken. His worthless arguments will not hold water.

No, the Albanian people have never been and never will be aggressors, and do not pose any threat to the Greek people, as Mr. Tsaldaris claims. The attacks on our country by the chief Greek delegate and his claims that it is we who are causing trouble remind us of one of Lafontaine's fables. We have always lived in harmony with the Greek people, with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder against the Italian and German fascist occupiers.

During our anti-fascist war, the Albanian people established links of sincere friendship with their neighbours, the

Yugoslav and Greek peoples.

In the light of these facts, the Greek accusations are seen for what they really are: lies devoid of any foundation. But has Mr. Tsaldaris so quickly forgotten the fact that the Greek quislings, together with the Germans, often fought against the Albanians, and are responsible for a thousand atrocities?

Here are some facts:

1. On September 8, 1943, the day of Italy's capitulation, the Germans, coming from the Sajadha region and guided by a Zervas captain named Vitos, entered Konispol and burnt down more than 50 houses. During the great 1943-1944 winter offensive launched by the Germans against our National Liberation Army, the German troops, together with Zervas bands, came to Albania from Greece, and set fire to the Zagoria and Pogon regions.
2. Other Zervas bands, together with the Germans, fought against the Albanian partisans in January 1944, and set fire to the villages of Krane and Dermish, as well as the houses of all the partisans from the Greek minority of Dropull, while in February 1944 these bands burned down the village of Dhrovjan.
3. During the other large-scale offensive unleashed by the Germans in June 1944, Zervas forces again came, together with the German troops from Greece, crossing the border at Voshtina, and set fire to everything in the Zagoria region they had left the first time. Each time the Germans came from Greece to attack the forces of the National Liberation Army, their main support was the armed bands of the Greek quisling, General Napoleon Zervas.

The Greek delegation has claimed that the present Albanian government is pursuing a policy of denationalizing the Greek minority in Albania.

Gentlemen, the Greek minority in Albania, consisting of 35,000 people, fought shoulder to shoulder with all the Albanian people against the fascist and Nazi occupiers, and against the

Albanian and Greek quislings. Today in the People's Republic of Albania it enjoys equal rights with the Albanian population. It has 79 Greek language schools, one Greek language secondary school, has its own autonomous local administration, just like the Albanian population, and sends representatives to the People's Assembly; there are also citizens of the Greek minority in the army and the government.

On the other hand, I do not know if the honourable delegates are aware of the terror exercised against the Albanian minority in Greece. Of the 60,000 Albanians left in Greece according to the Treaty of London, from 1913 to 1923, 35,000 Albanians were forcibly transferred to Turkey as "Turkish subjects" in exchange for Greeks from Asia Minor; contrary to the solemn pledges made by Greece, the Greek governments have always pursued a policy of exterminating the Albanian minority in Greece, and have never recognized that it had any rights. In June 1944 and March 1945, the armed bands of the quisling General Napoleon Zervas tried to wipe out the remaining Albanians: they set their villages on fire, plundered their property, and killed thousands of men and women, old people and children. More than 20,000 Albanians who managed to escape fled to Albania where, although they are assisted by the Albanian government and people, they live in great poverty.

But the real aim of all these allegations by the Greek delegate is to take two regions from Albania, those of Korça and Gjirokastra, which have always been among the most ardent centres of Albanian patriotism, both during the long Turkish occupation and during the National Liberation War against the Italian and German occupiers. These aims reflect the old policy of the protagonists of the "Megale idea", that is to say, Greek imperialist expansion over the entire Balkan region, an idea which has also germinated in the heads of the present Greek rulers. In fact these people, with their claims on Albania, their daily provocations on our borders, and their intrigues, like the proposal Mr. Tsaldaris made to the Yugoslav delegate that Albania be partitioned between Yugoslavia and Greece, are trying to disturb the peace in the Balkans.

Gentlemen, we consider it to be out of place and

unacceptable for this Conference to examine the question of the territorial integrity of Albania. The Albanian people, few in number, but great in the sacrifices they made for the common cause, are not here to discuss their borders, but to express and demand their rights.

We solemnly declare that within our present borders there is not one inch of foreign soil, and that we will never permit anyone to encroach upon them, for to us they are sacred.

ALBANIA AND THE PEACE TREATY WITH ITALY

Honourable delegates, Italy is fully responsible for the losses and damage caused to the Albanian people during this war. The capitulation of September 8, 1943, put an end to the aggression and infamy of fascist Italy, but we demand, in the name of the thousands who have fallen, and because of the misfortunes inflicted on our country by Italy — that the Peace Treaty put an end, once and for all, to the aggressive and imperialist policy of Italy.

Albania has suffered much at the hands of fascist Italy, but it has also suffered at the hands of pre-fascist Italy, of so-called democratic Italy, and many signs and expressions of the present Italian government warn of the continuation of the same Italian policy towards Albania, that is to say, a policy of domination and occupation.

Present-day Italy is sheltering all the Albanian war criminals who managed to escape their just punishment by the people. There they have found an appropriate field for their propaganda and plots against new democratic Albania. The Italian war criminals, responsible for the aggression against Albania and the countless sufferings they caused the Albanian people, are at large, and even filling important posts. In March 1946 at Bari, the Italian fascists killed an Albanian sergeant from the Albanian military mission attached to the Allied Mediterranean High Command. In speeches made during the election campaign last spring, statesmen of the present Italian government expressed greedy intentions towards Albania's independence, and even here, among the members of the Italian delegation, there are men who

were Mussolini's faithful agents in imposing Italy's will on Albania, in occupying and martyring our nation.

The Albanian delegation has carefully studied the draft-peace treaty with Italy, and expresses its gratitude to the Council of Foreign Ministers which, during the elaboration of this treaty, has not passed over Albania's interests in silence. Nevertheless it takes the liberty today of making some suggestions about this treaty, reserving the right to express its views in detail before the competent commissions on specific questions whenever it sees fit.

Albania demands that the Peace Treaty give it strong guarantees avoiding any future recurrence of Italian imperialist policy of aggression towards Albania, depriving Italy of any possibility of repeating the past, both that of the period before April 7, 1939 and after, and of presenting claims of any kind against Albania.

For this reason the Albanian delegation takes the liberty of suggesting some improvements:

1. The Albanian delegation estimates that the military forces — land, sea and air — permitted to Italy allow it to threaten the peace and security of its neighbours and the Balkan countries. Albania is of the opinion that these forces should be further reduced so as to make it impossible for Italy to endanger peace, thus permitting us to live and work in security.
2. The Albanian delegation wishes to make an observation about a very important clause in this treaty, which is closely connected with the economic development of Albania. I am referring to the section on reparations for war damage. The Council of Foreign Ministers has left it to the Conference to decide on the reparation demands presented by France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania and Ethiopia. In his speech, Signor de Gasperi, although somewhat hesitantly, tried to absolve his country from the just obligations it has incurred from fascism through its criminal aggression.

Gentlemen, for 54 months on end, the Italian occupiers, fully

aware of their actions and pursuing well-determined aims, plundered our land and subsoil resources, our agriculture and livestock, reduced our cities and villages to ashes in order to alienate the people from their just liberation cause, and transformed our peaceful country into a battlefield, thus causing incalculable damage to our national economy. Thousands of patriots were killed, tortured, jailed or confined in concentration camps, plunging thousands of mothers, wives and children into mourning.

Italy is responsible to Albania for losses and damages amounting to a sum of 3,544,232,626 gold francs.

The Albanian delegation will present its reparation demands in detail, as well as the necessary amendments to the treaty, but as of now, it demands, as an indisputable right, that the Peace Treaty define the sum which Italy should pay to Albania as well as the conditions of payment.

3. From what has been said, it is clear that the Peace Treaty with Italy is of particular importance to Albania.

There are also other important points, which I do not want to elaborate on here, such as the articles on war criminals, on the restitution of stolen property, on the property of the citizens of the allied nations in Italy, besides some details, which are, nevertheless, not unimportant, and which directly concern our country.

This treaty provided Albania with rights and obligations of great importance. They are closely connected with its independence, its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and its economic and political future. Nevertheless, the Albanian delegation is forced to observe that, despite all that has been said already and despite the fact that Albania, through its contribution to the common war, has aligned itself, body and soul, with the victorious allied nations, the Peace Treaty with Italy in the draft form presented to us today does not guarantee Albania all the rights it is properly entitled to (is this not a legal paradox?), and does not permit it to sign this treaty as a contracting party, because it is not considered as an associated power.

The Albanian delegation expressed the hope that the Conference will eventually accept the following amendment, to be numbered "Article 26 a" in Part II, Section V, or added to the Foreword, which would eliminate a series of misunderstandings and a source of continuous interventions on the part of our delegation.

The amendment we suggest is as follows:

Article 26 a - "In the implementation of this treaty, Albania is considered as an associated power".

I want to emphasize that the Albanian delegation reserves the right to expound its views to the plenary session of the Conference, as well as to the competent commissions, whenever it sees fit to intervene on the question of the Peace Treaty with Italy.

The Albanian delegation feels duty bound to present its just demands towards Italy so that the latter ceases to pose a continuous threat to small, peace-loving Albania, pays compensation for the damage it has caused, returns everything it has taken by force, and hands over the Albanian and foreign war criminals who have found asylum in Italy and are wanted by the Albanian government.

The People's Republic of Albania will be happy to maintain normal relations with a new and genuinely democratic Italy, which honours its international obligations, keeps within its natural borders, and respects those of others, an Italy that is not a lair of neo-fascists and war criminals of all countries, or a new hot-bed of aggression, but is disposed to cooperate with other democratic countries for peace and collective security.

Albania has spared nothing for the common victory. It is also determined that, side by side with its wartime allies and with all the democratic countries, it will make its contribution to the establishment of a just peace and collective security.

The Albanian delegation will be happy if this modest contribution to the present Conference helps in carrying out this difficult task.

Speech Delivered to the People's Assembly on the Opening of the 3rd Regular Session of the 1st Legislature

12 July, 1947

Comrade Deputies,

In the name of the government and on my own behalf I convey our greetings and heartily wish you success in the proceedings of this important parliamentary session.

As you know, in the present session of the People's Assembly, the government is presenting you with a number of important draft-laws dealing with all the economic, social and cultural activity of our country; in the first place, the draft-law on the financial budget for the current year 1947, the general state plan for 1947, and many others. Of course, these draft-laws call for the greatest attention and speedy approval by the People's Assembly.

Before the proceedings of the session begin, I wish, on my behalf and in the name of the government I have the honour to head, to explain to the representatives of the people in the Assembly our government's policy on the work of building our country in all fields of economic, social, cultural and other activity, on the achievement of this important work in the past and in the immediate future, on the clear perspective our people should have, and on the important tasks facing the organs of state power and all our people, which should be carried out as well and quickly as possible, for on this depends our advance towards building socialism in our country, which means building a prosperous, happy life full of freedom and dignity for the working people of Albania.

Power lies firmly in the hands of the people, as a result of the heroic struggle for liberation and our great people's revolution; this is the guarantee for the building of a happy future for our people. It was for this that the broad masses of the Albanian people fought, it was for this that the workers, peasants and patriotic intellectuals of Albania fought, united as one. This firm alliance was formed in the National Liberation War, and its primary result, the seizure of power by the people, was also

achieved through the National Liberation War. Preserving and consolidating daily these two results of the war, our people and their government forged ahead to realize and further develop their program, the basic principles of which were fixed by the people from the time when they took to the mountains, and fought rifle in hand against fascism and the traitors to the country. The question of the transition of power into the hands of the people is the most important question, and this will solve correctly and well all the problems of our country. The people and all our cadres should understand this well.

Here too lies the reason that the fascist aggressors provoked this great holocaust. Their aim was to establish everywhere the fascist dictatorship, the most ruthless dictatorship of capital, in order to suppress all freedom, to oppress the peoples and enslave them forever, so that the monopoly trusts would be victorious. The question of state power is also an object of concern to imperialism and world reaction. They are seeking to seize power from the hands of the people who have already succeeded in assuming power, and to replace it with a formal democratic power which would not be in the hands of the people but in the hands of a minority of individual allegedly better qualified, and able to protect and control the interests of the people better than the people themselves. This was the objective of the Albanian traitors of the final hour, to whom I will refer later on. All their efforts were directed towards overthrowing the people's state power and, using the terms of a false and formal democracy, they sought to replace the will of the people with the hateful arbitrary power of the beys, big landowners and rich merchants, all in the service of foreign reaction. The people should never forget for a moment the question of state power, they should be on their guard and hold it firmly in their hands, improving and consolidating it.

With the establishment of our people's state power, we began immediately after the liberation of Albania to take all the necessary measures to build the country devastated by the war, to nationalize all the property that had been plundered from the people, to nationalize all the factories and mines, which served the rich in order to work the working people to death, and to compel

all the speculators to give back to the people everything they had extorted from them, and we began to set up a new economy on a new basis. There is no need for me to repeat here what you all have seen and experienced yourselves, to speak of the great enthusiasm of the people for the adoption of these initial measures, their great drive, self-denial and heroism, and their all-out mobilization for the reconstruction of the country. Roads and bridges were repaired, and factories destroyed during the war were rebuilt. The Kuçova and Patos oil-fields, the copper and chromium mines were reconstructed, the houses burnt down during the war were rebuilt, and life began to take its normal course. Through these important measures we set up the state sector of the economy which became stronger all the time, and today we may say that we have a large state sector, which is the sector of socialist production. At the same time, along with the state sector, we created a network of various cooperatives which are continually developing and exercising control and discipline over the private sector. This control and discipline do not limit production and the development of economy in general, but check speculation, anarchy and all those things that impede the general development of the economy of our country.

It is clear, and we could say that, we have been able to solve the economic problems and to strengthen our economy much better than the former regimes. We have accomplished this within a relatively short time and under very difficult situations, caused by the war. We have achieved important successes in all fields of the activity of our state.

The sectors of industry which had been destroyed have been all re-established and are operating at full capacity, producing more than before. For instance, the production of crude oil is 161.1% over 1938 production, 463.2% over 1945 production, and 217.3% over that of 1946; the production of refined bitumen is 162.8% over 1938 production, 1,097% over 1945, and 155.6% over 1946; the production of leather is 900% over 1938 production, 2,600% over 1945, and 400% over 1946, that of cement is 115.5% above 1938 production, 588% over 1945, 231% over 1946; that of timber is 833%, 257%, 261%. The handicraft industry has been re-established and encouraged. All

the bridges destroyed during the war, totalling a length of 5,547 meters, have been rebuilt, new bridges totalling 240 meters have been constructed, all the wharves of our seaports destroyed during the war have been rebuilt, 2,000 kilometres of the road network have been improved and 202 kilometres of new roads have been built, including the Kukës-Peshkopia road built by the youth, 7,852 houses burnt down during the war have been rebuilt, and the State has built 530 new school buildings. Telecommunication lines have been repaired and new lines set up. All the telegraph and telephone stations have been rebuilt.

Education and culture have made great progress in our country. Suffice it for me to draw some comparisons with the pre-war state of education.

During the 1938-39 school year our country had 643 primary schools attended by 52,024 pupils, whereas today, during the 1946-47 school year, we have 1,609 primary schools attended by 134,524 pupils.

Compulsory school attendance¹ throughout Albania has been achieved 87%. Today we have 34 upper elementary and 10 secondary schools which are attended by thousands and thousands of our boys and girls. I don't intend to speak here about the number of pre-school institutions, or schools for adult education, where more than 26,000 people are taught in over a thousand classes. The campaign against illiteracy is making rapid progress. In order to wipe out illiteracy in Albania, the government, with the aid of the entire Democratic Front, will try its utmost to have about 60,000 people learn to read and write every year. Thus, within a few years illiteracy in Albania will have been wiped out.

Hundreds of students attend courses in various branches of the Teacher Training Institute which has been opened this year in Tirana, hundreds of students are attending university in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and elsewhere, and hundreds of others will be sent abroad on state scholarships to study science in various universities. The number of public libraries in our country is increasing, as well as the number of books they contain; the

1 According to the Law on Compulsory Primary Education, which came into effect in August 1946, primary education became compulsory for all children over 7 years of age.

cinema, theater, music and sports are developing rapidly in a correct way.

One of the principal problems which our people's state power had to solve was that of land, of land reform. The peasants had to be given the land, because it belonged to them, it was their own, for they tilled it. And the land reform has been completed. The implementation of the land reform laws totally changed the ratio of ownership of land, which now appears as follows:

Land owned by the state has been reduced from 18.71% to 5.03%; land owned by religious communities has been reduced from 1.26% to 0.20%; large and medium estates have been reduced from 52.43% to 16.38%; land belonging to small owners has increased from 28.07% to 43.17%; land belonging to the rural proletariat has increased from 0% to 34.63%.

The land reform laws benefited 29,400 semi-proletarian families, 18,219 established local proletarian families, 1,902 newly-settled proletarian families, and 19,218 peasant families who already possessed some land. The peasants of Albania were liberated once and for all from the yoke of the beys, the agas and their administrators. The blood they shed in the struggle for liberation was not shed in vain: the people's state power turned their age-long dream into reality. Our peasant, bowed down by centuries of suffering, stood up, and with a song on his lips and faith in his state power, is working on his own land for his own benefit. Just what immediate effect the land reform laws had, you will understand from two figures, which I shall quote: in 1938, the area of land under cultivation in Albania was 221,030 hectares, while this year the area under cultivation is 305,000 hectares. These are the initial effects of the implementation of the land reform laws. You can see for yourselves how profound are the consequences of the people's great revolution, how grand and immortal are the reforms of our people's state power.

In addition to carrying out its land reform, our state power, immediately after liberation, attached primary importance to the sector of land improvement. During these two years, excluding the Maliq lands, we have improved various lands covering an area of 6,764 hectares, by opening a total of 125

kilometres of drainage canals. During the same period, an additional 22 kilometres of irrigation canals have been opened, to irrigate 8,316 hectares of land. The completion of these projects will help to increase agricultural production.

A further success of our people's state power in the economic field is the question of cooperatives. Cooperatives did not exist in our country in the past. They came into being as a consequence of the major economic, social and political transformations that have occurred in our country thanks to the National Liberation War. Within a short period of nearly one year more than 317 cooperatives of various kinds have been set up; consumer and peasants' cooperatives, buying and selling cooperatives, handicraft cooperatives, cooperatives of working peasants and fishermen, etc. The consumer cooperatives which are functioning in our country today include 40,100 members with 180,000 dependents, representing 75% of the population of the towns where they function. Looking at these and many other tangible achievements, many may ask how these achievements and successes have been realized with such meager financial means, with insufficient technical equipment and in a country in which the war had wrought such havoc. They have been attained thanks to the great vigor of our people, the creative efforts of the broad masses, the correct and consistent policy of our people's power, the mobilization of the entire people in building the country, the heroic selfless struggle for reconstruction and the courage and tireless efforts of our cadres, which all made it possible to overcome obstacles and hardships and achieve these results. Is there any bastion that can resist the force of a united and heroic people such as ours? No, there is none. Only those who were opposed to the good of the people sneered from the start, vent their spleen and preached and worked to try to bring about the speedy downfall of our people's power. They posed as proficient financiers and economists and capable scientists and scholars, they claimed that they were predestined to buy hides, and engage in other trades and to make millions at the expense of our people, to speculate on the blood of the people, become spies and sell off their country to the foreigners. We do not deny them this proficiency, but under our regime the people do not allow them to take the reins of power in their hands, but send them to

the rope or to prison to bring them to their senses.

All these successes achieved so far will be the basis for us to advance continually forward. New forms of organization are now being applied to meet the substantial changes in our economy. From now on, we will have a planned economy, and this road will lead us to socialism. Our whole life should be devoted to the building of socialism in our country, because this is the only way for the face of Albania to be completely transformed, for its people to see better days, and for their life to be a life of happiness and freedom. This is the only way to wipe out misery, misfortune and ignorance, to strengthen love for our families and for one another, and to raise up a new man with new concepts, who will cherish his homeland as the apple of his eye, who will be devoted to his land. His factory and the work where he sheds his sweat, who will love other nations and respect and defend their freedom like that of his own country. This is the road our people are fully determined to build, a road at variance with that of the capitalist system where anarchy and chaos rule, where the iron heel of the trusts and monopolies dominates, hunger, misery and misfortune abound, unemployment and the exploitation of the working class and of all the working people are the law, ignorance and corruption are rife, all human freedoms are mercilessly trampled underfoot, and men prey on their fellow men, a system which spawns war.

We have all the conditions to proceed along our road; we should mobilize all the people's energies and set to work with ten times greater efforts.

The 1947 financial budget and the general state plan for 1947 will enable us to build a planned economy. We will be helped by the standardization of prices which allows us to plan state accumulation and does not leave the law of value to spontaneity, but guides the new structure and method of fixing and applying prices, and by the placing of wages and salaries on a correct basis, i.e. he who works more and better gets higher pay when everything is taken into account: ability, work productivity, difficulties of the place of work, etc. All these will enable us to build our economy according to plan.

Now we are presenting our 1947 budget and plan for nine months. As you will notice in the budget, the total sum of expenditure is 3,758,756,900 leks. This also includes the local budget in which expenditure is 550,263,085 leks. Expenditure is wholly balanced by income.

In conformity with the state budget, considerable investments are envisaged in the state plan, especially in the financing of the economy. The total sum of investments in the economic sector is over 1.5 billion leks, more than 40% of the budget. The principal investments will go to our mines, to our new and old industry, to agriculture which takes up 12.55%, to public works (12.04%), and railways (23.6%). More than 8% of the budget will go to education and culture, and 3% to health.

As you can see for yourselves, our economy is advancing and growing stronger from year to year. With the application of the five-year plan, which the government is drawing up and will submit to the People's Assembly in the very near future,² our economy will be further strengthened in a progressive way. Our industry will be improved and expanded, the development of our mines will be a source of enrichment for our country, and all its resources will be used on an ever wider scale to improve the life of our people. This year we will build the Durrës-Elbasan railway. This network will be extended during the coming years.

Significant measures will be taken to improve and develop our agriculture, and investments will be made for important land improvement schemes.

All this will raise the living standard of our people, and we are already having good results. Only a few days ago, the government decided to raise and systematize wages and salaries, as I mentioned previously. At the same time it decided to raise the bread ration for all categories of working people. These are achievements which have their basis in our people's power, in the

2 Upon orders of the CC of the CPA, the government of the PRA started to draw up a five-year plan aimed to create and develop a national economy, the electric reticulation of the country, and develop agriculture along socialist lines. It relied mainly on our own resources, and on the aid of the Soviet Union and other people's democracies. This plan did not find application due to the brutal intervention of the Yugoslav revisionists in the internal affairs of our Party and country.

people's correct understanding of the policy of our state power and of the Democratic Front, and in the broad participation and heroism of our people in the construction of our new economy and a better life.

The realization of our plans, and the creation of a happy and prosperous life depend on our efforts, on everyone understanding well and carrying out scrupulously all the tasks which confront us. First of all, such a huge task cannot be accomplished without the participation of all the people, both young and old, without the total mobilization of all the energies of the broad masses of the people. This should be our first concern, and the concern of the entire Democratic Front. But the people as a whole will be mobilized when they are clear about the tasks confronting them, when they are correctly led, and correctly taught how to carry out the tasks, which will have the immediate result of improving their life. They must see these improvements in practice, they must experience them and be convinced. The people will be wholly mobilized and put all their efforts into carrying out these important tasks, when they become the primary factor in realizing these achievements, when they exercise control over them and implement their great law and justice in everything. If these things are not clear, no progress can be made. All these things are done for the people and carried out with the people. Anyone who thinks and acts otherwise is wrong, and is not on the consistent road of our progressive democracy.

In order to accomplish these projects properly and carry out our plan it is necessary to put all our efforts into consolidating and modernizing our people's power, and to do away with any shortcomings that may have occurred up to now. The state power should shake off any inertia, and any excessive or restrictive bureaucracy. It should assert itself in the village and in the locality, and not have merely administrative functions. The broad masses of people should take part in it on a large scale. The countryside plays an important role in the development of our economy, and the state power there should be stronger and have a more popular character. Our people's power should be improved all the time, so that it can carry out the great task assigned to it under the different circumstances and conditions created by the

development of our country. In this, a major task falls upon our state employees, whose ability will be shown when they are able to adopt new forms, compatible with the spirit of the Constitution of the State and the rules and regulations in power, so as to carry out better the tasks that lie before them.

The exact implementation of our plan depends on a good grasp of the tasks by all the state functionaries charged with carrying out our plan, and by all the workers, peasants and intellectuals of our country. All the tasks laid down in our plan are closely linked with one another, coordinated by, and conditional on, one another. Procrastination in one work sector, or failure to carry out the plan in that sector, has repercussions in all the other work sectors. Many things are new and important, but our cadres should concentrate all their efforts on learning and understanding them well, so that they may hold the reins of our economy firmly in their hands. Our greatest concern should be to improve our cadres and increase the number of specialized cadres. Cadres will solve all our problems. In this we should proceed with the greatest courage, promoting young people, as many young people as possible, sons and daughters of the working people; we should not be afraid to place them at the head of the work, to teach and guide them untiringly and with the greatest patience, and we will certainly see the work forge ahead; only in this way will we progress. The strength of our people is inexhaustible and our people have given ample proof that they are capable and intelligent, possess energy and vitality, and can certainly carry out the tasks assigned to them. The sons of our workers, the sons of our peasants, most of whom could neither read nor write,³ led the great struggle for liberation, and led our heroic army to victory, defeating the educated generals and high-ranking officers of fascism; today they lead the detachments of our army with great proficiency, they have mastered the modern art of warfare, and are making continual progress. The sons of our workers and peasants are now in the most important leading posts in our state, and in the enterprises. Here are the cadres, and what fine cadres they are.

Today, iron discipline is required of all state cadres in carrying out their tasks. Without this discipline our work is bound

3 Before liberation over 80 per cent of the population was illiterate.

to proceed slowly, and no honest man, no Albanian patriot, wants this to happen; only the enemies of the people. We need selflessness and honesty in work. Work should never tire us, but should become a matter of honour, and we should be encouraged to work even harder.

In order to accomplish these major tasks we need good organization of work from every point of view. Good organization of the work is essential in order to accomplish our tasks precisely, to achieve sound results from our work and the sound education of our cadres, and to fulfil the entire plan.

I think that all state functionaries, from the lowest to the highest rank, must face their responsibility to accomplish the tasks assigned to them by the people and the homeland. They should perform their tasks scrupulously, with honesty and self denial. He who works, and discharges his task properly, is the most highly considered, the most respected and honoured person in new Albania, he is the finest patriot who feels for his people. The government will take the severest measures against those who do not work, whether simple employees or ministers, and will never allow their presence in these posts to become a canker to contaminate our constructive work.

In fully implementing the plan, we will rely on the broad mobilization of the people, we therefore appeal from this high rostrum of the People's Assembly, first and foremost, to the great patriotism of the working class of our country and say: Workers of Albania! Stand in the front ranks as you have always done, because the happy future and security of our people rely on your physical and mental force, on your great determination and energy, on your boundless loyalty to the sacred cause of our people! You are the greatest guarantee of our people's power. Exert all your efforts in carrying out the various tasks which face you in the factories and work-sites, in the state apparatus, or wherever you are employed. You should always be on the battle front, setting an example to all, showing how to work better, how to fulfill and overfull work norms, master technique, and train people in work, how to protect the property of the state and the people, and protect the country. You are working for your state power, for your people, for yourselves, so do your duty better than

ever!

We appeal to the great patriotism of our peasants and say to them: Peasants of all Albania! You are seeing concretely how your living conditions are improving all the time! You now have your own land given to you by the land reform, by the people's power. The shackles of the beys and agas have been smashed for all time. But for this state power, which is your state power, you would never have emerged from the darkness; therefore, your lives and the lives of your children, generation after generation, are linked like flesh to bone with this state power. You should exert all your efforts to consolidate this state power. Your task is to work your lands as well as you can, and produce as much as possible in order to have abundance for yourselves and to supply all Albania with your produce. Your alliance with the working class and working people of the cities should be continually strengthened, and you should understand it well. Our people's power grants you every favour, and will give you ever greater aid. All these measures have one objective: that your life may become better all the time, and that you, through your work, may contribute with all your forces to the general good. It would be a mistake, and to the detriment of all, including you, if the favours and aid granted to you by the state power, in order to improve your work and boost production, were to be used for egoistic purposes and degenerate into exploitation. If such tendencies appear, you should fight them mercilessly, for these are tendencies and views of the agas and rich peasants who have exploitation in their blood. Nothing will be done which will adversely affect you. On the contrary, all the measures taken and ordinances issued by the government on the question of grain are in your favour. The reduction of prices of necessary goods is in your favour. The setting up of buying and selling cooperatives in the countryside is for your benefit and will make your work lighter, and the creation of work cooperatives is in your favour. Your task therefore is to improve your work as much as possible, and supply grain and other agricultural products to the other working masses of our country, to help in accumulating grain and other articles and to apply strictly the prices set by the government. Your private economy should also proceed along the road of our planned economy. You should struggle fiercely against any tendency

which tries to divert you from this course, which is the only way to ensure your prosperity.

We call on our patriotic intellectuals to muster all their energies to fulfill their tasks wherever they work. People who are truly educated and endowed with sound culture cannot stand aloof from the great cause of the people. They should place their knowledge unreservedly at the service of the country and the people.

We appeal to the profound patriotism of the women of Albania. Today we are engaged in building new Albania, and the bitter past should no longer weigh on your shoulders. You must without fail march ahead, for you are a great force, a progressive force, from which our country expects a great deal. You should take part on a wide scale in production work, and many state functions should be in your hands. You should be in the factories and cooperatives, in the fields and schools. Our plan cannot be realized without your broad participation. Our state power will help you as much as possible to forge ahead and accomplish your tasks, and I am certain that you will accomplish them with the greatest heroism.

We call on our heroic youth, the pride of the Albanian people. Our youth have always been ready and the first to go where the duty of the country and the people has called them. Their drive, their enthusiasm, their heroism and selflessness should be an example to all. Their achievements are countless, and each one is as important as the next. Everywhere, they are continually at work, and where youth work, where they learn and inspire, immortal works appear. The new life is for our youth, and they fully deserve it, for they are building it by their sweat and their brainwork, putting their heart into the job. I advise any one who wants to be reinvigorated and gain new strength, and to shake off any doubts and suspicions in his mind, to go to the railway the youth are building, to see for himself how the builders of new Albania work, learn, grow and enjoy themselves. We tell our youth that the Albanian people are very grateful to them for what they are doing for the country, and for what they will always continue to do. Our youth are a great factor in successfully fulfilling our state plan, and will most certainly accomplish their

tasks both in study and at work.

The achievements of our struggle had not only to be safeguarded, but also to be consolidated. They must serve as a sound basis on which to advance and fulfill completely the wishes and aspirations of our people. Here, of course, we were to have our first clashes with those who tried to bring to nothing the victories scored by the people during the war for liberation so that in this way these enemies of the people might better manoeuvre and conspire to reestablish their hated capitalist domination.

The great undertaking which awaited us after liberation therefore had to be, as always, the immortal work of the people, and had to reflect their continuous struggle. The people had to be mobilized to a man to carry out this task, inspired by the same ideal which guided them in their victorious war and endowed with the same courage and heroism which gave them victory over the Italian and German fascists and their lackeys. The struggle of our people had to be continued in other forms, but with the same tempo and the same determination as the first struggle. The struggle had to be waged on two fronts, for the reconstruction of the country and the building of a better and happier life, and against those who, in a thousand treacherous ways, would hinder and fight against the correct course of our people.

This was the question which faced us, to win the battle to build the new life. We had to exert all our physical and mental energies, we had to shed sweat in order to build a happy and free life, and to strike relentlessly at the enemies of every hue who would try to hamper us in our course. Whoever thinks that a livelihood can be earned without struggle, without toil and sacrifice, whoever thinks that the enemy of the people can be fought by making concessions or by patting him on the back and smiling, is linked with the enemies of the people and is an enemy of new Albania. There are and will continue to be such people, but this does not intimidate our people, and they will not be caught unawares; on the contrary, they are all the time heightening their vigilance to defend the country and their work, while the treachery of a few is doomed to failure, and will be nipped in the bud.

The situation which arose in our country during the

National Liberation War had bitter consequences for the beys with large estates, the land-owners, the rich agas and the wealthy bourgeoisie who had accumulated millions by bleeding the people white. These classes launched an open struggle, rifle in hand, side by side with the occupiers, against the people, but the people were victorious. Bloody battles were fought and won with great sacrifice by the people, and that is why the revolution of our people was a total one, on a sound foundation. The myth of the nationalists who gave allegiance to a hundred flags was shattered, the bloody mask of the pseudo-democrat beys and agas was torn to shreds; they were on the other side of the barricade, in order to safeguard their privileges and the regime that allowed them to oppress the people. The Albanian quislings who crossed the sea changed their boss, and became spies for the Anglo-American reaction. Nor could they have done otherwise, for this trade is in their blood. They are ready at every moment to sell out their country to the foreigners. What can link these individuals and their class with the Albanian people? Nothing but the aim to safeguard their privileges, to the detriment of the people. But the people told them to forget the old days, and this enrages them.

However, not all those to whom the people and their state power are a thorn in the flesh, not all the class of capitalists and privileged people fled to Italy or to the Greece of the monarcho-fascists. Some stayed here and were compelled to submit to the just laws of the people, and their clear-cut decisions, and this infuriates them.

This exploiting class lost every thing it had plundered from the people, its privileges were abolished, and its lands, factories, concessions and colossal wealth were taken out of its hands and became the property of the majority, the property of the working people.

But we should not fool ourselves and think that all these things were done without struggle, and that these people became magnanimous and generous. The wolf may put on sheep's clothing, but it never becomes a lamb. It is another matter if the wolf has its fangs drawn, but if we had left it alone, it would have devoured people's revolution. This did not happen, and will never happen, because the people have the proper instrument in their

hands, and know how to use it.

Nevertheless, the struggle between the capitalist and privileged class, on the one hand, and the working people and their state power, on the other, continued without interruption, passing through a number of different stages from the time of the liberation of Albania until now. This was class struggle with all its characteristics and in all its severity. Fascism, the most ruthless dictatorship of capital, was unable to suppress the freedom-loving nations or establish its law of terror and darkness, it was unable to suppress the working class of the people's democracies, but its remnants did not lay down their arms. Protected and encouraged by international reaction, especially Anglo-American reaction, they keep striving to regain ground and bring about the downfall of people's regimes, to pave the way for a third war, more ruthless than the Second World War. This process is also taking place in our country. To deny this process and underestimate this struggle means, to put it plainly, to hand the keys over to those who have tormented and sucked the blood of the people for generations, to set fascism back on its feet and dig our own graves. Our people are in no hurry to dig their own graves, on the contrary, they are working to make Albania flourish and to improve their life, and have no hesitation about settling accounts with those who try to bring back the old days.

The important economic and social measures taken by our people's power in the early days following the liberation of Albania were only natural and correct. They transformed the face of Albania, devastated by a long and bloody war. These measures, of course, strengthened the position of our state power. However, this was not to the liking of external or internal reaction. This was where their interests coincided, and the beys, the agas, the wealthy reactionary bourgeoisie, the reactionary pseudo-patriotic intellectuals, and the beys' overseers and henchmen combined their struggle against the Albanian people, making common cause. They were joined by some of the liberal bourgeoisie whom the broad masses of the people had drawn into the war because they agreed to a certain point with the resistance against fascism; but they fought with many reservations, and joined the Front for the purpose of gaining positions in the state power and, eventually, of

seizing all power themselves.

Many such people who were in the Front, seeing that they could not attain their predetermined objectives, were greatly disillusioned, severed their connections with the Front, and went over to the camp of the enemies of the people.

The former ruling classes, realizing that they had lost their economic and political dominance, had to look elsewhere for support to regain their lost positions, to the detriment of the people. It goes without saying that, far from having any support among the Albanian people, they were at war with them, their only support being the foreigners, international reaction, headed by the Anglo-American reaction, which in fact supported their attempts; but they failed one after the other.

The hostile attitude maintained towards the Albanian people by the US and British governments, as well as the denial of our legitimate rights won through bloodshed and sacrifice, had one objective — to support and strengthen their official representatives in Albania, who openly and contrary to every international law, violating the sovereignty of a people and interfering in their internal affairs, tried to the last day of their stay in Albania to rally and organize the Albanian reactionaries, instigating them to sabotage actions and armed struggle against the Albanian people. The activity of these Anglo-American representatives is widely documented with facts.

Under the guidance of foreign agents, the reactionaries of our country attempted to revive the "Balli Kombëtar," "Legaliteti" and a number of other groups whose running dogs you can now find in monarcho-fascist Greece. Their common aim was to overthrow the state power by force, hoping for an Anglo-American landing in order to turn our country into a second Greece and to place it under the heel of US imperialism. This was the course followed by the remnants of the "Balli Kombëtar," "Legaliteti" and other reactionary groups, this was the course followed by the traitorous deputies⁴ who betrayed the confidence of the people, and this was the course that led them straight to

4 This refers to the group of traitorous deputies who placed themselves in the service of the American and British imperialists to overthrow the people's power by force.

prison. These treacherous elements did their utmost to discredit the just measures taken by the state power, sabotaged its work, and launched the most venomous and low slogans; I don't intend to list here their innumerable acts of treason, for what they do is so rotten that it makes you want to throw up. The Albanian people will soon hear these base elements testify before the court to their unparalleled crimes, baseness and treason; let the justice of the people decide what they deserve.

These elements carried out their treacherous activity at a time when all the Albanian people were hard at work rebuilding the country, when old and young were working under difficult economic conditions to build a new life. These people could not reconcile themselves with this situation. Take these individuals one by one, analyze their past, their work, their life, and you will see that they are the scum of society, speculators involved in all kinds of dishonest dealings. These people have infiltrated into the great undertaking of our people for the sole purpose of sabotaging it; we found them in the implementation of the land reform, we found them where bridges and roads were being built and land improvement schemes carried out, we found them in the state apparatus, and even in our parliament. These people complain that there is no democracy here, but terror. If by the word democracy they mean freedom for criminals, thieves, speculators, money-lenders and other such people, freedom for those who make an attack on the rights and freedom of the people, then it is true that there is not and will never be such democracy in Albania. Who are those who resort to terror — our people and their state power, or the criminals and traitors who organize sabotage activities and support the war criminals, who make attempts on the life of honest people, who seek to wreck and exploit what has been achieved by the hard work of the people? Do these individuals imagine that the justice of the people will allow them to act at their ease, to shelter the war criminals and eat and drink with them, to sell the secrets of the state and of the people for sterling and dollars, or will leave them free to sabotage and murder the sons of the people and upholders of their state power? Why do these criminals try to commit suicide in jail, to hang themselves in prison cells with their belts, and why do they jump out of windows to put an end to their lives? Those who are not guilty do

not do such things.

The correct policy of our state power has always been characterized by the greatest determination to protect the people and their achievements, and to guard the country from any external and internal threats. It is marked by its determination to forge steadily and speedily ahead to build a happy life for our people. The correct policy of our state power has always been characterized by great wisdom and level-headedness in passing judgment, in pardoning minor offenses which can be corrected and are committed with no ulterior motives, but it is severe against the enemies of the people; our state power will carry out this correct policy consistently. It has always been our concern and the duty of the Democratic Front to do as much as possible to rescue from the clutches of reaction ordinary people who have gone wrong; we should educate them, make them useful citizens of the country, and set them on the right course, the course of honour. There may be people who consider this correct and humane policy of our state power and our Democratic Front to be a sign of weakness, but we assure them that they are greatly mistaken. And if these individuals, on the basis of this erroneous judgment, try to harm the interests of the people, thinking that they will not be seen, we repeat that they are greatly mistaken. The Albanian people work and are on their guard in order to safeguard their freedom and their achievements. Our people know very well that their enemies cannot be eliminated in one day or in one year. In all our victories, some of these individuals will come to the surface, because the efforts and ceaseless work of the people will tear off the masks of these enemies. In their great and sacred undertaking our people should always be on their guard and correctly assess every situation that is created by their progressive work. Just as we mobilized to build the country, we must also mobilize to fight a relentless campaign against our enemies, be they internal enemies or agents of foreign imperialism. There can be no compromise with our enemies, and no mercy towards them; this is the only way to consolidate the work of the people, the only way for our country to be strengthened and make progress, and for our people's democracy to be consolidated. This should be the course followed by new Albania.

It is true that Albania is a small country, but in the international arena it has its deserved place and importance. The fact that the Albanian people and their people's democracy are being unjustly and dishonestly fought by the Anglo-Americans and their lackeys, justifies the role of our democracy in safeguarding peace and world security, and at the same time justifies the correct and well-thought-out policy of the government of our Republic. All our people and all the progressive peoples of the world, including the people of the United States and Britain, are well aware that the hostile stand of the British and American governments towards our country cannot be justified by purely technical considerations, or by unreasonable arguments such as the question of the treaties, or by the absurd excuses these governments invented in order to maintain a tense situation between our state and the United States of America and Great Britain.

All the pretexts, accusations and slanders brought against our country and kept on the agenda by these governments have a premeditated aim. Their real aim is quite different from their stated purpose, namely, that they wanted to size up the situation and, in order to speed up the recognition of our government, sent the political and military representatives of the United States of America and Britain to Albania. The British and US governments are not favourably inclined towards the Albanian people, and they have given daily proof of this. The Albanian people have become masters of their own destiny, they are building their country and their free life by their own efforts and in the way they choose, and democracy in our country is growing stronger everyday and becoming a factor for the strengthening of peace and world security; these facts are not to the liking of international reaction and the British and US governments. If they do not like this, and do not like the great progressive work that is being done in Albania, that is their business; but if they interfere in the internal affairs of our country, organize the remnants of Albanian reaction within and outside Albania, and openly help them to sabotage the great undertaking of the people which is costing Albania so much blood and sweat, we are strongly opposed to this, and will not tolerate such a thing. And in this we are wholly within our rights.

Ours is almost the only government not recognized by the British and US governments, at a time when these governments have their diplomatic representatives even in the satellite countries.⁵ Such a situation, however, in no way affects our constant advance and the consolidation and progress of our people's democracy. The Albanian people and their People's Republic have won the sympathy and great respect of all the progressive people of the world. But such a situation dishonours the British and American people. Let the people of these two countries and the whole of world public opinion judge for themselves this stand of the British and US governments towards the heroic people of a small country who shed much blood fighting against fascism, who set up their own democratic people's power, and who are determined to use their small forces to defend world peace and security as best they can. Is it because of this that our country is not recognized? Is this why our people are denied their rights in the international arena? The Albanian people are fully convinced that these are the only reasons that their rights are not recognized by the British and US governments; any other reason is groundless and does not stand up to scrutiny. If the people were not in power in Albania, if our country were ruled by the quislings and spies of fascism who, contrary to international law, are today being supported in a thousand ways by the British and US governments, then things would have been different. Albania would of course have been recognized by those governments, but our country would have become a second Greece where Zog and the terror of the beys and war criminals would reign supreme, and the people would have been subjected to the greatest misery, unparalleled in their history. It is precisely in order to establish this rule of terror in our country, and to establish the class of speculators and war criminals in Albania, that the British and US governments maintained and continue to maintain this unjust attitude towards our country. The practical activity of the official representatives of the British and US governments in Albania pursued such a political objective. Our government is in possession of astounding proofs and facts which indicate that the political and military missions of the British and US governments in Albania did not represent the two peoples of

5 The countries collaborating with Hitlerite Germany during the Second World War.

these countries, whom our people hold in high esteem, but were an espionage agency of Anglo-American reaction which worked out plans to overthrow our people's power, and planned sabotage actions and the most shameful crimes against the sovereignty of the peace-loving and heroic people of a small country. This is not how the Albanian people interpret their friendship with the people of Britain and the United States, and they will never reconcile themselves with the "friendship" which their official representatives cultivated in Albania. But the activity of the British and US governments is not confined to the activities I have mentioned; it has a broader scope, using every means and going as far as creating international complications. In addition to the activities I have spoken of, the British and US governments have endeavored to present Albania as a dangerous country threatening world peace and international security. "Albania is a threat to peace!" This resembles the "argument" which fascist Italy used in order to attack the Greek people, the "argument" of Daut Hoxha's murder.⁶

You have no doubt followed attentively the sequence of events related to the incident purposely provoked by the British in Saranda which they raised a hue and cry about in the Security Council and at the International Court at the Hague, with a view to convincing the world by their false and shaky arguments that Albania was endangering peace. Albania has never laid mines along its coasts; it has possessed neither mines nor the means to lay them. Official British documents prove that the British acknowledge the existence of mines which have remained in those waters from the time of the war; they admit that there is no certainty that the removal of the mines, which they themselves carried out, was completely effective. And that the navigation route appears unsafe. The mines could also easily have been laid by British ships or by those of their lackeys in Athens. And this raises the question: What were the English ships after in repeatedly violating the sovereignty of our territorial waters? They must surely have had some purpose. The British claim the right of passage for their "peaceful" ships through the Corfu Channel, but the route through this channel is not five hundred metres away

6 Summer 1940, this man was found killed on the border with Greece. Italy used this as a pretext to attack Greece on October 1940 and to ensure the support of Albania, too.

from the seaport of Saranda, on the Himara coast, and peaceful navigation does not mean having all guns at the ready and aimed towards our ports. What about the provocations of the ships of their Athenian lackeys eight times in succession, not to mention those that happen every day — what were they after in our territorial waters, up to the very vicinity of our ports? Or did they too have "peaceful purposes" in seizing our boats with people on board and taking them to Corfu or in shelling our coastal regions and bombarding the villages of Konispol? It is not hard to understand why they did these things. Despite the votes the Anglo-Americans always rally in the Security Council to gain approval for such trumped up and aggressive acts, right is on our side and no threat or blackmail can force us to our knees in our struggle to regain our rights. And justice will always be on the side of the just. What the British and Americans brought up as an allegedly persuasive and final argument at the eleventh hour about the incident at Saranda was: "The Albanian government either laid the mines itself or knows who has laid them, because it guards its borders and coastline with the greatest jealousy." But this final argument proves nothing, or rather, it proves one thing which we fully admit, because it is quite true that we guard our coastline and our southern borders with the greatest jealousy and determination, for they are sacred for us and fascist wolves are roaming about them.

With the all-round aid of the British and Americans, the monarcho-fascist government in Athens has become a chronic and very perilous danger not only to peace in the Balkans, but to world peace. The misfortune of the heroic Greek people cannot be described. Remember February 4 in Tirana.⁷ It is always like that day in all the towns and villages of Greece. Monarcho-fascist terror has reached its peak. But Greece has become, at the same time, the centre of armed attacks and numerous provocations against our country and against all the other democratic countries of the Balkans. For years now, provocations by the Greek fascists along our borders, far from subsiding, have increased and are being carried out with greater fascist fury. The Greek fascists

7 On February 4, 1944 the forces of the "Balli Kombëtar" and quisling gendarmerie, in collaboration with the German occupier, organized a big massacre in Tirana to frighten the people away from the National Liberation War.

attack our border posts, penetrate into our territory, kill and injure peaceful citizens working in their fields, carry out air raids and kill people and livestock, rally and organize Albanian war criminals, and try to infiltrate them into our territory in order to organize murders and theft. All these crimes are part and parcel of the general plan of the Anglo-American reactionaries.

In the face of these bloody, bandit-like provocations which are aimed solely at disturbing peace in the Balkans and in the world and launching a new war, as the Truman⁸ doctrine proclaimed, the Albanian government has repeatedly appealed to the United Nations to take steps to put an end to these numerous provocations by the Greek monarcho-fascists. The UN Inquiry Commission which came to Greece was faced with many undeniable facts which proved the culpability of the monarcho-fascist government in Athens which, in collusion with the Anglo-Americans, bears sole responsibility for the civil war in Greece.

Numerous incontestable facts were brought before the Inquiry Commission by the representative of the Albanian government, facts which proved convincingly the criminal actions of the monarcho-fascist government in Athens, its responsibility for the countless incidents it has caused along our border, the provocative piratical incursions of Greek ships into our territorial waters, the violation of the sovereignty of our country by its bands, the massacre of the Albanian population of Çamëria, of which there is incontestable documented proof, and finally, the responsibility of the monarcho-fascist government in Athens and its British supporters for the internal civil war. But in spite of that, attempts are being made to hush up the truth, to cover the sun with a sieve, as our people say, and the British, the Americans and those who usually cast their votes for them are trying to shift the responsibility for the bloody civil war which is raging furiously in Greece onto the Albanian, Yugoslav and Bulgarian governments. But this argument can fool nobody, nobody accepts it. It was not the Albanian, Yugoslav or Bulgarian governments which stirred up or armed the heroic Greek people to rise with arms in hand to gain their freedom, and the ten thousand partisans who are fighting heroically in the mountains. They were prompted to take

8 Harry Truman, president of the USA (1945-1953).

up arms by the misery of their homeland, the wretched condition of their people, the ideal of freedom and democracy, which is being trampled underfoot by the monarcho-fascists in Athens and their supporters, they were driven to fight by the great terror of the Greek fascists. The Albanian people and their government have never interfered in Greece's internal affairs, because these are not their affairs, and they reject any such slanders from whatever quarter they may come. The Albanian government and the Albanian people do, however, accept and will continue to accept on their territory and to show hospitality to people and democrats persecuted by the Greek fascists. This is in accordance with our Constitution and prevailing international law. The Albanian people and their government want to be left in peace to build their new life, and they want to see an end to the Greek fascist provocations. The Albanian government and the Albanian people will in no way permit the Greek monarcho-fascist bands to encroach upon their borders, and will protect their homeland, their lives and their democracy to the death. Our heroic army, which you saw parade on July 10,⁹ is the most reliable defender of our achievements, of the life we are building, and of the integrity of our country.

But the tragedy of the Greek people is but one of the many features of the doctrine of Truman and Churchill. At the head of entire international reaction, US imperialism tries to engulf the whole world and to suppress the freedom of the peoples by threats, the atomic bomb, and its policy of force and the dollar. The imperialists launched a broad campaign of slanders against the Soviet Union, against that country and people who saved the world from fascism and to which mankind is forever grateful, against the Soviet Union which stands like an unconquerable fortress in defence of peace and mankind, and frustrates all the schemes of the warmongers and enslavers of the peoples of the world. But the freedom-loving people of all countries have rallied all their energies to defend the peace which cost them so dearly, and to frustrate all the manoeuvres of the warmongers.

The Marshall Plan¹⁰ is another aspect of the Truman

9 July 10, 1943. the day when the General Staff of the National Liberation Army of Albania was created, entered history as the day of the founding of the People's Army of Albania.

10 The plan of economic and political subjugation of the countries of Europe to the USA

doctrine, of the policy of the dollar and of enslavement. The Albanian government and the Albanian people have attentively followed the proceedings of the Paris Conference of the three foreign ministers,¹¹ for our country stands in need of aid. The Paris Conference ended inconclusively. The views of the Soviet Union were at variance with those of the governments of Britain and France as expressed in the official press of the three countries. Some days ago our government received an official invitation from the French and British governments to attend a conference organized by them in connection with the Marshall Plan.

After studying this question, our government unanimously turned down the invitation of the British and France governments to attend this conference, which will be held on July 12, because, in our government's opinion, there exists no concrete plan for US aid to Europe, and the Marshall Plan itself is very vague and imprecise. As far as the organization drafted by the French and British governments is concerned, the opinion of our government is that, far from facilitating the distribution of any US aid among the European people, it aims at working out a general economic plan for Europe under the direction of Britain and France, with the definitive approval of the United States. Such a plan would cause economic chaos in Europe, and by interfering in the internal affairs of the European states, by violating their will and sovereignty, would place the economy of these states under the direction and at the mercy of bigger European states and the United States of America. This plan would cause the creation of a bloc and a split in Europe. In extending an invitation to our government, the British and French governments intended to present us with an accomplished fact which we could in no way accept, because our government is convinced that only respect for the principle of sovereignty and national independence can be the basis of sincere and fruitful collaboration among nations. The Albanian government can never allow or accept the violation of the sovereignty and independence of our country. All these considerations compelled our government to turn down the

through economic aid, presented in 1947 by the Secretary of US State Department George Marshall, and approved by the Congress of the USA in 1948.

- 11 This refers to the Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Great Britain and France, which was convened in Paris in June 1947 to discuss the economic aid the US government offered to the countries of Europe.

invitation of the French and British governments. But there is still another great reason which heightens the suspicion and distrust of the Albanian government towards US aid and its objectives, and this is connected with the consistently hostile attitude maintained by the British and US governments towards the undeniable rights of our people. Taking into account this incorrect and quite unjustifiable stand, it is quite natural for the Albanian people and their government to suspect the sincerity of American aid and the real objective of this aid.

In these post-war times, the people of Europe, who suffered the most horrible devastations in the war and who witnessed with their own eyes and paid dearly for the barbarous attacks of the Hitlerites and their satellites, instigated by the activity and policy of the reactionary and imperialist cliques, have together with the progressive peoples of the whole world exerted all their efforts to prevent the repetition of such a catastrophe. They will all frustrate the manoeuvres of such warmongers as Churchill and company. The question is to protect genuine democratic peace by every means, to protect our lives and the lives of our children, and to protect our victories which have cost us bloodshed and devastation. The people of little Albania will continue to exert all their energies to defend and consolidate such a peace in favour of the progressive peoples of the world, who are striving for the same end. To defend such a peace is just as essential as was the victory over the German Nazis. Such a peace will be achieved despite the attempts of the warmongers to launch another war, it will be achieved just as the victory over Hitlerite Germany was achieved. The people of the world, and the Soviet Union under the leadership of the great Stalin, will fight for the consolidation of a just peace, of real peace. On the side of the Soviet Union, which rescued mankind from fascism, are all the progressive and freedom-loving peoples of the world, and also the people of our small country, because the Soviet Union protects our people. Young and old in our country have understood, and feel deeply in their hearts, that without the heroic war of the people of the Soviet Union, there would be no free and democratic Albania, and the Albanian people would have been massacred and oppressed without mercy. Old and young in Albania have seen with what determination the Soviet Union has championed our

rights and defended our country, our independence, and the blood shed by our sons and daughters, who fell on the field of honour fighting heroically against fascism. Therefore, it is natural for the Albanian people to love the Soviet Union greatly. At a time when warmongers threaten the world with force, the atomic bomb, and the dollar, when international reaction is doing all in its power to suppress progressive democracy and revive the dark forces of fascism, the powerful voice of the Soviet Union is firmly defending peace and security, defending the people and their progressive democracy. Our people enthusiastically hail the correct and peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, because it is a living expression of the lofty and noble sentiments of the people of the entire USSR and their regime which abides by the principle of defending freedom and genuine democracy, of defending the big and small nations and genuine peace.

The relations of our people with the friendly Bulgarian people are becoming more and more cordial and friendly, and our people heartily wish Dimitrov's new Bulgaria a prosperous future. Albania will soon establish diplomatic relations with the Rumanian people, and our people wish and hope to establish such relations with other democratic nations, which is in the general interest of peace.

Comrade Deputies!

I wish to assure you that the government I have the honour to lead will exert all its efforts to implement this correct policy, which expresses the aspirations and wishes of our people, it will exert all its efforts to carry out this constructive and progressive policy, and to apply correctly and promptly the laws which the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania approves, and will defend with the greatest determination the interests of the people, the life of the people, and our People's Republic. Everything at all times in the service of our country and our people!

Long live the Albanian people!

We Shall go to Moscow with the Banner of Marxism-Leninism!

We Shall go to Moscow Not With Ten Banners, But With Only One, With the Banner of Marxism-Leninism

(Speech at the 18th Plenum of the CC of the PLA Concerning Liri Belishova's Grave Mistakes in Line)

6 September, 1960

Before we speak of Liri Belishova, I shall inform the Plenum of some decisions taken by the Political Bureau.

In recent weeks we have had correspondence with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We have been informed by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia about a letter which each of them has addressed to the Communist Party of China. In essence these letters make serious accusations against the Communist Party of China regarding deviation from Marxism-Leninism, dogmatism, sectarianism, and great-state chauvinism, and other charges like these. At the same time, these letters defend N. S. Khrushchev against what is said in a document which was distributed to the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp by the delegation of the Communist Party of China at the end of the Bucharest Meeting.

The material of the Chinese comrades said, among other things, that the Bucharest Meeting was not held in accordance with the proper forms, that N. S. Khrushchev's interjections and actions during the meeting were not Marxist-Leninist, and that these questions which were raised are of great importance to the further development of the international communist movement.

Later we received a letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which, after stating that the ties between our two parties have been exceptionally close, they say that at the Bucharest Meeting a "spark of misunderstanding" arose between our parties, which must not be allowed to catch fire. Therefore, they proposed to us the holding of a meeting, of whatever level we would like and when we would like, to discuss these misunderstandings together, so that "the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will go with complete unity of views" to the coming

November meeting in Moscow.

We have sent three letters to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. . . .¹

For the best preparation of the Plenum in regard to the questions we shall discuss, I recommend that the Chinese articles "Long Live Leninism!", the material distributed by the Soviet representatives at the Bucharest Meeting, the 1957 Moscow Declaration, the copies of the letters we have recently addressed to the CC of the CPSU, of which I spoke above, as well as the materials that have been recommended and not read as yet, should be put at the disposal of the members and candidate members of the Central Committee. All these should be studied carefully so that when we discuss them at the Plenum, the comrades will be prepared. If we receive other materials from the Communist Party of China about its views, these, too, will be made available for study.

Let us now get down concretely to the question of Liri Belishova.

You know that at the July Plenum, apart from other things, Liri Belishova was criticized for the major serious mistakes she made during her stay in China and the Soviet Union. But at that meeting of the Plenum these mistakes were only touched upon in passing, in the course of the discussion. However, after these questions, which several comrades mentioned, were raised, Liri Belishova did not appear before the Plenum with a self-criticism, although she knew that the Political Bureau had arrived at the conclusion that her self-criticism before the Bureau was incomplete, that there were many gaps in it. Precisely for these reasons I said at the Plenum that, after being re-examined once more in the Political Bureau, her case should be presented to the Plenum. In fact we did examine the question of Liri Belishova.²

We gave her the possibility to reflect deeply, to ponder over the grave mistakes she has made in such complicated and

1 These letters are published in this volume [Albania Challenges Khrushchev Revisionism – Ed.] on pages: 70, 80, 85, respectively.

2 On September 3 the Political Bureau distributed a document to all members of the Plenum dealing with Liri Belishova's mistakes and with the stand she had adopted in the Political Bureau.

difficult situations, to come out with correct conclusions and reveal the causes which impelled her to make these mistakes.

At the meeting of the Political Bureau she showed some signs of irritation in connection with the comrades' questions, which served to uncover and make clearer Liri Belishova's wavering on the political and ideological line of our Party. Later, I too summoned her separately, to help her reflect on these questions. Indeed I reminded her of the non-Marxist methods the Soviet leaders had used to disrupt the leaderships of a number of communist and workers' parties; therefore I advised her to think over these questions.

I want to say that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, which is always guided by the principle that things must be explained to comrades to save them from the wrong road and mistakes, had tried to help Liri Belishova patiently and calmly. Her mistakes are not small and trivial, but are profound mistakes, in which, if she does not understand them, there is the danger that they will become even more grave and harmful, both to the Party and to her position in the Party.

On the other hand, by criticizing a person who makes mistakes, the Party helps him to arm himself, to make efforts to understand the reasons for his mistakes, so that he no longer falls into such mistakes. This has been the road of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, and myself, in order to correct those who make mistakes.

The Political Bureau thinks that Liri Belishova's mistakes are very great and serious. They show that in fact she is in opposition to the line of our Party, she is not in agreement, not in unity of thought and action on a number of ideological and political questions with the Central Committee of the Party, with our entire Party. She does not understand the vital importance to our Party, as to any Marxist party, of the question of the ideological and political unity in the Party and, all the more so, the question of the unity of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau itself. This question is of vital importance particularly in the existing situation, when the imperialist enemies and the modern revisionists are striving to split the leadership of our Party

at all costs, even if they can cause some small cracks, to weaken it and then attack the Party. Therefore, those who damage this steel-like unity, which the Party has forged with struggle and bloodshed through all sorts of storms, must be severely punished, as they deserve, as the great interests of the Party and the people require.

What are the mistakes of Liri Belishova?

As you know, Liri went to China. This trip had an official character, and the delegation of which she was a member did not include all sorts of people, but Party people. Thus, the delegation did not comprise apolitical people, but known personalities of our Party and State.

Before leaving for China, she knew of the disagreements that existed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, not to the full extent to which they developed later, but she knew many things. When it was recommended to her, as far as possible, to avoid expressing opinions on these still unresolved problems, this means that she had knowledge of the nature of the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. However, Liri Belishova went to China and did not act as recommended.

During her stay in China, Liri Belishova showed a surprising fear and avoided any discussion with the Chinese comrades, when it was a question of expressing the opinion of our Party about modern revisionism, about our friendship with the CP and the Government of China, and about the correct meaning of the ties with the Soviet Union. Indeed, in various ways she asked them, as far as possible, to refrain from discussing party questions because, allegedly, "she was not authorized,"³ etc.

3 This was a false justification of Liri Belishova's. Not only did she have the necessary instructions from the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA concerning the stand she should adopt in the PRC, but also through a special radiogram of June 4, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha drew her attention and instructed her: "We are reading your greetings in newspapers, and they astonish us. They are extremely dry and contain mistakes.

"First all you must speak longer and exceptionally warmly of China: sternly expose the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists. . . . It is entirely impermissible to speak of a certain modern revisionism. The successes of our country and the correct policy of the Party in every field must be pointed out well and at length everywhere. The speeches must be politically and

Why she did this, we shall see later, but the fact is that the Chinese comrades wanted to discuss party questions with us. We cannot prevent them from talking, but we have our own stand, and this stand must be expressed on every occasion. It is not so simple to seek to avoid talking about party questions. Although Liri Belishova strove at all costs to avoid dealing with party problems in the talks with the Chinese comrades, they considered it reasonable to talk to us about so great and delicate a question. Of course, they did this because they had great trust in, and deep respect for, our Party. Apparently, this is not how Liri Belishova evaluated this question. Instead of maintaining the stand that should have been maintained in these talks with the Chinese comrades, without any instructions to do such a thing, she opposed their views on some questions and gave them to understand that we were leaning toward the Soviet leaders. Not only had our Party not expressed itself in favor of such a stand, but all the comrades of the Political Bureau were in disagreement with many stands of the Soviet leaders about political and ideological problems that were apparent both in their practical activity and in their press. Therefore, our Party had never pronounced itself against China. With her attitude, Liri Belishova implied to the Chinese comrades that our Party did not agree with their views.

The other mistake of Liri Belishova's was that she went and made contact with the counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Peking, and told him about the things the Chinese comrades had said to her. From this her aim emerges very clearly. The Soviet leaders, from Khrushchev down to Polyansky, understood how Liri was thinking, that they were her personal opinions, that she was against the Chinese views and for the Soviet position on these questions.

Liri Belishova was considered by them the "heroine" of the situation. The Soviet leaders utilized her actions to create a

ideologically elevated and not with banal phrases. . . . Tear up the hackneyed greetings and speeches you have prepared, and formulate entirely new ones."

While the other radiogram of June 6 said: "Talks with the Chinese comrades on the ideological questions under discussion may be held only by you." (Taken from the copies of the originals of the radiograms which are in the Central Archives of the Party).

difficult situation in our Party, in our leadership and among our cadres. After the Bucharest Meeting they got hold of all the comrades who were in the USSR to expound their views⁴ and to get their opinion, in one way or another, to see if they were with the Central Committee of the PLA. One of these views was that in China Liri Belishova took a "heroic" stand, that "she gave the Chinese comrades the proper reply and did not allow them to issue a communiqué on the talks they held with her." This is what the Soviet leaders are saying.

Not only was Liri Belishova predisposed to adopt such a stand, but she made another organizational mistake; she violated the discipline of the Party. She did nothing at all to seek the opinion of the Political Bureau. She did not understand that this was a harmful action to fan the flames in this situation of disagreements which existed between these two parties. She knew that disagreements existed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and not between the Communist Party of China and the whole of international communism, as this matter was put forward at the Bucharest Meeting.

We have had sincere relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on everything. But in the way the events developed, and when it is a matter of a third party being accused, we should not pour oil on the fire. Before she left for China, I talked with Liri Belishova about what Mikoyan had told us concerning the Communist Party of China. I also instructed her not to talk about this question with anyone, as long as we had still not informed even the CC of the Party of these disagreements. Liri Belishova should have understood that since we had not informed our Party, it was not up to us to inform the Communist Party of China of what Mikoyan had said about them. Not only was Liri Belishova instructed, but even if she had no instruction at all, as a member of the Political Bureau she should have realized that the

4 On June 6, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in a "very urgent" radiogram sent to Liri Belishova, instructed her: "Concerning the Chinese articles on Leninism, you should find the opportunity to say to them that the CC of the PLA finds them very good, and there is no reason why you should not declare yourself in support of them. Continue to put forward the view of our Party everywhere and in all aspects." (Take n from the original copy in the Central Archives of the Party).

questions raised with her by the Chinese comrades could not be discussed with a third party without obtaining the approval of the Central Committee.

Why did Liri Belishova not seek the opinion of the leadership of the Party? Because she did not have a correct concept of the leadership, of the Political Bureau. She has been conceited and has overrated her own abilities and intelligence, otherwise, like any other member of the Central Committee, when difficulties are encountered about an important problem, she should consult the leadership of the Party and not act without receiving its advice. Liri Belishova did not do this because she liked the position she held.

At the Political Bureau she tried hard to justify her mistakes in Peking. She clung to such arguments as that she was alone and had nobody to consult. But the fact is that she continued to make mistakes in Moscow, too — indeed up to the meeting of the Political Bureau after she returned. She does not want to understand her grave mistakes, and she does not admit them.

When Liri Belishova was in Peking I sent her a radiogram. What was its content? When the holding of the Bucharest Meeting in June was proposed to us, we had received a radiogram from our embassy in Peking, by which we were briefly informed of what had happened at the meeting of the Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, about the major differences of principle between the delegations of the Soviet Union and China. We knew that Liri Belishova would have meetings with the Chinese comrades, so we sent a radiogram concerning the meeting of the communist and workers' parties which was expected to be held in June. We told her that Chinese comrades had proposed the postponement of the June meeting, and if the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other parties agreed with their proposal, we had no objection. If it was to be held in June, we said in the radiogram, the Chinese comrades should be informed, if they would allow us to express our modest opinion, that the participation of the great Communist Party of China in this meeting was essential.

During this time we received another letter from the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union , informing us of the postponement of the meeting which was to have been held in June. Then we sent another radiogram to Liri Belishova in which we said that it was not necessary to transmit to the Chinese comrades the content of the first radiogram, because our fear that the Chinese comrades would not come to the meeting they wanted postponed, had disappeared. Liri Belishova read and interpreted the radiogram in the way she wanted and according to the plan she was turning over in her mind.

Likewise, we instructed her to find the opportunity to inform the Chinese comrades that we had read and liked the articles published by them on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

Liri Belishova did not carry out this instruction from the Political Bureau, because she had her own views. But irrespective of the fact that these articles were not to her liking, she should have transmitted the view of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party to the Chinese comrades. When she returned, she could have expressed her personal view to the Political Bureau. This shows that Liri Belishova had gone to China with definite opinions that were at variance with those of the comrades of the Political Bureau, who at that time held frequent discussions on the political and ideological stands of the CPSU and the CP of China.

When she reached Moscow, Liri Belishova was more completely armed. You know that we sent her two simple but very clear letters, fully sufficient weapons for her to avoid making mistakes.⁵ Taking into account her attitude in China, and especially the shortcomings in her character, such as conceit and ambition, plus the flattery of her by the Soviet leadership who had called her a "heroine," we feared for what she might do and we took this measure so that she could not fall into errors again. Thus, we sent these two letters in order to save her. However, she did not carry out the instructions sent to her.

5 When she returned to Albania, Liri Belishova was asked by the Political Bureau and the basic organization of which she was a member to hand these letters in. She said that she had allegedly destroyed them. In fact she handed them over to the Soviet leaders during the meetings she had with them.

In the first letter, which she received as soon as she arrived in Ulan-Bator, the Political Bureau pointed out to her that she had made grave mistakes in China, and for this reason she should take care not to let the flattery and high-sounding praise that she might receive from the Soviet leaders go to her head. In the second letter, which she received as soon as she landed in Moscow, she was informed of the holding of the Bucharest Meeting, the stand adopted there by our Party, and it was stressed to her that this stand did not please the Soviet leaders, therefore she should be careful to defend the line of the Party, to stress that she fully agreed with the stand of the Central Committee of the Party, as expressed in Bucharest by Comrade Hysni. This stand would have been correct and would have barred the way to all efforts by anyone who might try to split our leadership.

Thus, Liri Belishova had been forewarned so as to avoid any mistakes, had she agreed with the line of the Central Committee.

But the fact is that this is not what happened.

We know the tactics pursued by the Soviet leaders. They invited Liri Belishova to lunch, but there she did not maintain the stand on which she had been instructed by the Political Bureau. She used there the tactics of jokes. "We must make jokes," she thought, "to get out of this situation," but in fact jokes did not help her, and a situation was created that was favorable to the Soviet leaders, unfavorable and in opposition to the stand of the Central Committee of our Party, and compatible, in the final analysis, with the views of Liri Belishova.

During the lunch the Soviet leaders began with praises and toasts to Liri Belishova, and with attacks on our Party, but Liri Belishova dodged the touchy issues, the blows and venom against our Party, directed particularly by Kozlov. Kozlov expressed his dissatisfaction over the stand of Comrade Hysni [Kapo] in Bucharest, and she did not knock him back immediately. She pretends not to be clear about this question, but she allegedly told Kozlov that "Enver Hoxha has no skeleton in the closet like Gomulka" who they said had adopted a *pravilno, yasno* [correct, clear(Russian)] stand. She should have intervened immediately to

say that at Bucharest our Party adopted a correct and clear stand, and that she agreed with that stand.

Then Kozlov said, "We want friendship, but without zig-zags." But who is developing friendship with zigzags? Liri Belishova did not give the proper reply to this, either. In the letter we said to her that Khrushchev did not like the stand of our Party at the Bucharest Meeting; therefore she should have understood that when there was talk of zigzags it was our Party that was being attacked, and she should have replied that our Party does not make zigzags.

Thus, such a stand of Liri Belishova's is deliberate.

During the lunch other insinuations were made, such as: "Whom are you Albanians with — with the 200 or the 600 million?" But this, too, went without a proper reply from Liri Belishova. At the meeting I had with Ivanov, I told him that what Kozlov said was anti-Marxist. And what did he mean by "with the 200 or the 600 million?" Our Party was on a Marxist road, therefore it was with all the countries of our socialist camp.

However, at the Plenum Liri Belishova told us that she did not hear this question properly, or did not understand it. But it is impossible that this escaped her ears, for he said it at lunch, sitting near her, and we do not agree with such a justification.

They might even have said these things in a confusing, indirect way, but at the end of the lunch she should have risen and said: "Comrades, there are no zigzags in our line. We are for the unity of all the countries of our camp; therefore let us drink this toast to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism!" But in fact this was not the way she acted; the lunch and these venom-filled remarks of the Soviet leaders were passed off with a laugh.

But why with a laugh? Because Liri Belishova did not agree with the line of our Party on these questions, she had a different view and she thought that her view was correct and, in the final account, in her opinion, the views of the leadership of our Party were not correct, and that in this situation we were making mistakes.

Thus, even when she came back, Liri Belishova showed

some signs and took some actions which confirm this. She began especially to say to the comrades: "Comrade Enver should be sidetracked, we should not draw him into this situation so that he will not compromise himself over these questions." In plain language, according to her view, this means, "Nobody knows how the conflict between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will end. Therefore, we should leave Comrade Enver out of it, not let him meddle in it, and when this problem is over, then we shall see who is right, you or I. That's the time for Comrade Enver to come out and give the stick to the others who were wrong, and in this way we are in order."

That is, even after her return to Tirana, in spite of the advice given her at the meeting of the Political Bureau, Liri Belishova continued to maintain the same stand and to concoct intrigues to disrupt the leadership of the Party.

Linked with this is also Liri Belishova's other thesis: "We must prepare several variants for the Moscow Meeting" and, after we see which way the "wind" is blowing, make use of the one that seems to us the most advantageous. This is a very wrong, opportunist view, entirely unacceptable to our Party of Labor. We must go to the Moscow meeting, not with "several variants" but with a clear-cut stand, not with ten banners but with one, the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Another view of Liri Belishova's was that the comrades of the Plenum or the alternate members of the Political Bureau should not be given the documents exchanged between the Political Bureau and Comrade Hysni Kapo in Bucharest, who was instructed through them about the stand he should adopt there. What does this mean? This is connected with the fact that "these documents bear Enver's signature, therefore we should not expose him." Why should we not inform the Central Committee about the practice followed by the Political Bureau, and let the Plenum judge its work? What is wrong with this?

But in reality there are, and there should have been, second thoughts in Liri Belishova's head. The explanations she has given have not convinced the Political Bureau that she has

thoroughly and profoundly understood her mistakes. She should bring out the reasons why she acted as she did and who impelled her, from what bases these thoughts arose in her — that is, she should make a profound analysis of her mistakes. That is why we analyzed this question again in the Political Bureau.

The aim of this discussion in the Political Bureau was to help Liri Belishova. The contributions to the discussion were heated, severe, for they concerned the defense of the interests of the Party, its line, its life. We must stand firm in behalf of the interests of the Party. To tell the truth, Liri Belishova was given plenty of help by the comrades, and she should have made a frank self-criticism, with the gloves off. But her self-criticism in the Political Bureau was not satisfactory. She said nothing; indeed, through her contributions she indirectly expressed dissatisfaction and doubts about the stand adopted in her regard.

Liri Belishova presented her mistakes in a very simple way. She did not make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of these mistakes, of their sources — something which was expected from her. She did not proceed from the principle of telling the Party the real causes that impelled her to make mistakes, but she clung to such arguments as "she was alone and had nobody to consult." This tactic of Liri Belishova's is not healthy. She should have told the Political Bureau frankly why these mistakes were made and where they had their source.

The comrades of the Political Bureau analyzed Liri Belishova's mistakes and arrived at the conclusion that such mistakes would not have been made so easily, had she not had some distorted views about the others and an overestimation of herself.

Liri Belishova should have understood clearly that revisionism does not exist only in Yugoslavia, but that revisionist views also exist in parties of other countries, which are deviating from the correct Marxist-Leninist road.

Many times we have discussed with Liri Belishova that many actions of the Soviet leaders are not on the right road, but are on an opportunist road, which is to the advantage of the revisionists, particularly of the Yugoslav revisionists.

And this has not been a matter only of tactical stands on their part. We observe that the Soviet leaders have allowed the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists to die down. From time to time they write theoretical articles against the Yugoslav revisionists, but even those have many gaps in them; while as to the concrete struggle against them, this they have cut right out. Indeed there are parties, such as the Communist Party of Bulgaria, which have even taken decisions not to say anything against the Yugoslav revisionists.

We cannot say that these matters were a bolt from the blue to Liri Belishova, and therefore she has no right to say: "How could I imagine that in the line of the Soviet leaders there are such revisionist views?" We talk about such problems every day, but Liri Belishova's eyes have been blinded by the flattery and great praise of the Soviet leaders, and she has reconciled herself with them. She has forgotten that on such an important question as that of the disagreements between the CPSU and the CP of China no Marxist party whatever can be hindered from expressing its viewpoint, just as it cannot be hindered from expressing it also on the actions of Khrushchev or Kozlov, which we think are not correct at all.

When we speak of love for the USSR, we must not include here those who make mistakes, whoever they may be — Soviets, Czechs, Bulgarians or Albanians. Every Marxist and leader must clearly understand that we do not love the USSR for the beautiful eyes of Ivanov. He [Ivanov] does not love the Soviet Union, or our friendship with the Soviet Union, as long as he acts in a hostile way against a people and a party who nurture a sincere love for the Soviet people, which he has seen with his own eyes during his three-year stay in our country. And why should we keep Ivanov happy to avoid ruining our friendship? The same goes for Kozlov, Khrushchev, and others.

We have our own views, which we have expressed and will express. But Liri Belishova was not reconciled to this stand, for she has wavered in the party line. She has been led to these positions by her conceit, she has become very swell-headed, she overrates her own capacities and underrates others. For this she has been criticized several times.

In spite of the advice given her, she adopts a very arrogant attitude toward the cadres, she has offended them and continues to do so, she has attacked them so severely that even in the apparatus of the Central Committee there are comrades who have asked to leave for this reason. Despite the criticism made of her, she demonstrated her arrogance toward the cadres even at the last meeting of the Central Committee of the ALYU [Albanian Labor Youth Union]. She acted in the same way also at the Teachers' Conference. To act in this way after all the criticism made of you, means that you fail to reflect on your mistakes.

These manifestations show that when you have such scorn for the cadres subordinate to you, you will also have a similar concept of those with whom you are on a par. As a matter of fact, even with regard to comrades of the Political Bureau, Liri Belishova often has not taken a correct and healthy stand. To underrate the comrades of the leadership, and to display this on many occasions even in public, is impermissible. The criticism made of the cadres before the masses is one thing; we have done this and shall continue to do it. But despising and discrediting the cadres is another thing.

There are many facts of this nature about Liri Belishova. Therefore, when you have such a concept of the cadres, in complicated situations you make mistakes, as she did, even making mistakes in regard to the line. When you have such views about the cadres up to the leadership, of course you will not have sound views about the decisions this leadership adopts either, decisions that are a many-sided concretization of the political line of the Party.

Therefore, if you go on with such rubbish in your head, if you live with this overestimation of yourself, you are sure to make mistakes in the political line, too.

Thus, Liri Belishova has been wrong on these questions, and still has not understood her grave mistakes. The Political Bureau came to the conclusion that Liri Belishova should reflect further on her mistakes. We remained dissatisfied with her self-criticism; she promised us that she would think it over, and she must have done so. Now it depends on the self criticism she will

make before the Plenum, and on how much she has benefited from the help of the Political Bureau.

Her case now depends on the evaluation she will make of these problems before the Plenum of the Central Committee. We advise her to look straight and deeply into her mistakes from a sound Marxist-Leninist basis, for there is no comrade who holds any ill-will, not only toward Liri Belishova but toward anyone at all who has made mistakes. We only wish her well; that is why we are trying to correct her. But with these views she cannot be in the Political Bureau, for it is a very serious thing to be in disagreement with the line of the Central Committee. The Political Bureau has decided to propose to the Plenum that Liri Belishova be discharged from her function as a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee for Propaganda,⁶ because these high bodies of the Party must not include comrades who run counter to the views and ideological and political line of the Central Committee. In the Political Bureau and Central Committee there must be complete unity of thought and action, and in the first place on the main questions, such as the current question, which is of exceptional importance to the building of socialism in our country and to international communism.

6 Despite the great efforts of the Political Bureau and the Plenum of the CC to put Liri Belishova back on the correct Marxist-Leninist line, because she was completely compromised by the Khrushchevite revisionists, she lacked the courage to tell the Party everything, and sticking to the instructions of her bosses in Moscow, she continued stubbornly to maintain an anti-Marxist, anti-Party, hostile stand. Therefore the Plenum unanimously expelled her from its ranks. Later, seeing that she was continuing to maintain an anti-Marxist, hostile stand toward the general views of the PLA and Marxism-Leninism, the Party branch in which she took part expelled her from the Party, too.

The Defense of the Marxist-Leninist Line is Vital For Our Party and People and for International Communism

(Contribution to the Discussion at the 18th Plenum of the CC of the PLA)

7 September, 1960

[. . .] The question of defending the line of the Party, in all its aspects, is vital to the people of our country and to international communism.

Let us speak here as Marxists, not as the leaders of a small state. As Marxists we have the right to have our say, to defend communism, just as much as the Soviets and any other Marxist-Leninist party, big or small. It is not a matter of conceit on our part when we say that we are defending and assisting the cause of international communism by our consistent, correct stand. Marxists have a proper understanding of this. Those who are not Marxists and conceal their anti-Marxist, bourgeois views might sneer: "*Who are you to make such claims that you are defending international communism?* You carry no weight with us." But it does not worry us what others may say, just as it doesn't worry us that they call us "dogmatic," "sectarian," and other such epithets that do not fit our Party.

The line of our Party has been correct and Marxist-Leninist. It has been tested in practice for nearly 20 years, in the daily struggle for the liberation of the Fatherland, for the construction of socialism, for the defense of Marxism-Leninism from enemies of every hue and from the Yugoslav revisionists. The great successes our people have achieved, the great changes Albania has undergone in the economic, political, cultural and other fields have proved this. The Albanian people speak with admiration of all these achievements.

With our people, the main thing to be seen is their conviction, their correct understanding that it is Marxism-Leninism, the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, that has brought them these major economic, cultural and social transformations. This is of very great importance, and this is proved by the very close ties of our Party with the people.

Thus, the life and work of our Party show that its line is correct, it has found the approval and support of our people, and it

is neither dogmatic nor sectarian. We reject this epithet they apply to us — today under their breath or tomorrow at the top of their voices — and we will continue on our Marxist-Leninist road. Those who attempt to do such things are doomed to failure. Life and the struggle will expose them.

It is not only our Party members and our people who speak with admiration about the correct line of our Party, about the great achievements of our country, but also the communist and workers' parties of many countries of the world. They speak in this way because of the fact that the Party of Labor of Albania liberated the country and set it on the road of progress, on the road of socialism. They see the great vitality and the heroism of the Albanian people and our Party, who are weathering all these storms with great determination.

Therefore nobody, not even Liri Belishova, should think that this admiration by communists all over the world for our small but heroic Party is due to Khrushchev. By no means. If it were up to Khrushchev and the present Soviet leadership, Albania would not be what it is today, and the esteem and admiration the other parties have for our Party and country would not exist.

Here we are in the Central Committee, therefore it is correct that the discussion should be frank and Marxist. Liri Belishova may be surprised by the open allusions we have made on some occasions in the meetings of the Political Bureau. We have said, for example, that there are party leaders who value the leadership of another party by the quantity of potatoes or tomatoes produced, and not on the basis of the political line it pursues. Liri Belishova has interjected, "*How can you speak about these comrades like this?*" We have told her that we are speaking about them on the basis of facts, here in the Central Committee and not in the marketplace, and we speak frankly. However, the time will come when these thoughts and opinions, along with other facts drawn from life, will certainly be voiced at international conferences as well.

Many other parties have supported the Party of Labor of Albania in its resolute stand toward modern revisionism, especially against Yugoslav revisionism. This shows that there are

really great and sound forces in these parties, although the worm of revisionism has penetrated into the leadership of some of them and is gnawing away at them from within. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to subdue the Marxist-Leninist forces that exist in all the parties. They have understood our stand regardless of the fact that we have not come out openly against the mistakes of the Soviet leaders.

Liri Belishova should not think that this is a tactic to protect Khrushchev — not by any means. We have always fought against revisionism, and will continue to do so. International communism has seen that we are against Khrushchev, and the true Marxist-Leninists have appreciated the correct stand and tactics of our Party. Our stand has been correct, and because of this nobody has dared to attack us openly; nevertheless, attempts have been made, and they are mounting to the level of threats, pressure and blackmail, but we have put them in their place.

Then they resorted to the tactic of discrediting the Party of Labor of Albania. *In what way?* They tell us, "You are shouting and screaming so much against revisionism, that this is making them feel unduly important." This has been whispered around all the leaderships of the countries of the people's democracies and has even reached the leaderships of some communist parties of Western Europe. But what they say has no foundation. In fact, this is a call to phase out the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism.

Now these tactics are continuing. It has been changed in form and will be turned into open attacks against our Party because we did not fall into line as the Soviet leadership desired, that is to say, we followed another road. But none of these tactics succeeded in intimidating our Party, and there is no force that can do so, even if they do call us "dogmatic," "sectarian," or "narrow-minded nationalists," and try to lead us into a blind alley. The strength of our Party and its Central Committee proves this. It is clear that the attempts to set us on that road are in vain.

This is not a matter of respect. We do respect and love the peoples of the Soviet Union, but not Pospnyelov.¹ As long as he remained on the Marxist-Leninist road, we had respect for him,

1 Pyotr N. Pospnyelov, Deputy Member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU.

but now that he maintains such an anti-Marxist attitude toward our Party, we say to him, "Please stop!" When he can find not the slightest violation of Marxism on our part, why should he tell us to "Read Lenin!" That is what he said to our ambassador in Moscow, Comrade Nesti Nase, who has stood up to the attacks by Pospyelov very well.

We want the disagreements between parties to be settled in a correct way. But they have not made, and do not want to make, any effort to settle these disagreements. But that is not all: Pospyelov should know that Marxism-Leninism teaches us that talks should not be held behind the back of another party, that a comrade's mistakes should be spoken about openly, according to Marxist-Leninist rules. *What respect should we have for those who act differently?* If you defend Marxism-Leninism, you should be consistent to the end. And we say to Pospyelov: "You have read Lenin all your life, but facts are showing that now you are distorting him."

The question of the correctness of the line of the Party throughout its existence is clear. *Has our Party been wrong over the Yugoslav questions?* Facts have shown that it has not been wrong. Others have made mistakes, and first of all Khrushchev. He is not sufficiently a Marxist to have the courage to say, "I have been wrong." Since he has made mistakes, he should turn around and make a self-criticism and say, "I have accused Stalin of having been wrong about the Yugoslavs." Life has proved that Stalin was right. Then, if you are a Marxist, come out and say that Stalin was not wrong about these questions.

What does it mean when we are told that we should keep quiet and not expose the Yugoslav revisionists, since that would allegedly give them undue importance? This means we should be quiet, because if you speak out against the Yugoslav revisionists, the worthlessness of others will be brought to light, too, since not only the Yugoslavs are revisionists. If you sharpen the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, this will open your eyes to other revisionist elements, too, in whatever form they may present themselves.

The Czech leaders say: "Your Party takes a stand against

the revisionists, but *why does it not also take a stand against the Communist Party of China, which doesn't respect the principles of coexistence?*" *But why should we condemn the Communist Party of China?* What is the line of our Party on this question? We are for peaceful coexistence, but when Lenin spoke about coexistence, he did not advise us to kiss and embrace the representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

If you see a film they have produced of late, it will certainly revolt you. This film which, it seems, is called *SOS* shows how a Soviet seaman and a collective farmer go and live together, I gather, with a British multimillionaire. His daughter gives the collective farmer the best room, and falls in love with the Soviet seaman, while the British lord drives his drunken son-in-law out of his house, and so on and so forth.

We are for peaceful coexistence; not for coexistence such as that represented in the film, but for Leninist coexistence, so that we can expose imperialism and revisionism, expose any manoeuvre and attempt of theirs to destroy us. Their aim is to destroy communism, our aim is to destroy imperialism and its agency, revisionism. We want to coexist, for example, with Greece, and *why not?* But we do not want to give Greece Gjirokastra and Korça,² which the chauvinists covet — in no way! We can by no means make concessions to the Greek chauvinists under the guise of peaceful coexistence. Tomorrow, Khrushchev may even award the Peace Medal to such people who harbor annexationist aims toward us, but we shall take up these questions at the coming meeting.

We are not for opening our doors to American spies, to decadent art and the American way of life. No, we are not for this road. With our ideology, we should fight all the manoeuvres and condemn the plans and the line of reconciliation with bourgeois ideology. Imperialism aims at destroying our countries not only by means of violence, but also by means of its ideology, its theater, its music, its ballet, its press and television, etc. We do not understand coexistence as the propagation of the American way of life. We do not approve of Czech or Soviet officials giving receptions and dances *a la Americana* in their embassies. The

2 Regions in Southern Albania.

comrades representing our country abroad have been scandalized by such manifestations. We are not for such a road.

We have told Mikoyan, too, that they should revise their view of the border question between China and India. We say to them that if the Greeks cross our borders at Gramos,³ we shall certainly not sit back with arms folded. And the Chinese took the same stand with the Indians.

But now the Soviets are accusing China of warmongering and of not consulting anybody about their activity. But *whom did the Soviets consult on the Cuban question, when they stated that if the United States attacked Cuba, the Soviet Union would retaliate against the United States with missiles?* In the first place, if there is war over Cuba, all of us will be involved in it. Second, if the Soviet leaders respect the other countries of our camp, at least they must consult us about such important steps. Certainly, Cuba is the country of a people who have fought. But if the Soviet leaders consider their stand in defending Cuba as correct, then *why should they accuse China over the question of Taiwan, a large island of 10-12 million inhabitants and of great strategic importance?* On this island, which is an integral part of China, the U.S. 7th Fleet has established a lair. *Why should China be patient and not demand the return of its territory?* However, China has not lost patience but, on our part, efforts and pressure should be exerted on imperialism because we are a great force.

We and the Chinese both say that our camp is strong, but it is another matter if, because of an opportunist line in understanding peaceful coexistence, questions of such major importance are neglected, and not only national ones but those connected with the strengthening of our entire camp. It is altogether wrong to fail to show the proper concern over the interests of great China. They may say that they have raised their voice for this purpose in the United Nations Organization, but *how many other situations are there in which we can speak of defending the interests of China?*

It is said in all quarters that our camp is monolithic and united, etc. But we know very well that the existence of such

3 A mountain on the Albanian border with Greece.

grave differences in our camp is not a good thing at all. And if attempts are not made in a Marxist-Leninist way to eliminate these differences, then the Soviet leaders will embark on a very dangerous revisionist course.

Who must bear the blame for this? We have demanded that the Marxist-Leninist norms must be respected in the relations between parties. The Soviet leaders accuse us of allegedly putting great stress on form and dealing with matters in a stereotyped way. But the questions we have raised are not matters of form. Khrushchev went four times to Brioni (Yugoslavia) to talk with the Yugoslavs about the Hungarian question. Why didn't he talk it over, at least once, with us, and *why was there no meeting of the parties, members of the Information Bureau, held at that time*, in which the voice of our Party could also have been heard and we could have reported about the manoeuvres of the Yugoslav revisionists, so that the other parties could have profited from this experience? Is this just a matter of form?!

Why was the very important question of Poland solved in a bilateral way?

Our Party has taken a correct stand on all these situations; otherwise they would have attacked it directly. However, the attack came following the Bucharest Meeting. Up to that time the Soviet leaders had nothing bad to say about the line of our Party, except in connection with the stern attitude which we maintained toward the Yugoslav revisionists, that we were allegedly "hot-blooded", etc. But now our Party has become, according to them, "sectarian", and "narrowly nationalist." But we are neither sectarian, nor nationalist, nor dogmatic, but Marxists. The correct line of our Party has been tested by life, by our struggle; hence it enjoys the sympathy of all the communists throughout the world, and this encourages us to march forward.

These questions have been and remain clear. We shall make them more concrete, and will stress that nobody has any reason to accuse China, and that we are against the accusations that have been made against her. The opportunist and revisionist mistakes of the Soviet leaders and others will also emerge [. . .] .

Reject the Revisionist Theses of the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Anti-Marxist Stand of Krushchev's Group! Uphold Marxism-Leninism!

Speech Delivered by Enver Hoxha as Head of the Delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania Before the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow

16 November, 1960

INTRODUCTION

In his speech delivered at the Conference of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow in November 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha made an all-round analysis of the main problems that were concerning the international communist movement and firmly upheld Marxism-Leninism. This speech is one of the most important phases of the principled fight which the Party of Labor of Albania has waged to expose modern revisionism and consolidate the unity of the international communist and workers' movement.

The battle the Party of Labor of Albania has waged against the revisionist views of the Khrushchevite Soviet leadership began immediately after the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Although this battle was not waged directly and openly at the beginning, the Party of Labor of Albania had made known all its reservations and objections to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Party of Labor of Albania tried in every way to avoid publicizing its differences with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lest that would put weapons into the hands of the enemies of communism. On the other hand, it was not yet cognizant of Khrushchev's real intentions, therefore it tried to settle the differences through talks and consultations in a comradely spirit. While maintaining a principled stand, it strove and hoped to make the Soviet leaders realize their mistakes and take the right path.

The real treacherous features of the Soviet revisionists became more and more evident to the Party of Labor of Albania. The more their treachery was revealed, the harsher and more irreconcilable became the battle the Party of Labor of Albania

waged against Khrushchevite revisionism in order to expose and crush it completely.

At the June 1960 Bucharest meeting the Party of Labor of Albania came out in the open in defense of Marxist-Leninist principles and cried "Halt!" to the Khrushchevite revisionists who attempted to hatch up a dangerous plot against the Communist Party of China and against the entire international communist movement.

After the Bucharest meeting the Soviet revisionist leaders launched a savage attack against the Party of Labor of Albania in order to force it into line with them and their deeds. Under these conditions, the Party of Labor of Albania became more thoroughly convinced that its principled stand on all the basic issues of the international communist movement should be maintained with the utmost courage and determination. It did this at the 1960 November Conference in Moscow.

In his speech at the Conference, Comrade Enver Hoxha, openly, frankly and with Marxist-Leninist courage, submitted the principled views of the Party of Labor of Albania on the main issues of the international communist movement about which differences had arisen and sharply criticized N. Khrushchev's revisionist group, both for its erroneous anti-Marxist views and actions as well as for its brutal interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labor of Albania and the savage attacks it had launched against it.

The Party of Labor of Albania launched this absolutely principled criticism against the Soviet leaders in order to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, because unity cannot be preserved without exposing faults and alien manifestations, without condemning them forthrightly and without correcting them on Marxist-Leninist lines.

At the Moscow meeting, the Khrushchevites did their utmost to refute the criticism against their revisionist views and divisive acts. Their attempt was in vain.

Following the determined and principled stand of the

Party of Labor of Albania on all the problems that were preoccupying the international communist movement, and after the speech of the Chinese delegation, the representatives of all the participating parties at the meeting were obliged to express their attitude one way or the other. Faced with this situation, the revisionists tried to draw the attention of the participants at the meeting away from principled issues and to turn the meeting into a platform of vicious attacks against the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China. But this attempt also met with failure. The principled, internationalist stand of the Party of Labor of Albania in defense of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement was seconded by the Communist Party of China and by the delegations of a number of other parties. The Khrushchevite revisionists were obliged to back down.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech was a major contribution to the successful outcome of the Moscow Conference. Thanks to the determined battle waged by the Communist Party of China, by the Party of Labor of Albania and by some other parties, the Moscow Conference approved the Declaration. Included in the Declaration were certain incorrect conclusions and erroneous theses. On these assessments and theses, the Party of Labor of Albania entertained quite contrary views which it had also expressed openly at the Conference. The delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania signed the Declaration considering its content correct in general. While making concessions on partial matters for the sake of unity, the Party of Labor of Albania made no concessions whatsoever on the main issues which were connected with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labor of Albania was of the opinion that unity in the international communist movement could be established if every party carried out the Declaration in good faith, and that the differences could be settled only by observing the norms governing the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties without making public these differences to the enemies of socialism. This is why the Party of Labor of Albania refrained from publishing Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference at that time, but persisted in carrying out the

Declaration which was approved there.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference clearly shows that from that time onward, the Party of Labor of Albania would wage an open battle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Nevertheless, this battle had not yet assumed that breadth and depth which it assumed later as a logical consequence of the embitterment of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and of the degeneration of the Soviet revisionist leaders into a gang of renegades from and traitors to socialism. The whole document bears the seal of the time and circumstances under which it came to being. It is published without modification.

*Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies of the Central Committee of
the Party of Labor of Albania*

**REJECT THE REVISIONIST THESES OF THE XX
CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
SOVIET UNION AND THE ANTI-MARXIST STAND OF
KHRUSHCHEV'S GROUP!**

UPHOLD MARXISM-LENINISM!

Dear Comrades!

This Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties is of historic importance to the international communist movement, for it makes a detailed analysis of the international political situation, drawing up a balance sheet of the successes and of the mistakes that may have been verified along our course, helping us see more clearly the line we should pursue henceforth in order to score further successes to the benefit of socialism, communism, and peace.

The existence of the socialist camp with the Soviet Union in the lead is already an accomplished fact in the world. The communist movement in general has been enlarged, strengthened and tempered. The communist and workers' parties throughout the

world have become a colossal force to lead mankind forward towards socialism, towards peace.

As the draft statement which has been prepared emphasises, our socialist camp is much stronger than that of the imperialists. Socialism rises higher and stronger day by day while imperialism grows weaker and decays. We would make use of all our means and exert all our efforts to speed up this process. This will come about if we abide loyally and unwaveringly by Marxism-Leninism and apply it correctly. Otherwise, we will retard this process, for we have to cope with a ruthless enemy -- imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism whom we must defeat and destroy.

We want peace, while imperialism does not want peace and is preparing for a third world war. We must fight with all our might to avert a world war and to bring about the triumph in the world of a just and democratic peace. This will come about when imperialism will have been forced to disarm. Imperialism will not disarm of its own free will. To believe anything of the kind is merely to deceive oneself and others. Therefore we should confront imperialism with the colossal economic, military, moral, political and ideological strength of the socialist camp, as well as with the combined strength of the peoples throughout the world. We should sabotage by every means the war which the imperialists are preparing.

The Party of Labor of Albania has neither kept nor will it ever keep secret from its people this situation and threat from imperialism menacing peace-loving mankind. We can assure you that the Albanian people, who detest war, have not been alarmed by this correct action of their Party: they have not become pessimistic nor have they been marking time as far as socialist construction is concerned. They have a clear vision of their future and have set to work with full confidence, being always on guard, keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other.

We hold the view that U.S.-led imperialism should be mercilessly exposed politically and ideologically. At no time should we permit flattery, prettification or softness towards imperialism. No concessions of principle should be made to

imperialism. Tactics and compromises on our part should help our cause not that of the enemy.

Facing a ruthless enemy, the guarantee for the triumph of our cause lies in our complete unity which will be secured by eliminating the deep ideological disagreements which have been manifested, and by basing this unity on Marxist-Leninist foundations, on equality, on brotherhood, on a comradely spirit and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is of the opinion that, not only should we not have any ideological divisions, but that we should maintain a unified political stand on all issues. Our tactics and strategy towards the enemy should be worked out by all our parties, based on Marxist-Leninist principles, on correct political criteria complying with the concrete existing situations.

Our socialist camp, headed by the glorious Soviet Union, has become a colossal force from all points of view, both as to its economic and cultural as well as to its military potential. At the center of the successes, at the center of the strength of our camp lies the colossal moral and political, economic, cultural, and military strength of the Soviet Union. The successes in industry, agriculture, education and culture, in science and in the military field in the Soviet Union are exceptionally great. At the same time they are of immeasurable assistance to the achievement of major successes in the other countries of the socialist camp.

It is rightly pointed out in the draft-Statement that the great and inexhaustible strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the decisive factor in the triumph of peace in the world, it is the moral, political and ideological force which inspires the peoples of the world who are fighting to free themselves from the yoke of the blood-sucking colonialists, from the clutches of imperialism and capitalism, it is its force of example and its economic aid which helps and inspires other peoples to win the battle for total liberation from the exploiting capitalists.

It is for this major reason that the Soviet Union and the socialist camp have become the center and hope of the peoples of the world, their moral, political and economic prop, their firm and loyal champions against the threats of the warmongering U.S.,

British, French aggressors and their allies.

All the peoples of the world aspire to and fight for freedom, independence, sovereignty, social justice, culture and peace. These sacred aspirations of theirs have been and are being trampled upon by the capitalists, the feudal lords and imperialists and it is natural that the struggle of these peoples should be waged with great severity against the capitalists, feudal chiefs and imperialists. It is also natural for the peoples of the world to seek allies in this battle for life which they are waging against the executioners. It is only the Soviet Union and the socialist camp that are their great, powerful and faithful allies.

Therefore, in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and social progress in the world, the socialist camp is not alone against the imperialist camp but in close alliance with all the progressive people of the world, while the imperialists stand isolated against the socialist camp.

We are living at a time when we are witnessing the total destruction of colonialism, the elimination of this plague that wiped peoples from the face of the earth. New states are springing up in Africa and Asia. The states where capital, the scourge, and the bullet reigned supreme, are putting an end to the yoke of bondage, and the people are taking their destiny into their own hands. This has been achieved thanks to the struggle of these people and the moral support given them by the Soviet Union, People's China, and the other countries of the socialist camp.

Traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism and intriguers like Josif Broz Tito, try in a thousand ways, by hatching up diabolic schemes like the creation of a third force, to mislead these people and the newly-set up states, to detach them from their natural allies, to hitch them up to U.S. imperialism. We should exert all our efforts to defeat the schemes of these lackeys of imperialism.

We are witnessing the disintegration of imperialism, its decomposition, its final agony. We live and fight during the epoch which is characterized by the irresistible transition from capitalism to socialism. All of the brilliant teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, teachings that have never become

outdated, though the revisionists claim they have, are being confirmed in practice.

World imperialism is being dealt hard blows which clearly go to show that it is no longer in its "golden age", when it made the law as and when it wanted. The initiative has slipped from its hands and this is not on account of its own desires. The initiative was not wrested from it by mere words and discourses but after a long process of bloody battles and revolutions which capitalism itself forced upon the proletariat by the strength of people who were rising to smash the world of hunger and misery, the world of slavery. This glorious page was opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the great Soviet Union, by great Lenin.

Even now, when it sees its approaching doom, when it has strong and determined opponents such as the socialist camp and its great alliance with all the peoples of the world, U.S.-led world imperialism is mustering, organizing, and arming its assault forces. It is preparing for war. He who fails to see this, is blind. He who sees it but covers it up, is a traitor in the service of imperialism.

The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that, in spite of the major difficulties we encounter on our way to establish peace in the world, to bring about disarmament and settle the other international problems, there is no reason to be pessimistic. It is only our enemies who are losing, that are and should be pessimistic. We have won, we are winning and will continue to win. That is why we are confident that our efforts will be crowned with success.

But we think that exaggerated, unrealistic optimism is not only bad but also harmful. He who denies, belittles, who has no faith in our great economic, political, military, moral strength is a defeatist and does not deserve to be called a communist. On the other hand, he who, intoxicated by our potential, disregards the strength of the opponents, thinking that the enemy has lost all hope, has become harmless, and is entirely at our mercy, he is not a realist. He bluffs, lulls mankind to sleep before all these complicated and very dangerous situations which demand very great vigilance from us all, which demand the heightening of the

revolutionary drive of the masses, not its slackening, its disintegration, decomposition and relaxation. "Waters sleep, but not the enemy" is a wise saying of our long-suffering people.

Let us look facts straight in the eye. World imperialism headed by its aggressive detachment, U.S. imperialism, is directing the course of its economy towards preparations for war. It is arming itself to the teeth. U.S. imperialism is rearming Bonn's Germany, Japan, and all its allies and satellites with all kinds of weapons. It has set up and perfected aggressive military organizations, it has established and continues to establish military bases all around the socialist camp. It is accumulating stocks of nuclear weapons and refuses to disarm, to stop testing nuclear weapons, and is feverishly engaged in inventing new means of mass extermination. Why is it doing all this? To go to a wedding party? No, to go to war against us, to do away with socialism and communism, to put the peoples under bondage.

The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that if we say and think otherwise we will be deceiving ourselves and others. We would not be called communists if we were afraid of the vicissitudes of life. We, communists, detest war. We, communists, will fight to the end to smash the diabolic and warmongering schemes the U.S. imperialists are up to, but if they launch a war, we should deal them a mortal blow that will wipe imperialism from the face of the earth once and for all.

Faced with the nuclear blackmail of the U.S.-led world imperialists, we should be fully prepared economically, politically, morally as well as militarily to cope with any eventuality.

We should prevent a world war; it is not fatally unavoidable. But no one will pardon us if we live in a dream and let the enemy catch us unawares, for it has never happened that the enemy is to be trusted, otherwise, he would not be called an enemy. The enemy is and remains an enemy and a perfidious one at that. He who puts his trust in the enemy will sooner or later lose his case.

We should do everything, strive with all our means, in order to prevent war. The policy of the Soviet Union and of our socialist camp has been and remains a policy of peace. All the

Soviet proposals and those of the Governments of our countries of the People's Democracy made in the international arena have aimed at easing tension among nations, at solving unsettled issues through negotiations and not through war.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and of the countries of the socialist camp has exerted a major influence in exposing the aggressive intentions of imperialism, in mobilizing the people against the warmongers, in promoting their glorious struggle against the imperialist oppressors and their tools. The examples of heroic Cuba, the struggle of the Japanese people and the events in South Korea and Turkey are the best proof of this.

But, in spite of all this, many concrete problems that lie on the table, like the proposals for disarmament, the summit conference, etc., have not yet been resolved and are being systematically sabotaged by the U.S. imperialists.

What conclusions should we draw from all this? The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that imperialism and, first and foremost, U.S. imperialism, has not changed its skin, color or nature. It is aggressive and will remain aggressive as long as it has a single tooth left in its mouth. And being of an aggressive nature, it may plunge the world into a war. Therefore, as we emphasized at the meeting of the Editorial Committee, we insist that it should be brought home clearly to all the peoples that, there is no absolute guarantee against world war until socialism has triumphed throughout the world, or at least in the majority of countries. The U.S. imperialists make no secret of their refusal to disarm. They are increasing their armaments, preparing for the war, therefore we should be on our guard.

We should make no concessions of principle to the enemy, we should entertain no illusions about imperialism because, despite our good intentions we would make things worse. In addition to rearming and preparing war against us, the enemy is launching an unbridled propaganda to poison the spirit and numb the minds of the people. They spend millions of dollars to recruit agents and spies, millions of dollars to organize acts of espionage, diversion and of outrage in our countries. U.S. imperialism has given and is giving billions of dollars to its loyal

agents, the treacherous Tito gang. It does all this with a view to weakening our internal front, to sowing dissension, to wakening and disorganizing our rearareas.

A lot is said about peaceful coexistence, some even go so far as to assert such absurdities as that People's China and Albania are allegedly opposed to peaceful coexistence. Obviously, such harmful and erroneous views should be rejected once and for all. There can be no socialist state, there can be no communist who is opposed to peaceful coexistence, who is a warmonger. Great Lenin was the first to put forward the principle of peaceful coexistence among states of different social orders as an objective necessity as long as socialist and capitalist states exist side by side in the world. Standing loyal to this great principle of Lenin's, our Party of Labor has always held and still holds that the policy of peaceful coexistence responds to the vital interests of all the peoples, responds to the purpose of the further consolidation of the positions of socialism, therefore, this principle of Lenin's is the basis of the entire foreign policy of our people's State.

Peaceful coexistence between two opposing systems does not imply, as the modern revisionists claim, that we should give up the class struggle. On the contrary, the class struggle must continue; the political and ideological struggle against imperialism, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, should become ever more intense. In our persistent struggle to establish Leninist peaceful coexistence while making no concessions of principle to imperialism, we should further promote the class struggle in capitalist countries as well as the national-liberation movement of the people of colonial and dependent countries.

In our view, the communist and workers parties in the capitalist countries should strive to establish peaceful coexistence between their countries which are still under the capitalist system and our socialist countries. This strengthens the positions of peace and weakens the positions of capitalism in those countries and, in general, helps the class struggle in those countries. But their task does not end there. In these countries, it is necessary to promote, intensify and strengthen the class struggle. The laboring masses, guided by the local proletariat headed by the communist party and in alliance with all the proletariat of the world, should make life

impossible for imperialism, should crush its fighting and economic potential, should wrest from its hands its economic and political power and proceed to the destruction of the old power and the establishment of the new power of the people. Will they do this by violence or by the peaceful parliamentary road?

This question has been clear and it was not necessary for Comrade Khrushchev to confuse it in the 20th Congress, and do so in such a way as to please the opportunists. Why was it necessary to resort to so many parodies of Lenin's clear theses and the October Socialist Revolution? The Party of Labor of Albania is quite clear about and does not shift from Lenin's teachings on this matter. So far, no people, no proletariat and no communist or workers' party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence.

It is incorrect for some comrades to claim that they assumed power without bloodshed, for they forget that the glorious Soviet Army shed streams of blood for them during the Second World War.

Our Party thinks that, in this matter, we should be prepared and prepared well for both eventualities, especially, for taking power by violence, for if we are well prepared for this eventuality, the other eventuality has more chance of success. The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow to the head and crushes you because you have not trained the necessary cadres to attack, nor done illegal work, you have not prepared a place where you can be protected and still work, nor the means with which to fight. We should forestall this tragic eventuality.

The Party of Labor of Albania is and will be for peace and peaceful coexistence and will fight for them in the Marxist-Leninist way, as Lenin taught us, and on the basis of the Moscow Peace Manifest. It has been, is and will be striving actively for general disarmament. On no occasion and not even for a moment will the Party of Labor of Albania cease to wage a political and ideological struggle against the activities of the imperialists and capitalists and against bourgeois ideology, it will not cease to wage a bitter, uninterrupted and uncompromising battle against

modern revisionism and, particularly, against Yugoslav Titoite revisionism. There may be comrades who reproach us Albanians, with being stubborn, hot-blooded, sectarian, dogmatic and what not, but we reject all these false accusations and tell them that we do not deviate from these positions, for they are Marxist-Leninist positions.

They say that we are in favor of war and against coexistence. Comrade Kozlov has even put to us, Albanians, these alternatives: either coexistence, as he conceives it, or an atomic bomb from the imperialists, which will turn Albania into a heap of ashes and leave no Albanian alive. Until now, no representative of U.S. imperialism has made such an atomic threat against the Albanian people. But here it is and from a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to whom? To a small heroic country, to a people who have fought, through centuries, against savage and innumerable enemies and who have never bent the knee, to a small country and to a people who have fought with unprecedented heroism against the Hitlerites and Italian fascists, to a people who are bound like flesh to bone to the glorious Soviet Union, to a party which abides loyally, consistently and to the last by Marxism-Leninism and by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But comrade Frol Koslov, you have made a mistake in the address, you cannot frighten us into yielding to your wrongly calculated wishes and we never confound the glorious Party of Lenin with you who behave so badly, with such shamelessness, towards the Albanian people and towards the Party of Labor of Albania. The Party of Labor of Albania will strive for and support all the correct and peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp as well as of the other peace-loving countries.

The Party of Labor of Albania will exert all its efforts, use all its prerogatives and obligations to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, a Marxist-Leninist unity. It is absurd to think that little socialist Albania may detach itself and live apart from the socialist camp, apart from our fraternity of socialist peoples. Albania is indebted to no one for its presence within the ranks of the socialist camp; the Albanian people themselves and the Party

of Labor of Albania have placed it there with their blood and sweat, their work, their sacrifices, with their system of government and through the Marxist-Leninist line they pursue. But let no one ever think that, because Albania is a small country, because the Party of Labor of Albania is a small party it should do what someone else say when it is convinced that that someone is mistaken.

As I said earlier, the Party of Labor of Albania thinks that, our socialist camp, which has the one aim, which is guided by Marxism-Leninism, should also have its own strategy and tactics and these should be worked out together by our parties and states of the socialist camp. Within the ranks of our camp we have set up certain forms of organization of work, but the truth is, that these have remained somewhat formal, or to put it better, they do not function in a collective way, for instance, the organs of the Warsaw Treaty and of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. Let me make it quite clear. This is not a question of whether we too, should be consulted or not. Of course, no one denies us the right to be consulted, but we should hold meetings for consultation. We raise this problem on principle and say that these forms of organization should function at regular intervals, problems should be taken up for discussion, decisions should be adopted and there should be a check up on the implementation of these decisions.

The development and further strengthening of the economies of our socialist countries have been and always are the main concern of our Parties and Governments and constitutes one of the decisive factors of the unconquerable strength of the socialist camp.

The construction of socialism and communism is proceeding at a rapid rate in our countries. This is due to the great efforts of our peoples and to the reciprocal aid they render one another. A role of major importance in this direction has been and is being played by the coordination of the plans of our countries and by the Council of Mutual Economic Aid.

So far, the People's Republic of Albania has given economic aid to no one, first because we are poor, and, second, because no one stands in need of our economic aid. But within

correct norms we have made and are making every effort to help the countries which are our friends and brothers to some extent through our exports. We have been aided by our friends, first and foremost by the Soviet Union. We have been helped by credits and specialists without which it would have been very difficult for our country and our economy to develop at the rate they have developed.

The Party of Labor and the People's Republic of Albania have utilized this generous aid of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of People's Democracy as well as they could to the best advantage of our people. Our people are forever grateful to the Soviet people, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, to the people, parties and governments of the countries of People's Democracy for this aid. We have considered, consider, and will consider this aid not as charity but as a fraternal, internationalist aid.

Our people who have been in dire poverty, who have fought with heroism, who have been murdered and burnt out, fell it their duty to seek the aid of their friends and brothers bigger and economically better off than they. And it was and still is the internationalist duty of their friends to give this aid. Therefore, it is necessary to reject any sinister and anti-Marxist view that any one may hold about the nature and purpose of this aid. The economic pressures on the Party of Labor of Albania, on the Albanian Government, and on our people will never be of any avail.

I wish to propose here that the aid of the economically stronger to the economically weaker countries, as is the case of our people, should be greater. The Albanian people do not, in any way, intend to fold their arms and open their mouths to be fed by others. That is not their habit. Nor do our people expect the standard of living in our country to be raised at once to the standard of living in many other countries of People's Democracy, but greater aid should be given our country to further develop its productive forces. We think that the economically stronger countries of the socialist camp should accord credits also to neutral capitalist countries and to peoples recently liberated from colonialism, provided the leaders of these capitalist countries are

opposed to imperialism, support the peaceful policy of the socialist camp and do not hinder or oppose the legitimate struggle of the revolutionary forces, but first of all, the needs of the countries of the socialist camp should be looked into more carefully and be fulfilled. Of course, India stands in need of iron and steel but socialist Albania stands in more urgent need of them, Egypt stands in need of irrigation and electric power but socialist Albania stands in more urgent need of them.

On many political issues of first rate importance, our socialist camp has held and holds identical views. But, since collective consultations have not become a regular habit, on many occasions it has been noted that states from our socialist camp take political initiatives, not that we are opposed in principle to taking initiatives, but these initiatives very often affect other states of the socialist camp as well. Some of these initiatives are not correct, especially when they should be taken collectively by the members of the Warsaw Treaty.

An initiative of this kind is that of the Bulgarian Government which, with total disregard for Albania, informed the Greek Government that the Balkan countries of People's Democracy agree to disarm if the Greek Government is prepared to do so. From our point of view, this initiative was an erroneous one, for, even if the Greek Government had endorsed it, the Albanian Government would not have accepted it. Albania is in agreement with the Soviet proposal made by Nikita Khrushchev in May, 1959,¹ but not with the Bulgarian proposal which intends to disarm the Balkan countries and leave Italy unaffected. Or have the Bulgarian comrades forgotten that bourgeois and fascist Italy has attacked Albania a number of times during this century?

On the other hand, can the Bulgarian comrades, without consulting at all the Albanian Government with which they are bound by a defensive treaty, be allowed to propose a treaty of friendship and non-aggression to the Greek Government at a time when Greece maintains a state of war with Albania and makes

1 The government of the USSR, through this proposal and through notes addressed on May 25, 1959 to the governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, Britain and the United States, sought the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and Adriatic.

territorial claims against our country? It seems to us, that is dangerous to take such unilateral actions. From this correct and legitimate opposition of ours, perhaps the Bulgarian comrades may have arrived at the conclusion that we, Albanians, do not properly understand coexistence, that we want war, and so forth. These views are erroneous.

Similar gestures have been made also by the Polish comrades at the United Nations, when comrade Gomulko stated in an unilateral way at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, that Poland proposes to preserve the status quo on the stationing of military forces in the world and, concretely, that no more military bases should be created, that those that have been set up already should remain, that no more missiles should be installed but the existing ones should remain, that those States that have the secret of the atomic bomb should keep it and not give it to other States. In our opinion such a proposal is contrary to the interests of our camp. No more missiles to be installed, but by whom and where? All the NATO allies including Italy, West Germany and Greece have been equipped with missiles. Not to give the secret of the atomic bomb, to whom? Britain, France and West Germany have it. It is clear that a proposal of this kind will oblige us, the countries of People's Democracy not to install missiles, or any other country of the socialist camp except the Soviet Union, not to have the atomic bomb.

We pose the question, why should Communist China not have the atomic bomb? We think that China should have it and when she has the bomb and missiles, then we will see in what terms U.S. imperialism will speak, we will see whether they will continue to deny China her rights in the International arena, we will see whether the U.S. imperialists will dare brandish their weapons as they do at present.

Some one may pose the question: will China win her rights over the United States of America, by possessing and dropping the bomb? No, neither China nor the Soviet Union will ever use the bomb unless they are attacked by those who have aggression and war in their very blood. If the Soviet Union did not possess the bomb, the imperialists would speak in other terms with us. We will never attack with the bomb, we are opposed to

war, we are ready to destroy the bomb but we keep it for defensive purposes. "It is fear that guards the vineyard," is a saying of our people. The imperialists should be afraid of us and terribly afraid at that.

Based on Marxism-Leninism and on the Moscow Declaration and Statement² on peace, the Party of Labor of Albania has pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist line in matters of international policy and in the important problems of socialist construction. In international relations, the line of our Party has been in accord with the policy of the socialist camp and has followed the direction of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union.

The Party of Labor of Albania has considered considers, and will consider the Soviet Union as the savior of our people, and its great experience as universal, very necessary and indispensable to all. The Party of Labor of Albania has followed, implemented, and adopted this great experience unreservedly in all fields and has scored successes We have scored successes in setting up and strengthening our industry, in collectivizing agriculture, in developing education and culture which has made great progress, in building our state and our Party. Our Party has now gained maturity and a rich experience in work in this direction.

Our Party has educated, educates, and will continue to educate our people with a great love and loyalty towards the peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This love has been tempered and will be tempered each passing day for it is kneaded with blood, for it has developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We have loved, and still love the Soviet people from the bottom of our hearts and the Soviet people, on their part, have loved and love the people and the Party of Labor of Albania in the same way. This is friendship between peoples, friendship between Marxist-Leninist parties and, therefore, it will flourish through the ages and will never die. This is the unshakable conviction of the Albanian communists, a

2 This refers to the documents approved by the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which was held in Moscow in November 1957, the central document of which is commonly known as the "Moscow Declaration" of 1957. The meeting at which this speech was delivered issued its own central document, known as the "Statement of 81 Communist and Workers Parties" or simply the "Statement". Both documents, in conjunction, were to have important roles in the later Sino-Soviet debate.

conviction they have deeply implanted and will continue to implant among our people. We have said and we repeat now that, without this friendship, there could not have been freedom for our people. This is the fruit of Leninism.

The major problems of the time have preoccupied the Party of Labor of Albania and our people. Our People's Republic has been and is surrounded geographically by capitalist states and the Yugoslav revisionists. We have had to be highly vigilant and tie down people and considerable funds to defend our borders, to defend the freedom and sovereignty of our country from the innumerable attempts of the imperialists and their satellites and lackeys.

We are a small country and a small people who have suffered to an extraordinary degree but who have also fought very hard. We are not indebted to any one for the freedom we enjoy today, for we have won it with our own blood. We are continually aware, day and night of our imperialist enemies, of their maneuvers against the socialist camp and our country in particular, therefore we have never had nor will ever entertain illusions about their changing their nature and their intentions towards our peoples, our camp, and towards socialist Albania in particular. Our Party has been and is for peace, and will fight unceasingly, by the side of the Soviet Union, of People's China, of the other countries of the socialist camp and of all the progressive peoples of the world, to defend peace. For this sacred purpose the Party of Labor of Albania and our Government have supported with all their strength the peaceful policy of the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union and of all the countries of the socialist camp. On every issue and on every proposal we have been in solidarity with them.

The U.S. and British imperialists have accused us Albanians of being "savage and warlike". This is understandable, for the Albanian people have dealt telling blows at their repeated attempts to put us under bondage and have smashed the heads of their agents who conspired against the Party of Labor of Albania and our regime of people's democracy.

Tito's gang, that of the Greek monarcho-fascist

chauvinists, the rulers in Rome have accused and accuse us of being "warmongers and disturbers of the peace in the Balkans", because, without hesitation, we have always, and will always hit them hard, for their intentions have been, remain, and will always be to chop up Albania among themselves, to enslave our people.

We do not think we need prove at this meeting that war is alien to the socialist countries, to our Marxist-Leninist parties, but the question remains: why do the imperialists and their agents accuse China and Albania of being warlike and, allegedly, opposed to peaceful co-existence?

Let us take the question of Albania. Against whom would Albania make war and why? It would be ridiculous to waste our time in answering this question. But those who accuse us of this are trying to cover up their aggressive intentions towards Albania.

Rankovich wants us to turn our borders into a roadhouse with two gates through which Yugoslav, Italian and Greek agents and weapons could go in and out freely, without visas, in order to bring us their "culture of cutthroats", so that Tito may realize his dream of turning Albania into the seventh republic of Yugoslavia, so that the reactionary Italian bourgeoisie may put into action for the third time their predatory intentions towards Albania, or so that the Greek monarcho-fascists may realize their crazy dream of grabbing southern Albania. Because we have not permitted and will never permit such a thing, we are "warmongers". They know very well that if they violate our borders they will have to fight us and the whole socialist camp.

Their aim, therefore, has been and is to isolate us from the camp and from our friends, to accuse us of being "warmongers and savage", because we do not open our borders for them to graze freely, to accuse us of being, allegedly, opposed to peaceful coexistence. But the irony of fate is that there are comrades who give credit to this game of the revisionists and to these slanders against the Party of Labor of Albania. Of course, we are opposed to any co-existence for the sake of which we Albanians should make territorial and political concessions to Sophocles Venizelos. No, the time has gone forever when the territory of Albania could be treated as a medium of exchange. We are opposed to such a

coexistence with the Yugoslav state which implies that we should give up our ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, these agents of international imperialism, these traitors to Marxism-Leninism. We are opposed to such coexistence with the British or the U.S. imperialists for the sake of which we should recognise, as they demand, the old political, diplomatic and trading concessions King Zog's regime had granted them.

As a general conclusions, the Party of Labor of Albania is absolutely convinced that our great cause, socialism and peace, will triumph. Through determined action, the combined forces of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, of the international communist and workers movement and of all the peace-loving peoples, have the possibility of compelling the imperialists to accept peaceful co-existence, of averting a world war. But, at the same time, we will intensify our revolutionary vigilance more and more so that the enemy may never catch us unawares. We are convinced that victory will be ours in this noble struggle for world peace and socialism. The Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania, just as heretofore, will spare nothing, will assist with all their might the triumph of our common cause. As always, we will march forward in steel-like unity with the whole socialist camp, with the glorious Soviet Union, and with all the international communist and workers' movement.

Dear Comrades!

The unity of the international communist and workers' movement is the decisive factor in realizing the noble aims of the triumph of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. This question is especially emphasised in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the draft-Statement prepared for our meeting. In the 1957 Declaration it is stressed that "the communist and workers' parties bear an exceptionally serious historic responsibility for the fate of the world socialist system and the international communist movement. The communist and workers' parties taking part in the meeting declare that they will spare no effort to strengthen their unity and comradely collaboration in the interests of the further unity of the family of socialist states, in the interest of the international workers' movement, in the interests of

the cause of peace and socialism". It must be said that, especially in recent times, in the international communist movement and in the relations among certain parties, there have arisen deep ideological and political disagreements, the deepening of which can only bring damage to our great cause. Therefore, the Party of Labor of Albania thinks that, in order to forge ahead together towards fresh victories, it is necessary to condemn the mistakes and negative manifestations which have appeared so far and to correct them.

We want to refer here to the Bucharest meeting at which our Party, as you know, refrained from expressing its opinion concerning the disagreements which have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but reserved the right to do so at this meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties. At that time the Party of Labor of Albania was accused by the Soviet comrades and by some comrades of the other fraternal parties, of everything imaginable, but no one took the trouble to think for a moment why this party maintained such a stand against all this current, why this party, which has stood loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration is unexpectedly accused of allegedly "opposing" Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration, why this party, so closely bound to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, suddenly comes out in opposition to the leadership of the Soviet Union?

Now that all the comrades have in their hands the information materials of both the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties, let them reflect on them themselves. We have read and studied both the Soviet and Chinese materials, we have discussed them carefully with the Party activists, and come to this meeting with the unanimous view of the Party as a whole.

As we all know, on the occasion of the Congress of the Rumanian Labor Party on June 24 this year, the Bucharest Conference was suddenly organized on the initiative of the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union without any previous warning, at least, as far as our Party was concerned. Instead of "exchanging opinions" and setting the

date for this Conference we are holding today, which was agreed upon by the letters of June 2 and 7, it took up another topic, namely, the ideological and political accusation directed against the Chinese Communist Party, on the basis of the "Soviet informative" material. On the basis of this material, entirely unknown up to a few hours before the meeting of the Conference, the delegates of the fraternal communist and workers' parties were supposed to pronounce themselves in favor of the views of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at a time when they had come to Bucharest for another purpose and had no mandate (at least as regards the delegation of our Party) from their parties to discuss, let alone decide, on such an important issue of international communism. Nor could a serious discussion be thought of about this material which contained such gross accusations against another Marxist-Leninist party, when not only the delegates but, especially the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties were not allowed to study it from all angles and without allowing the necessary time to the Party accused to submit its views in all the forms which the accusing Party had used. The fact is that the overriding concern of the Soviet leadership was to have its accusations against the Chinese Communist Party passed over quickly and to have the Chinese Communist Party condemned at all costs.

This was the concern of comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades in Bucharest, and not at all the international political issues worrying our camp and the world as a whole.

Our Party would have been in full agreement with a Conference of this kind, with whatever other Conference of whatever agenda that might be set, provided that these Conferences were in order, had the approval of all the Parties, had a clear agenda set in advance, provided the communist and workers' parties were given the necessary material and allowed enough time to study these materials so that they could be prepared and receive the approval of the Party Political Bureau and, if necessary, of the plenums of the Central Committees, on the decisions that eventually might be taken at these Conferences. The Conferences should be conducted according to the Leninist norms governing the relations among communist and workers'

parties. They should be conducted in complete equality among parties, in a comradely communist and internationalist spirit and with lofty communist morality.

The Bucharest Conference did not comply with these norms, therefore, our Party, although it took part in it, denounced and denounces that Conference as out of order and in violation of Leninist norms.

We think that the Bucharest Conference did a great disservice to the cause of the international communist movement, to the cause of the international solidarity of the workers, to the cause of strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, to the cause of setting a Marxist-Leninist example in settling ideological, political and organizational disputes that may arise within the ranks of the communist and workers' parties and which damage Marxism-Leninism. The blame for this falls on the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who organized this Conference, who conceived those forms and who applied those non-Marxist norms in this matter.

The aim was to have the Chinese Communist Party condemned by the international communist movement for faults which do not exist and are baseless. The Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania is fully convinced of this on the basis of the study of facts, of the Soviet and Chinese materials which the Party of Labor of Albania now has at its disposal, based on a detailed analysis which the Party of Labor of Albania has made of the international situation and the official stands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party.

The whole Party of Labor of Albania holds the unanimous view that the Soviet comrades made a grave mistake at Bucharest, by unjustly condemning the Chinese Communist Party for having, allegedly, deviated from Marxism-Leninism, for having, allegedly, violated and abandoned the 1957 Moscow Declaration. They have accused the Chinese Communist Party of being "dogmatic", "sectarian", of being "in favor of war", of being "opposed to peaceful co-existence", of "wanting a privileged position in the camp and in the international communist movement", etc.

The Soviet comrades made a grave mistake also when, taking advantage of the great love and trust which the communists have for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they tried to impose their incorrect views towards the Chinese Communist Party on the other communist and workers' parties.

Right from the start, when the Soviet comrades began their feverish and impermissible work of inveigling the comrades of our delegation in Bucharest, it became clear to the Party of Labor of Albania that the Soviet comrades, resorting to groundless arguments and pressure, wished to lead the delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania into the trap they had prepared, to bring them into line with the distorted views of the Soviet comrades.

What was of importance to comrade Khrushchev, (and comrade Antropov said as much to comrade Hysni Kapo) was whether we would "line up with Soviet side or not". Comrade Khrushchev expressed this opinion in other ways also, in his interjections against our Party at the Bucharest meeting. This was corroborated also by the unjust and unfriendly gestures of the comrades of the Soviet leadership and the employees of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana after the Bucharest meeting which I will refer to later. What was important for the comrades of the Soviet leadership was not the views of a Marxist-Leninist party such as ours but only that we should maintain the same attitude in Bucharest as the Central Committee of the Soviet Union.

No warning was given to the Party of Labor of Albania by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which organized the Bucharest meeting that, on the occasion of the Congress of the Rumanian Labor Party, accusations would be brought against the Chinese Communist Party for, allegedly grave mistakes of its line. This came as a complete surprise to the Party of Labor of Albania. While now we hear that, with the exception of the Party of Labor of Albania, the Chinese Communist Party, the Party of Labor of Korea, the Workers' Party of Vietnam, other parties of the camp were cognizant of the fact that a Conference would be organized in Bucharest to accuse China. If this is so, then it is very clear that the question becomes very much more serious and assumes the form of a faction of an international character.

Nevertheless, our Party was not taken unawares and it did not lack vigilance, and this happened because it always observes the Leninist norms in relations with other parties, because it holds in great Marxist esteem the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party and all the other communist and workers parties, because it respects the feeling of equality among parties, an equality which the other parties should respect towards the Party of Labor of Albania regardless of its being a small one in numbers.

Right from the beginning, our Party saw that these norms were being violated at the Bucharest Meeting and that is why it took the stand you all know, a stand which it considered and considers, as the only correct one to maintain towards the events as they developed.

Some leaders of fraternal parties dubbed us as "neutralists" some others reproached us with "deviating from the correct Marxist-Leninist line", and these leaders went so far as to try to discredit us before their own parties. We reject all these with scorn because they are slanders, they are not honest and neither are they compatible with communist morality.

We pose the questions to those who undertook such contemptible acts against the Party of Labor of Albania: Has a party the right to express its opinions freely on matters as it views them? What opinion did the Party of Labor of Albania express in Bucharest? We expressed our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and this is corroborated by the entire life and struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania. We manifested our loyalty to the 1957 Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto and this is corroborated by the line pursued with consistency by the Party of Labor of Albania. We expressed our loyalty to and defended the unity of the socialist camp and socialism and this is corroborated by the whole struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania. We expressed our affection for and loyalty to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet people and this is corroborated by the whole life of the Party of Labor of Albania. We did not agree to "pass judgment" on the "mistakes" of the Chinese Communist Party and, even less, "to condemn" the Chinese Communist Party without taking into account also the views of the Chinese Communist Party on the

problem raised in such a distorted, hasty, and anti-Marxist way against it. We counseled caution, coolheadedness, and a comradely spirit in treating this matter so vital and exceptionally serious to international communism. This was the whole "crime" for which stones were thrown at us. But we think that the stones which were raised to strike us fell on the heads of those who threw them. The passage of time is confirming the correctness of the stand maintained by the Party of Labor of Albania.

Why did comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades make such great haste to accuse the Chinese Communist Party groundlessly and without facts? Is it permissible for communists and, especially for the principal leaders of so great and glorious a party as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to perpetrate such an ugly act? Let them answer this question themselves, but the Party of Labor of Albania also has the full right to express its opinion on the matter.

The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that the Bucharest meeting was not only a great mistake but also a mistake which was deliberately aggravated. In no way should the Bucharest meeting be cast into oblivion but it should be severely condemned as a black stain in the international communist movement.

There is not the least doubt that the ideological differences have been and are grave, and that these have arisen and have been developed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party. These should have been settled in due time and in a Marxist-Leninist way between the two parties concerned.

According to the Chinese documents, the Chinese Communist Party says that these differences of principle were raised by the Communist comrades immediately following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Some of these matters have been taken into consideration by the Soviet comrades while others have been rejected.

The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that, if these differences could not be settled between the two parties concerned, a meeting should have been sought of the communist

and workers' parties at which these matters could be brought up, discussed and a stand taken towards them. It is not right that these matters should have been left unsettled, and the blame for this, must fall on the Soviet comrades who had knowledge of these differences but disregarded them because they were dead certain of their line and its "inviolability", and this, we think, is an idealist and metaphysical approach to the problem.

If the Soviet comrades were convinced of the correctness of their line and their tactics, why did they not organize such a meeting in due time and have these divergences settled? Were the problems raised so trivial, for example, the condemnation of Joseph Stalin, the great problem of the Hungarian counterrevolution, that of the ways of taking power, not to speak of other very important problems that emerged later? No, they were not trivial at all. We all have our own views on these problems because as communists we are interested in all of them, because all our parties are responsible to their peoples but they are responsible to international communism, as well.

In order to condemn the Chinese Communist Party for imaginary faults and sins, comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders were very concerned to present the case as if the divergences existed between China and the whole international communist movement, but, when it came to problems like those I just mentioned, judgment on them has been passed by Khrushchev and his companions alone, thinking that there was no need for them to be discussed collectively at a meeting of the representatives of all the parties, although these were major international problems in character.

The Hungarian counter-revolution occurred but matters were hushed up. Why this tactics of hushing things up when they are not to their advantage, while for things which are to their advantage, the Soviet comrades not only call meetings like that of Bucharest but do their utmost to force on others the view that "China is in opposition to the line of all the communist and workers' parties of the world?"

The Soviet comrades made a similar attempt towards us also. In August this year, the Soviet leadership addressed a letter

to our Party in which it proposed that "with a view to preventing the spark of divergences from flaring up", the representatives of our two parties should meet so that our Party would align itself with the Soviet Union against the Chinese Communist Party and that our two Parties present a united front at this present meeting. Of course, the Central Committee of our Party refused such a thing and, in its official reply, described this as an entirely non-Marxist deed, a factional act directed against a fraternal third party, against the Communist Party of China. Of course, this correct principled stand of our Party was not to the liking of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that these matters are of first rate importance. There is no doubt that they concern us all, but neither is there any doubt for the Party of Labor of Albania that the way the question was raised in Bucharest was and aimed at condemning the Chinese Communist Party and isolating it from the whole international communist movement.

For the Party of Labor of Albania this was monstrous and unacceptable, not only because it was not convinced of the truth of these allegations, but also because it rightly suspected that a non-Marxist action was being organised against a great and glorious fraternal party like the Chinese Communist Party, that under the guise of an accusation of dogmatism against China, an attack was being launched against Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Manifesto of Peace.

At the meeting, the Chinese Communist Party was accused of many things. This should have figured in the Communiqué. Why was it not done? If the accusations were well grounded, why all this hesitation and why issue a communiqué which did not correspond to the purpose for which the Conference was called? Why was there no reference in it to the "great danger of dogmatism", allegedly threatening international communism?

No, comrades, the Bucharest Conference cannot be justified. It was not based on principle. It was a biased one to achieve certain objectives, of which the main one was, in the opinion of the Party of Labor of Albania, that by accusing the Chinese Communist Party of dogmatism, to cover up some grave

mistakes of line which the Soviet leading comrades have allowed themselves to make.

The Soviet comrades stood in need of the support of the other parties on this matter. That is why they tried frankly to catch them unawares. The Soviet comrades achieved half their aim and won the right to raise in these parties the condemnation of China as the outcome of an "international Conference of communism". In the communist and workers' parties, with the exception of the Party of Labor of Albania and certain other communist and workers' parties, the question was raised of "the grave errors of policy committed by the Chinese Communist Party", the "unanimous" condemnation of China in Bucharest was reported in an effort to create opinion in the parties and among the people in this direction. The Party of Labor of Albania was also condemned at some of these party meetings.

After the Bucharest Conference, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania decided, and decided rightly, to discuss in the Party only the Communiqué, to tell the Party that there existed divergences of principle between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party which should be taken up and settled at the coming November Conference in Moscow. And this was what was done.

But this stand of our Party did not please the leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and this we very soon felt. Immediately following the Bucharest meeting, an unexpected, unprincipled attack was launched, brutal intervention and all-round pressure was undertaken against our Party and its Central Committee. The attack was begun by comrade Khrushchev in Bucharest and was continued by comrade Kozlov in Moscow. The comrades of our Political Bureau who happened to pass through Moscow were worked upon with a view to turning them against the leadership of our Party, putting forward that "the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania had betrayed the friendship with the Soviet Union", that "the line pursued by the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania is characterized by 'zig-zags'", that "Albania must decide to go either with the 200 millions (with the Soviet Union) or with the 650 millions (with People's China)" and finally that "an isolated

Albania is in danger, for it would take only one atomic bomb dropped by the Americans to wipe out Albania and all its population completely", and other threats of the kind. It is absolutely clear that the aim was to sow discord in the leadership of our Party, to remove from the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania those elements who, the Soviet leaders thought, stood in the way of their crooked and dishonest undertakings.

What came out of this divisive work was that comrade Liri Belishova, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, capitulated to the cajolery of the Soviet leaders, to their blackmail and intimidation and took a stand in open opposition to the line of her Party.

The attempt of the Soviet comrades in their letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to present this question as if the friends of the Soviet Union in Albania are being persecuted is a falsehood. The million and a half Albanians and the Party of Labor of Albania have been, are, and will be, life-long friends of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, sworn friends of the Soviet people. They have forged and steered this friendship, tempered in blood, not the various capitulators, splitters and deviators.

But attempts to arouse suspicion about the correct stand of our Party in Bucharest were not confined to Moscow alone. They were made with even more fervor in Tirana by the employees of the Soviet Embassy with the Soviet Ambassador in Tirana himself in the lead.

As I said before, prior to the Bucharest Conference, one could not imagine closer, more sincere, more fraternal relations than those between us and the Soviet comrades. We kept nothing from the Soviet comrades, neither Party nor State secrets. This was decided upon by our Central Committee. These relations reflected the great love and loyalty which our Party had tempered in blood between the Albanian and Soviet peoples.

It was these sacred sentiments of the Party of Labor of Albania and of our people that certain sickly elements, with the Soviet Ambassador at the head, trampled underfoot. Taking advantage of our friendly relations, taking advantage of the good

faith of our cadres, they began feverishly and intensively to attack the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labor of Albania, to split the Party, to create panic and confusion in its ranks, to alienate the leadership from the Party, and the Soviet Ambassador to Tirana went so far as to attempt to incite the Generals of our Army to raise the People's Army against the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian State. But the saw struck a nail, and this came to naught, for the unity of our Party is steel-like. Our cadres, tempered in the National-liberation War and in the bitter life and death struggle with the Yugoslav revisionists defended their heroic Party in a Marxist way. They know well enough how to draw the line between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and the splitters, they know well enough how to defend and temper their love and loyalty towards the Soviet Union. And in fact they put these denigrators in their place.

Nevertheless, the employees of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana, with the Ambassador in the lead, succeeded, through impermissible anti-Marxist methods, in making the Chairman of the Control Commission of the Party of Labor of Albania, who, 15 days before had been at one with the line pursued by the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania in Bucharest, fall into the clutches of these intriguers, deviate from Marxism-Leninism and come out flagrantly against the line of his Party. It is clear that these contemptible acts of these Soviet comrades aimed at splitting the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania, at alienating it from the masses and from the Party. And this, as a punishment for the "crime" we had committed in Bucharest, for having the courage to express our views freely as we saw fit.

The functionaries of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana went even further. They turned to the Albanians who had studied in the Soviet Union with a view to inciting them against the Albanian leadership, taking them to be a fitting contingent by whom to further their sinister intentions. But the Albanians, whether those who had completed or were still pursuing their studies in the Soviet Union, as well as all the rest, entertained, entertain, and will always entertain a fervent, sincere and untarnished affection for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and are and will be aware of the fact that the base methods

used by the employees of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana are altogether alien to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Albanians are the sons and daughters of their own people, of their own Party, they are Marxist-Leninists and internationalists.

We can list many other examples, but in order not to take so much time of this important meeting, I will mention only two other typical cases. The pressure on our Party continued even during the days when the commission was meeting here in Moscow to draw up the draft-Statement which has been submitted to us; when the Soviet comrades urged that we should look ahead and not back, That day in Moscow, the member of the Central Committee and Minister of the Soviet Union, Marshal Malinovsky, launched an open attack on the Albanian people, on the Party of Labor of Albania, on the Albanian Government and on our leadership at an enlarged meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of the Warsaw Treaty countries. This unfriendly and public attack has much in common with the diversionist attack of the Soviet Ambassador to Tirana, trying to incite our People's Army against the leadership of our Party and our State. But Marshal Malinovsky makes as grave an error as the Soviet Ambassador. No one can achieve this end, and even less that of breaking up the friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union. The correct struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania against these subversive acts strengthens the sincere friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union and with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Nor can this friendship be broken up by the astonishing statements of Marshal Grechko, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty, who not only told our military delegation that it was difficult for him to meet the requirements of our Army for some very essential armaments for the supply of which contracts have been signed, but said bluntly, "You are in the Warsaw Treaty only for the time being", implying that Marshal Grechko seems to have decided to throw us out. But, fortunately, it is not up to the Comrade Marshal to take such decision.

In October this year, Comrade Khrushchev declared solemnly to the Chinese comrades, "We will treat Albania like Yugoslavia". We say this at this meeting of international

communism so that all may see how far things have gone and what attitude is being maintained towards a small socialist country. What "crime" has the Party of Labor of Albania committed for our country to be treated like Tito's Yugoslavia? Have we by any chance betrayed Marxism-Leninism as Tito's clique has done? Or did we break away from the camp and hitch up with U.S. imperialism as revisionist Yugoslavia has done? No, and all the international communist movement, all the concrete political, ideological and economic activity of our Party and our State during the whole period of the National liberation War and during these 16 years since the liberation of the country bear testimony to this. This is borne out also by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, which, in its 1960 August 13 letter to the Central Committee of the Party of Albania, stressed: "The relations between the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union based on the principles of proletarian internationalism have always been truly fraternal. The friendship between our parties and peoples has at no time been obscured by any misunderstanding or abatement. The stand of the Party of Labor of Albania and that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on all the most important issues of the international communist and workers' movement and of foreign policy have been identical." Of what then are we guilty? Our only "crime" is that in Bucharest we did not agree that a fraternal communist party like the Chinese Communist Party should be unjustly condemned; our only "crime" is that we had the courage to oppose openly, at an international communist meeting (and not in the marketplace) the unjust action of Comrade Khrushchev, our only "crime" is that we are a small Party of a small and poor country which, according to Comrade Khrushchev, should merely applaud and approve but express no opinion of its own. But this is neither Marxist nor acceptable. Marxism-Leninism has granted us the right to have our say and we will not give up this right for any one, neither on account of political and economic pressure nor on account of the threats and epithets that they might hurl at us. On this occasion we would like to ask Comrade Khrushchev why he did not make such a statement to us instead of to a representative of a third party. Or does Comrade Khrushchev think that the Party of Labor of Albania has no views

of its own but has made common cause with the Communist Party of China in an unprincipled manner, and therefore, on matters pertaining to our Party, one can talk with the Chinese comrades? No, Comrade Khrushchev, you continue to blunder and hold very wrong opinions about our Party. The Party of Labor of Albania has its own views and will answer for them both to its own people as well as to the international communist and workers' movement.

We are obliged to inform this meeting that the Soviet leaders have in fact passed from threats to treating Albania in the same way as Titoite Yugoslavia, to concrete acts. This year our country has suffered many natural calamities. There was a big earthquake, the flood in October and, especially, the drought which was terrible, with not a drop of rain for 120 days in succession. Nearly all the grain was lost. The people were threatened with starvation. The very limited reserves were consumed. Our Government urgently sought to buy grain from the Soviet Union, explaining the very critical situation we were faced with. This happened after the Bucharest Meeting. We waited 45 days for a reply from the Soviet Government while we had only 15 days bread for the people. After forty-five days and after repeated official requests, the Soviet Government, instead of 50,000 tons, accorded us only 10,000 tons, that is, enough to last us 15 days, and this grain was to be delivered during the months of September and October. This was open pressure on our Party to submit to the wishes of the Soviet comrades.

During those critical days we got wise to many things. Did the Soviet Union, which sells grain to the whole world, not have 50,000 tons to give the Albanian people who are loyal brothers of the Soviet people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the socialist camp, at a time when, through no fault of their own, they were threatened with starvation? Comrade Khrushchev had once said to us: "Do not worry about grain, for all that you consume in a whole year is eaten by mice in our country." The mice in the Soviet Union might eat but the Albanian people could be left to die of starvation until the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania submits to the will of the Soviet leaders. This is terrible, comrades, but it is true. If they hear about it, the Soviet people will never forgive them, for it is neither Marxist-Leninist,

internationalist, nor humane. Nor is it a friendly act not to accept our clearing for buying grain in the Soviet Union but to oblige us to draw the limited gold reserve from our National Bank in order to buy maize for the people's bread in the Soviet Union.

These acts are linked with one another, they are not just accidental. Particularly in recent days, Comrade Khrushchev's attacks on our Party of Labor have reached their climax. Comrade Khrushchev, on November 8 you declared that "the Albanians behave towards us just like Tito". You said to the Chinese comrades: "We lost an Albania and you, Chinese, won an Albania". And, finally, you declared that the Party of Labor of Albania is your weak link.

What are all these monstrous accusations, this treatment of our Party, our people and a socialist country as something to be bought or sold or lost and won as in a card game? What appraisal is this of a sister party which, according to you, happens to be the weak link in the international communist movement? For us it is clear, and we understand it only too well, that our correct and principled Marxist-Leninist stand, that our courage, to disagree with you and condemn those acts of yours which are wrong impel you to attack our Party, to resort to all kinds of pressure against it, to pronounce the most extreme monstrosities against our Party. But there is nothing comradely, nothing communist in this. You identify us with the Yugoslav revisionists. But everybody knows how our Party has fought and continues to fight against the Yugoslav revisionists. It is not we who behave like the Yugoslavs but you, comrade Khrushchev, who are using methods alien to Marxism-Leninism against our Party. You consider Albania as a market commodity which can be gained by one or lost by another. There was a time when Albania was considered a medium of exchange, when others thought it depended on them whether Albania should or should not exist, but that time came to an end with the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country. You were repeating the same thing when you decided that you had "lost" Albania or that some one else had "won" it, when you decided that Albania is no longer a socialist country, as it turns out from the letter you handed to us on November 8, in which our country is not mentioned as a socialist country.

The fact that Albania proceeds along the path of socialism and that it is a member of the socialist camp is not determined by you, comrade Khrushchev, it does not depend on your wishes. This has been determined by the Albanian people headed by their Party of Labor, by their struggle and there is no force capable of turning them from that course.

As regards your claim that our Party of Labor is the weakest link in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, we say that the twenty-year history of our Party, the heroic struggle of our people and our Party against the fascist invaders and the sixteen years that have elapsed since the liberation of the country to this day, during which period our small Party and our people have faced up to all the storms, show the contrary. Surrounded by enemies like an island amidst the waves, the People's Republic of Albania has courageously withstood all the assaults and provocations of the imperialists and their lackeys. Like a granite rock it has held and holds high the banner of socialism behind the enemy lines. You raised your hand, comrade Khrushchev, against a small country and its Party, but we are convinced that the Soviet people who shed their blood in defense of our people, also, that the great Party of Lenin are not in agreement with this activity of yours. We have full confidence in Marxism-Leninism, we are certain that fraternal parties which have sent their delegates to this meeting will size up and pass judgment on this issue with Marxist-Leninist justice.

Our Party has always considered the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a mother-Party and has done this because it is the oldest Party, the glorious Party of the Bolsheviks, it has spoken of its universal experience, of its great maturity. But our Party has never accepted nor will ever accept that some Soviet leaders may impose on it their views which it considers erroneous.

The Soviet leaders viewed this matter of principled importance in an altogether erroneous way, in an idealistic and metaphysical way; they have become swellheaded over the colossal successes attained by the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and violate Marxist-Leninist principles, consider themselves infallible, consider every decision, every act, every word they say and every gesture they

make infallible and irrevocable. Others may err, others may be condemned, while they are above such reproach. "Our decisions are sacred, they are inviolable". "We can make no concessions to, no compromise with the Chinese Communist Party", the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said to our people. Then why did they call us together in Bucharest? Of course, to vote with our eyes blindfolded for the views of the Soviet leaders. Is this the Marxist way? Is this a normal procedure?

Is it permissible for one party to engage in subversive acts, to cause a split, to overthrow the leadership of another party or of another State? Never! The Soviet leaders accused Comrade Stalin of allegedly interfering in other parties, of imposing the views of the Bolshevik Party upon others. We can bear witness to the fact that at no time did comrade Stalin do such a thing towards us, towards the Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania, he always behaved as a great Marxist, as an outstanding internationalist, as a comrade, brother and sincere friend of the Albanian people. In 1945, when our people were threatened with starvation, comrade Stalin ordered the ships loaded with grain destined for the Soviet people, who also were in dire need of food at that time, and sent the grain at once to the Albanian people. Whereas, the present Soviet leaders permit themselves these ugly deeds.

Are such economic pressures permissible; is it permissible to threaten the Albanian people, as the Soviet leaders did after the Bucharest Meeting? In no way whatsoever! The Soviet Union has always aided us in a generous way through credits and by all other means. New Albania could not be built without this aid, first and foremost, from the Soviet Union and from the other countries of People's Democracy.

To tell the truth, we are very grateful to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union for the great aid they have given our country to build up its industry, to set agriculture on its feet, in short, to improve the life of our people and speed up socialist construction. We know that this aid is an internationalist aid given our small people who, before the war, suffered great, all round misery, and that the Second World War burnt and devastated our country though never

downing the Albanian people who, under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labor of Albania, fought with great heroism and liberated themselves.

But why did the Soviet leadership change its attitude towards us after the Bucharest Meeting to the point that it let the Albanian people suffer from hunger? The Rumanian leadership did the same thing when it refused to sell a single ear of wheat to the Albanian people on a clearing basis at a time when Rumania was trading in grain with the capitalist countries, while we were obliged to buy maize from French farmers, paying in foreign currency.

Some months before the Bucharest Meeting, comrade Dej invited a delegation of our Party for the specific purpose of conducting talks on the future development of Albania. This was a laudable and Marxist concern of his. Comrade Dej said to our Party: "We, the other countries of People's Democracy, should no longer discuss how much credit should be accorded to Albania, but we should decide to build in Albania such and such factories, to raise the means of production to a higher level, regardless of how many million rubles they will cost, that is of no importance". Comrade Dej added: "We have talked this over with comrade Khrushchev, too, and we have been in agreement".

But then came the Bucharest Meeting and our Party maintained the stand you all know. The Rumanian comrades forgot what they had previously said and chose the course of leaving the Albanian people to suffer from hunger.

We have made these things officially known to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before. We have not submitted them to public discussion nor have we whispered them from ear to ear, but we are revealing them for the first time at this party meeting. Why do we raise this question? We proceed from the desire to put an end to these negative manifestations which do not strengthen but weaken our unity. We proceed from the desire to strengthen the relations and Marxist-Leninist bonds among communist and workers' parties, among socialist States, discarding any evil manifestation that has arisen so far. We are optimistic, fully convinced and have unshaken

confidence that the Soviet and other comrades will understand our criticism aright. They are sharp but open and sincere and aim at strengthening our relations. Notwithstanding these unjust and harmful stands which are maintained against us, but which we believe will be stopped in the future, our Party and our people will consolidate still further their unbounded love and loyalty to the Soviet people, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to all the peoples and communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, based always on the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Our Party considers that friendship must be based on justice, mutual respect and Marxism-Leninism. This is what the 1957 Moscow Declaration says and this is what is stressed in the draft-Statement which has been submitted to us. We declare in all earnestness that the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people will be, as always, determined fighters for the strengthening of relations and unity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The Albanian people will throw themselves in to the flames for their true friends, and the Soviet Union is such a friend of the Albanian people. And these are not empty words. I am expressing here the sentiments of our people and of our Party, and let no one ever think that we love the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the sake of some one's beautiful eyes or to please some individual, but because without the Soviet Union there would be no free life in the world today, fascism and capitalist terror would reign supreme. This is why we love and will always be loyal to the Soviet Union and to the Party of the great Lenin.

Dear Comrades!

In the 1957 Moscow Declaration as well as in the draft-Statement submitted to us, it is pointed out that revisionism constitutes today the principal danger in the international communist and workers' movement. In the 1957 Moscow Declaration it is rightly stressed that the existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism, while capitulation to the pressure of imperialism is its external source. Experience has fully corroborated that, disguised under pseudo-Marxist and

revolutionary slogans, modern revisionism has tried by all manner of means to discredit our great doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, which it has dubbed as "out dated" and no longer compatible with social development. Hiding behind the slogan of creative Marxism, of new conditions, the revisionists have striven, on one hand, to deprive Marxism of its revolutionary spirit and to undermine the belief of the working class and the working people in socialism and, on the other, to use all the means in their power to prettify imperialism, describing it as moderate and peaceful. During the three years that have elapsed since the Moscow Conference. it has been fully confirmed that the modern revisionists are nothing but splitters of the communist movement and of the socialist camp, loyal lackeys of imperialism, avowed enemies of socialism and of the working class.

Life itself has demonstrated that until now the standard-bearers of modern revisionism, its most aggressive and dangerous representatives are the Yugoslav revisionists, the treacherous clique of Tito and company. At the time when the Moscow Declaration was approved, this hostile group, agents of U.S. imperialism, were not publicly denounced, although, in our opinion, there were enough facts and information to warrant such a thing. Not only that, but later on, when the danger it presented became more evident, the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, the consistent and ceaseless fight to smash it ideologically and politically, was not conducted with the proper intensity. On the contrary, this has been and is the source of many evils and much damage to our international communist and workers' movement. In the opinion of our Party, the reason why Tito's revisionist group has not been totally exposed, why false "hopes" have arisen for an alleged "improvement" and positive "turn" of this treacherous group is because comrade Khrushchev and some other Soviet leaders maintain a conciliatory attitude towards, erroneous views about, and an incorrect assessment of this dangerous Titoite revisionist group.

It has been said that J. V. Stalin was mistaken in assessing the Yugoslav revisionists and in sharpening his attitude towards them. Our Party has never endorsed such a view, because time and experience has proven the contrary. Stalin made a very correct

assessment of the danger of the Yugoslav revisionists, he tried to settle this affair at the proper moment and in a Marxist way. The Inform Bureau, as a collective organ, was called together at that time and, after the Titoite group was exposed, a merciless battle was waged against it. Time has proven over and over again that such a thing was necessary and correct.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always held the opinion and is convinced that Tito's group are traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism, dangerous enemies of the socialist camp and of the entire international communist and workers' movement, therefore a merciless battle should be waged against them. We, on our part, have waged and continue to wage this battle as internationalist communists and also because we have felt and continue to feel on our own backs the burden of the hostile activity of Tito's revisionist clique against our Party and our country. But this stand of our Party has not been and is not to the liking of comrade Khrushchev and certain other comrades.

The Titoite group have long been a group of Trotskyites and renegades. For the Party of Labor of Albania, at least, they have been such since 1942, that is, since 18 years ago.

As far back as 1942, when the war of the Albanian people surged forward, the Belgrade Trotskyite group disguising themselves as friends and abusing our trust in them tried their uttermost to hinder the development of our armed struggle, to hamper the creation of powerful Albanian partisan fighting detachments, and, since it was impossible to stop them, to put them under their direct political and military control. They attempted to make everything dependent on Belgrade, and our Party and our partisan army mere appendages of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Yugoslav National-liberation Army.

Our Party, while preserving its friendship with the Yugoslav partisans, successfully resisted these diabolical intentions. It was at that time that the Titoite group tried to found the Balkan Federation under the direction of the Belgrade Titoites, to hitch the Communist Parties to the chariot of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to place the partisan armies of the Balkan peoples under the Yugoslav Titoite staff. It was to this end that, in

agreement with the British, they tried to set up the Balkan Staff and to place it, that is to say, to place our armies under the direction of the Anglo-Americans. Our Party successfully resisted these diabolic schemes. And when the banner of liberation was hoisted in Tirana, the Titoite gang in Belgrade issued orders to their agents in Albania to discredit the success of the Albanian Communist Party and to organize a "putsch" to overthrow the leadership of our Party which guided the National-liberation War and led the Albanian people to victory. The first "putsch" was organized by Tito through his secret agents within our Party. But the Albanian Communist Party frustrated this plot of Tito's.

The Belgrade plotters did not lay down their arms and, together with their agent in our Party, the traitor Koçi Xoxe, continued the re-organization of their plot against new Albania in other forms, new forms. Their intention was to turn Albania into a seventh Republic of Yugoslavia.

At a time when our country had been devastated and laid waste and needed to be completely rebuilt, when our people were without food and shelter but with high morale, when our people and army, weapons in hand, kept vigilant guard against the plots of reaction organized by the Anglo-U.S. military missions who threatened Albania with a new invasion, when a large part of the Albanian partisan army had crossed the border and had gone to the aid of the Yugoslav brothers, fighting side by side with them and together liberating Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kosova and Metohia and Macedonia, the Belgrade plotters hatched up schemes to enslave Albania.

But our Party offered heroic resistance to these secret agents who posed as communists. When the Belgrade Trotskyites realized that they had lost their case, that our Party was smashing their plots, they played their last card, namely, to invade Albania with their army, to crush all resistance, to arrest the leaders of the Party of Labor of Albania and of the Albanian State and to proclaim Albania a seventh Republic of Yugoslavia. Our Party defeated this diabolic scheme of theirs also. Joseph Stalin's aid and intervention at these moments was decisive for our Party and for the freedom of the Albanian people. Precisely at this time the Information Bureau exposed the Tito clique. Stalin and the Soviet

Union saved the Albanian people for the second time.

The Information Bureau brought about the defeat of the conspiracies of the Tito clique, not only in Albania but also in other countries of People's Democracy. Posing as communists, the renegade and agent of imperialism, Tito, and his gang, tried to alienate the countries of People's Democracy in the Balkans and Central Europe from the friendship and wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, to destroy the communist and workers' parties of our countries and to turn our States into reserves of Anglo-American imperialism.

Who was there who did not know about and see in action the hostile schemes of imperialism and its loyal servitor Tito? Everybody knew, everybody learned, and all unanimously approved the correct decisions of the Information Bureau. Everyone without exception approved the Resolutions of the Information Bureau which, in our opinion, were and still are correct.

Those who did not want to see and understand these acts of this criminal gang had a second chance to do so in the Hungarian counter-revolution and in the unceasing plots against Albania. The wolf may change his coat but he remains a wolf. Tito and his gang may resort to trickery, may try to disguise themselves, but they are traitors, criminals and agents of imperialism. They are the murderers of the heroic Yugoslav internationalist communists and thus they will remain and thus they will act until they are wiped out.

The Party of Labor of Albania considers the decisions taken against Tito's renegade group by the Information Bureau not as decisions taken by comrade Stalin personally but as decisions taken by all the parties that made up the Information Bureau. And not only by these parties alone but also by the communist and workers' parties which did not take part in the Information Bureau. Since this was a matter that concerned all the communist and workers' parties, it also concerned the Party of Labor of Albania which, having received and studied a copy of the letter comrades Stalin and Molotov had written to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, endorsed in full both the letter and the

decisions of the Information Bureau.

Why then was the "change of attitude" towards the Yugoslav revisionists, adopted by comrade Khrushchev and the Central Committee of the Soviet Union in 1955, not made an issue for consultation in the normal way with the other communist and workers' parties, but was conceived and carried out so hastily and in a unilateral way? This was a matter that concerned us all. The Yugoslav revisionists had either opposed Marxism-Leninism and the communist and workers' parties of the world or they had not; either they were wrong, or we, not only Stalin, had erred against them. It was not up to comrade Khrushchev to settle this affair at his own discretion. But in fact, that is what he did and this change of attitude in the relations with the Yugoslav revisionists is connected with his visit to Belgrade. This was a bomb shell to the Party of Labor of Albania which immediately opposed it categorically. Before comrade Khrushchev set out for Belgrade in May 1955, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which it expressed the opposition of our Party to his going to Belgrade, stressing that the Yugoslav issue could not be settled in a unilateral way but that a meeting of the Information Bureau should be called to which it asked that the Party of Labor of Albania also should be invited. It is there that this matter should have been settled after a correct and lengthy discussion.

Of course, formally we had no right to decide whether comrade Khrushchev should or should not go to Belgrade, and we backed down on this, but in essence we were right, and time has confirmed that the Yugoslav issue should not be settled in this precipitate way.

The slogan of "overriding interests" was launched, the second Resolution of the Information' Bureau was speedily revoked, the "epoch of reconciliation" with "the Yugoslav comrades" began, the conspirators, wherever they were, were re-examined and re-habilitated and "the Yugoslav comrades" came off unscathed, strutted like peacocks trumpeted abroad that their "just cause" had triumphed, that the "criminal Stalin" had trumped up all these things and a situation was created under which

whoever refused to take this course was dubbed as a "Stalinist" who should be done away with.

Our Party refused to take such a conciliatory and opportunist course. It stood fast on correct Marxist-Leninist ideological grounds, fighting the Yugoslav revisionists ideologically and politically. The Party of Labor of Albania remained unshaken in its views that the Titoite group were traitors, renegades, Trotskyites, subversionists and agents of the U.S. imperialists, that the Party of Labor of Albania had not been mistaken about them.

The Party of Labor of Albania remained unshaken in its view that comrade Stalin had not erred in this matter, that, by pursuing their treacherous line, the revisionists had attempted to enslave Albania and, through hatching up a number of international plots with the Anglo-American imperialists, they had tried to plunge Albania into international conflicts.

On the other hand, the Party of Labor of Albania was in favor of establishing state relations of good neighborliness, trade and cultural relations with the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia provided that the norms of peaceful co-existence between states of different regimes were observed, because as far as the Party of Labor of Albania is concerned, Titoite Yugoslavia has not been, is not, and will never be a socialist country so long as it is headed by a group of renegades and agents of imperialism.

No open or disguised attempt will make the Party of Labor of Albania turn from this correct stand. It was futile for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to try to persuade us through comrade Suslov to eliminate the question of Koçi Xoxe from the Report submitted at our 3rd Congress in May 1956, for that would mean negating our struggle and our principled stand.

In Albania, the Titoite saw struck a nail, or, as Tito says, "Albania was a thorn in his flesh" and, of course, the treacherous Titoite group continued their battle against the Party of Labor of Albania, thinking that they were exposing us by dubbing us "Stalinists".

The Belgrade group did not confine their fight against us to propaganda alone but they continued their espionage, subversion, plots, dispatching armed bands into our country more intensively than in 1948. These are all facts. But the tragedy is that, while the Party of Labor of Albania mounted guard against the bitter and repeated attacks by the Yugoslav revisionists, its unshaken, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand was in opposition to the conciliatory stand of the Soviet leaders and of certain other communist and workers' parties towards the Yugoslav revisionists.

Then it was loudly proclaimed and written that "Yugoslavia is a socialist country and this is a fact", that "the Yugoslav communists possess a great experience and great merits", that "the Yugoslav experience deserves greater interest and more attentive study", that "the period of disputes and misunderstandings is not due to Yugoslavia" and that "great injustice had been done to it", and so on and so forth. This, of course, gave heart to Tito's clique who thought they had won everything except that there was still that "thorn in their flesh", which they thought of isolating and then liquidating. But not only could our Party not be isolated, much less liquidated, but time proved that the views of our Party were correct.

Much pressure has been exerted on our Party over this stand. The Albanian leaders were considered "hot-blooded" and "stubborn", "exaggerating" matters with Yugoslavia, unjustly harassing the Yugoslavs, etc. The attack against our Party in this direction has been led by Comrade Khrushchev.

So far, I have mentioned in brief what the Yugoslav revisionists have done against our country during and after the war, after 1948, but I will dwell a little also on the events prior to the Hungarian counter-revolution which is the work of Yugoslav agents. The treacherous Belgrade group began to organize a counter-revolution in Albania also. Had our Party made the mistake of joining in the "conciliation waltz" with the Yugoslav revisionists as Khrushchev preached after 1955, then the people's democracy in Albania would have gone down the drain. We, Albanians, would not have been here in this hall but would have been still fighting in our mountains.

Firmly united by steel-like bonds, our Party and people kept their eyes wide open and discovered and unmasked Tito's spies in our Central Committee who worked in collusion with the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana. Tito sent word to these traitors, saying that they had precipitated things, that they should have waited for his orders. These spies and traitors also wrote to comrade Khrushchev to intervene against the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania. These are documented facts. Tito's intention was to coordinate the counter-revolution in Albania with that of Hungary.

Our 3rd Congress was to be held following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav agents thought that the time had come to overthrow the "obstinate Stalinist Albanian leadership" and organized a plot which was discovered and crushed at the Party Conference of Tirana in April 1956. The plotters received the stern punishment they deserved.

Tito's other dangerous agents, Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega, received orders from Tito to flee to Yugoslavia for "they were in danger and because activities against the Party of Labor were to be organized from Yugoslav territory". Our Party was fully aware of Tito's activity and secret orders. It was wide awake and caught the traitors right on the border when they were trying to flee. The traitors were brought to court and were executed. All the Yugoslav agents who were preparing the counter-revolution in Albania were detected and wiped out. To our amazement comrade Khrushchev came out against us in defense of these traitors and Yugoslav agents. He accused us of having shot the Yugoslav agent, the traitress Liri Gega, allegedly "when she was pregnant, a thing which had not happened even at the time of the Czar, and this had made a bad impression on world opinion". These were slanders trumped up by the Yugoslavs in whom comrade Khrushchev had more faith than in us. We of course denied all these insinuations made by comrade Khrushchev.

But comrade Khrushchev's incorrect, unprincipled and hostile stand towards our Party and its leadership did not stop there. The other Yugoslav agent and traitor to the Party of Labor of Albania and to the Albanian people, Panajot Plaku, fled to

Yugoslavia and placed himself in the service of the Yugoslavs. He organized the hostile broadcasts from the so-called "Socialist Albania" radio station. This traitor wrote to bandit Tito and comrade Khrushchev asking the latter to use his authority to eliminate the leadership of Albania headed by Enver Hoxha under the pretext that we were "anti-Marxists and Stalinists". Far from being indignant at the letter of this traitor, comrade Khrushchev expressed the opinion that Panajot Plaku could return to Albania on condition that we do nothing to him, or he could find political asylum in the Soviet Union. We felt as if the walls of the Kremlin had dropped on our heads, for we could never imagine that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union could go so far as to support Tito's agents and traitors to our Party against our Party and our people.

But the culmination of our principled opposition over the Yugoslav issue with comrade Khrushchev was reached when, faced with our principled persistence in the exposure of the Belgrade Titoite agents, he was so enraged that, during the official talks between the two delegations in April 1957, said to us angrily: "We suspend the negotiations. We come to terms with you. You are seeking to lead us to Stalin's ways".

We were disgusted at such an unfriendly stand taken by comrade Khrushchev who intended to break off the talks, which would mean an aggravation of relations with the Albanian Party and State over the question of the traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the Tito group. We could never have agreed on this matter, but we, who had been accused of being hot-blooded, kept calm, for we were convinced that we were in the right, and not comrade Khrushchev, that the line we were pursuing was the correct one, and not that of comrade Khrushchev, that our line would be confirmed again by experience, as it has been confirmed many times over.

In our opinion, the counter-revolution in Hungary was mainly the work of the Titoites. In Tito and the Belgrade renegades, the U.S. imperialists had their best weapon to destroy the people's democracy in Hungary.

After comrade Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade in 1955, no

more was said about Tito's undermining activity. The counter-revolution in Hungary did not break out unexpectedly. It was prepared for, we might say, quite openly, and it would be futile for any one to try to convince us that this counter-revolution was prepared in great secrecy. This counter-revolution was prepared by the agents of the Tito gang in collusion with the traitor Imre Nagy, in collusion with the Hungarian fascists and all of them acted openly under the direction of the Americans.

The scheme of the Titoites, who were the leaders, was for Hungary to be detached from our socialist camp, to be turned into a second Yugoslavia, be linked in alliance with NATO through Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, to receive aid from the U.S.A. and, together with Yugoslavia and under the direction of the imperialists, to continue the struggle against the socialist camp.

The counter-revolutionaries worked openly in Hungary. But how is it that their activities attracted no attention? We cannot understand how it is possible for Tito and Horthy's bands to work so freely in a fraternal country of People's Democracy like Hungary where the party was in power and the weapons of dictatorship were in its hands, where the Soviet army was present.

We think that the stand taken by comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades towards Hungary was not clear, because the greatly mistaken views which they held about the Belgrade gang did not allow them to see the situation correctly.

The Soviet comrades trusted Imre Nagy, Tito's man. We do not say this for nothing or without good grounds. Before the counter-revolution broke out and when things were boiling up at the "Petöfi Club", I happened to pass through Moscow, and in conversation with Comrade Suslov told him what I had seen on my way through Budapest. I told him, too, that Imre Nagy was deserting and was organizing a counter-revolution at the "Petöfi Club". Comrade Suslov categorically opposed my view, and in order to prove to me that Imre Nagy was a good man, pulled out of his drawer Imre Nagy's fresh "self-criticism". Nevertheless, I told Comrade Suslov that Imre Nagy was a traitor.

We wonder and pose the legitimate question: Why do Comrade Khrushchev and Soviet comrades pay frequent visits to

Brioni to talk with the renegade Tito about the Hungarian events? If the Soviet comrades were cognizant of the fact that the Titoites were preparing for a counter-revolution in a country of our camp, is it permissible for the leaders of the Soviet Union to go and talk with an enemy who organizes plots and counter-revolutions in socialist countries?

As a communist Party, as a state of People's Democracy, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and of the socialist camp, we are justified in asking Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades why so many meetings with Tito at Brioni in 1956, with this traitor to Marxism-Leninism, and not a single meeting with our countries, not a single meeting of the members of the Warsaw Treaty? When will the members of this Warsaw Treaty meet, if not when one of our countries is in danger?

Whether to intervene or not to intervene with arms in Hungary is, we think, not within the competence of one person alone; seeing that we have set up the Warsaw Treaty, we should decide jointly, because otherwise it is of no use to speak of alliance, of the collective spirit and collaboration among the parties. The Hungarian counter-revolution cost to our camp blood, it cost Hungary and the Soviet Union blood.

Why was this bloodshed permitted and no steps taken to prevent it? We are of the opinion that no preliminary steps could be taken so long as Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades placed their trust in the organizer of the Hungarian counter-revolution, the traitor Tito, so long as they set so little value on the absolutely necessary regular meetings with their friends and allies, so long as they considered their unilateral decisions on matters that concern us all as the only correct ones, and so long as they attached no importance whatsoever to collective work and collective decisions.

The Party of Labor of Albania is not at all clear about this matter, how things developed and what decisions were taken. At a time when the Titoites are conducting talks at Brioni with the Soviet comrades, on the one hand, and feverishly organizing counter-revolutions in Hungary and Albania, on the other, the Soviet comrades make not the slightest effort to inform our

leadership, at least as a matter of form since we are allies, on what is happening or on what measures they intend to take. But this is not a case of formality. The Soviet comrades know only too well what the Belgrade gang thought of Albania and what intentions they cherished. In reality, not only is this stand of the Soviet comrades to be condemned but it is also incomprehensible.

Hungary was a great lesson for us, for what was done, and for the drama that was played on the stage and behind the scenes there. We believed that the Hungarian counter-revolution was more than enough to show the betrayal of Tito and his gang. We know that many documents are kept locked away and are not brought to light, documents that expose the barbarous activity of Tito's group in the Hungarian events. Why this should happen we do not understand. What interests are hidden behind these documents which are not brought to light but are kept under lock and key? To condemn Stalin after his death, the most trifling items were searched out, while the documents that expose a vile traitor like Tito are locked away in a drawer.

But even after the Hungarian counter-revolution, the political and ideological fight against the Titoite gang, instead of becoming more intense, as Marxism-Leninism demands, was played down, leading to reconciliation, smiles, contacts, moderation and almost to kisses. In fact, thanks to this opportunist attitude, the Titoites got out of this predicament.

The Party of Labor of Albania was opposed to the line followed by Comrade Khrushchev and the other comrades towards the Yugoslav revisionists. Our Party's battle against the revisionists continued with even more fury. Many friends and comrades, particularly the Soviet and Bulgarian comrades, being unable to attack our correct line, ridiculed us, smiled, and with their friendly contacts with the Titoites, isolated our people everywhere.

We had hoped that, after the 7th Titoite Congress, even the blind, let alone the Marxists, would see with whom they were dealing and what they should do. Unfortunately, things did not turn out that way. Not long after the 7th Titoite Congress, the exposure of revisionism was toned down. The Soviet theoretical

publications spoke of every kind of revisionism, even of revisionism in Honolulu, but had very little to say about Yugoslav revisionism. This is like saying: "don't see the wolf before your eyes but look for its tracks". Slogans were launched: "Don't speak any more of Tito and his gang, for that will fan their vanity", "don't speak any more of Tito and his group, for that would harm the Yugoslav people", "don't speak of the Titoite renegades, for Tito makes use of what we say to mobilize the Yugoslav peoples against our camp", etc. Many parties adopted these slogans while our Party did not, and we think we acted correctly.

Such a situation was created that the press of friendly countries accepted articles from Albanian writers only provided they made no mention of the Yugoslav revisionists. Everywhere in the countries of People's Democracy, except in Czechoslovakia where, in general, the Czechoslovak comrades assessed our activities correctly, our Ambassadors were isolated in a round about way, because the diplomats of friendly countries preferred to converse with the Titoite diplomats while they hated our diplomats and did not want even to set eyes on them.

And things went so far that Comrade Khrushchev made his coming to Albania in May 1959 at the head of the Soviet Party and Government Delegation conditional on the Yugoslav issue. The first thing Comrade Khrushchev said at the beginning of talks in Tirana was to inform everybody at the meeting that he would not talk against the Yugoslav revisionists, a thing which no one could compel him to do, but a statement of this kind was intended to show quite openly that he disagreed with the Party of Labor of Albania on this issue.

We respected the wishes of the guest during the whole time he stayed in Albania, regardless of the fact that the Titoite press was highly elated and did not fail to write that Khrushchev had shut the mouths of the Albanians. This, in fact, responded to reality, but Comrade Khrushchev was very far from persuading us on this matter and the Titoites learned that quite clearly, because after our guest's departure from our country, the Party of Labor of Albania felt no longer bound by the conditions put upon us by our guest and continued on its own Marxist-Leninist way.

In his talks with Vukmanovich Tempo, among others, Comrade Khrushchev has compared our stand, as far as its tone is concerned, with that of the Yugoslavs and has said that he did not agree with the tone of the Albanians. We consider that Comrade Khrushchev's statement to Vukmanovich Tempo, to this enemy of Marxism-Leninism, of the socialist camp and of Albania, is erroneous and should be condemned. We hold that one should get what he deserves and we, on our part, disagree with Comrade Khrushchev's conciliatory tone towards the revisionists, for our people say one should speak in a harsh tone to the enemy and with honeyed tongue to the beloved.

Some comrades hold the erroneous idea that we maintain this attitude towards the Titoites because, they claim, we are allegedly eager to hold the banner of the fight against revisionism or because we view this problem from a narrow angle, from a purely national angle, therefore, they claim, we have embarked, if not altogether on a "chauvinist course", at least on that of "narrow nationalism". The Party of Labor of Albania has viewed and views the question of Yugoslav revisionism through the prism of Marxism-Leninism, it has viewed, views, and fights it as the main danger to the international communist movement, as a danger to the unity of the socialist camp.

But while being internationalists we are communist of a specific country, of Albania. We, Albanian communists, would not be called communists if we failed to defend consistently and with determination the freedom of our sacred country from the plots and diversionist attacks of Tito's revisionist clique which are aimed at the invasion of Albania, a fact which is already known to everyone. Can it be permissible for us Albanian communists to let Albania become the prey of Tito, of the U.S. imperialists, of the Greeks or of the Italians. No, never!

Some others advise us not to speak against the Yugoslavs, saying "why are you afraid ? You are defended by the Soviet Union?" We have told these comrades and tell them again that we are afraid neither of the Yugoslav Trotskyites nor of any one else. We have said and say it again that the Soviet Union has defended, defends and will defend us, but we are Marxist-Leninists and not for one moment should we diminish the struggle against the

revisionists and imperialists until we wipe them out of existence. Because if the Soviet Union is to defend you, you must first defend yourself.

The Yugoslavs accuse us of allegedly being chauvinists, of interfering in their internal affairs, and of demanding a rectification of the Albanian -Yugoslav borders. A number of our friends think and imply that we Albanian communists swim in such waters. We tell our friends who think thus that they are grossly mistaken. We are not chauvinists, we have neither demanded nor demand rectification of boundaries. But what we demand and will continually demand from the Titoites, and we will expose them to the end for this, is that they give up perpetrating the crime of genocide against the Albanian minority in Kosova and Metohia, that they give up the white terror against the Albanians of Kosova, that they give up driving the Albanians from their native soil and deporting them 'en masse' to Turkey. We demand that the rights of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia should be recognized according to the Constitution of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Is this chauvinist or Marxist?

This is our attitude on these matters. But if the Titoites speak of peaceful coexistence, of peace, of good neighborly relations and, on the other hand, organize plots, an army of mercenaries and fascists in Yugoslavia for the purpose of attacking our boundaries and of chopping up socialist Albania, and sharing it with the Greek monarcho-fascists, then, we are convinced that not only the Albanians in new Albania but also the one million Albanians living under Tito's bondage will rise arms in hand to stay the hand of the criminal. And this is Marxist and, if anything happens, this is what will be done. The Party of Labor of Albania does not permit any one to play at politics with the rights of the Albanian people.

We do not interfere in the internal affairs of others but when, as a result of the slackening of the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, things go so far that there is published in a friendly country like Bulgaria a map of the Balkans in which Albania is included within the boundaries of Federal Yugoslavia, we cannot keep silent. We are told that this happened due to a technical error of an employee, but why had this not happened before?

But this is not an isolated case. At a meeting in Sremska Mitrovitsa, the bandit Rankovich attacked Albania as usual and called it "a hell where barbed wire and the boots of frontier guards reign supreme" claiming that the democracy of the Italian neofascists was more advanced than ours.

Rankovich's words would be of no significance to us, but these words were listened to with the greatest serenity by the Soviet and Bulgarian Ambassadors to Belgrade who attended this meeting, without their making the slightest protest. We protested in a comradely way over this to the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In his letter of reply to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, comrade Zhivkov dared to reject our protest and call the speech of the bandit Rankovich a positive one. We could never have imagined that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party could describe as positive the speech of a bandit like Rankovich who so grossly insults socialist Albania, likening it to hell. We not only reject with contempt this impermissible insult by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party but we are dead certain that the Bulgarian Communist Party and the heroic Bulgarian people would be utterly revolted if they came to hear of this. Things will not go any too well if we allow such gross mistakes towards one another.

We can never, never agree with Comrade Khrushchev and we protested to him at the time, over the talks he had with Sophocles Venizelos in connection with the Greek minority in Albania. Comrade Khrushchev is well aware that the borders of Albania are inviolable and sacred and that anyone who touches them is an aggressor. The Albanian people will fight to the last drop of their blood if any one touches their borders. Comrade Khrushchev was gravely mistaken when he told Venizelos that he had seen Greek and Albanians working together as brothers in Korsá. In Korsá, there is no Greek minority whatsoever, but there is the age-old covetousness of the Greeks for the Korsá district as for all Albania. There is a very small Greek minority in Gjirokastra. Comrade Khrushchev knows that they enjoy all the

rights, use their own language, have their own churches and schools in addition to all the rights that the other Albanian citizens enjoy.

The ambitions of the Greeks, among them those of Sophocles Venizelos, the son of Eleftherios Venizelos who murdered Albanians and put whole districts of southern Albania to the torch, the frenzied Greek chauvinist and father of the idea of Great Greece, aimed at cutting up Albania and annexing it under the slogan of autonomy, are very well known: Comrade Khrushchev is well aware of the attitude of the Party of Labor of Albania, of the Albanian Government and people on this question. Then, to fail to give Sophocles the answer he deserves, to permit the arousing of hopes and illusions and to say that he will transmit to the Albanian comrades the desires of a British agent, a chauvinist, this is unacceptable to us and deserves condemnation.

Comrade Khrushchev, we have given our reply to Sophocles Venizelos and we believe you have learned of this through the press. We are not opposed to your politicizing with Sophocles Venizelos but refrain from politicizing with our boundaries and our rights, for we have not allowed nor will we allow such a thing. And it is not as nationalists but as internationalists that we do this.

Some may consider these things I am telling you as out of place, as statements inappropriate to the level of this meeting. It would not have been hard for me to have put together a speech in an allegedly theoretical tone, to have spoken in generalizations and quotations, to have submitted a report in general terms in order to please you and pass my turn.

But to the Party of Labor of Albania it seems that this is not the occasion. What I have said may appear to some as attacks, but these are criticisms which have pursued their proper course, which have been made before, when and where necessary within Leninist norms. But seeing that one error follows another, it would be a mistake to keep silent because attitudes, deeds and practice confirm, enrich and create theory.

How quickly the Bucharest Conference was organized and how quickly the Chinese Communist Party was condemned for

"dogmatism"! But why has a Conference to condemn revisionism not been organized at the same speed?

Has revisionism been totally exposed as the Soviet comrades claim? No, in no way whatsoever! Revisionism has been and continues to be the principal danger, Yugoslav revisionism has not been liquidated and the way we are dealing with it is leaving it a clear field for all forms of action.

And can it be said that there are no disturbing manifestations of modern revisionism in other parties? Anyone who says "no" is closing his eyes to this danger, and one fine day we will wake to see that unexpected things have happened to us. We are Marxists and should analyze our work just as Lenin did and taught us to do. He was not afraid of mistakes, he looked them in the eye and corrected them. This is the way the Bolshevik Party was tempered and this is the way our parties have been tempered.

But what is happening in the ranks of our parties? What is happening in our camp since the 20th Congress? Comrade Suslov may feel optimistic, and he expressed this feeling at the October Committee meeting when he reproached the delegate of the Party of Labor of Albania, Hysni Kapo, with pessimism in observing events. We, Albanian Communists, have not been pessimistic even at the blackest moments of the history of our party and people and never will be, but we will always be realists.

Much has been said about our unity. This is essential, and we should fight to strengthen and temper it. But the fact is that on many important issues of principle we have no unity.

The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that things should be re-examined in the light of a Marxist-Leninist analysis and errors should be corrected. Let us take the question of the criticism of Stalin and his work. Our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist one, is fully aware that the cult of the individual is an alien and dangerous manifestation for the parties and for the communist movement itself. Marxist parties should not only not permit the development of the cult of the individual which hampers the activity of the masses, negates their role, is at variance with the development of the life of the party and with the laws that govern it, but should also fight with might and main to uproot it when it

begins to appear or has already appeared in a specific country. Looking at it from this angle, we fully agree that the cult of the individual, Stalin, should be criticized as a dangerous manifestation in the life of the party. But in our opinion, the 20th Congress and, especially, Comrade Khrushchev's secret report did not put the question of Comrade Stalin correctly in an objective Marxist-Leninist way.

Stalin was severely and unjustly condemned on this question by Comrade Khrushchev and the 20th Congress. Comrade Stalin and his work does not belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people alone, but to us all. Just as Comrade Khrushchev said in Bucharest that the differences are not between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party but between the Chinese Communist Party and international communism, just as it pleases him to say that the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses were adopted by all the communist and workers' parties in the same way, he should also be magnanimous and consistent in passing judgment on Stalin's work so that the communist and workers' parties of the world could adopt it with a clear conscience.

There cannot be two yardsticks nor two measures of weight for this matter. Then, why was Comrade Stalin condemned at the 20th Congress without prior consultation with the other communist and workers' parties of the world? Why was this "anathema" pronounced upon Stalin all of a sudden to the communist and workers' parties of the world and why did many sister parties learn of it only when the imperialist press published Comrade Khrushchev's secret report far and wide?

The condemnation of Comrade Stalin was imposed on the communist and progressive world by Comrade Khrushchev. What could our parties do under these circumstances, when unexpectedly, using the great authority of the Soviet Union, he imposed a matter of this kind on our bloc?

The Party of Labor of Albania found itself in a great dilemma. It was not convinced and will never be convinced on the question of condemning Comrade Stalin in that way and in those forms that Comrade Khrushchev did it. Our Party adopted, in

general, the formula of the 20th Congress on this matter but, nevertheless, it did not stick to the limitations set by the Congress nor did it yield to the blackmail and intimidation from outside our country.

The Party of Labor of Albania maintained a realistic stand on the question of Stalin. It was correct and grateful towards this glorious Marxist against whom, while he was alive, there was no one among us "brave enough" to come out and criticize, but when he was dead a great deal of mud was thrown, creating in this way an intolerable situation in which a whole glorious epoch of the Soviet Union when the first socialist State in the world was set up, when the Soviet Union waxed strong, successfully defeated the imperialist plots, crushed the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and the kulaks as a class, when the construction of heavy industry and collectivization triumphed, in a word, when the Soviet Union became a colossal power succeeding in building socialism, when it fought the Second World War with legendary heroism and defeated fascism, liberated our peoples, when a powerful socialist camp was set up, and so on and so forth -- all this glorious epoch of the Soviet Union is left without a helmsman, without a leader.

The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that it is no right, normal or Marxist, to blot out Stalin's name and great work from all this epoch, as it is actually being done. We should all defend the good and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward.

As a person and as the leader of the Bolshevik Communist Party, after Lenin's death Comrade Stalin was, at the same time, the most prominent leader of international communism helping in a very positive way and with great authority in consolidating and promoting the victories of communism throughout the world. All of Comrade Stalin's theoretical works are a fiery testimony of his loyalty to his teacher of genius, to great Lenin and Leninism.

Stalin fought for the rights of the working class and the working people in the whole world, he fought to the end with great consistency for the freedom of the peoples of our countries of People's Democracy.

Viewing things from this angle alone, Stalin belongs to

the entire communist world and not to the Soviet communists alone, he belongs to all the workers of the world and not to the Soviet workers alone.

Had Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades viewed this matter in this spirit, the gross mistakes that were made would have been avoided. But they viewed the question of Stalin very simply and only from the internal aspect of the Soviet Union. But, in the opinion of the Party of Labor of Albania, even from this aspect, they viewed it in a one-sided way, seeing only his mistakes, almost completely putting aside his great activity, his major contribution to the strengthening of the Soviet Union, to the tempering of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the building of the economy of the Soviet Union, of its industry, its kolkhozian agriculture, to his leading the Soviet people to their great victory over German fascism.

Did Stalin make mistakes? Of course he did. In so long a period filled with heroism, trials, struggle, triumphs, it is inevitable not only for Joseph Stalin personally but also for the leadership as a collective body to make mistakes. Which is the party and who is the leader that can claim to have made no mistakes in their work? When the existing leadership of the Soviet Union is criticized, the comrades of the Soviet leadership advise us to look ahead and let bygones be bygones, they tell us to avoid polemics, but when it comes to Stalin, they not only did not look ahead but they turned right round, completely backward, in order to track down only the weak spots in Stalin's work.

The cult of the individual of Stalin should, of course be overcome. But can it be said, as it has been claimed, that Stalin himself was the sponsor of this cult of the individual? The cult of the individual should be overthrown without fail, but was it necessary and was it right to go to such lengths as to point the finger at any one who mentioned Stalin's name, to look askance at any one who used a quotation from Stalin with great speed and zeal? Certain persons smashed statues raised to Stalin and changed the names of cities that had been named after him. But why go any further? At Bucharest, turning to the Chinese comrades, Comrade Khrushchev said: "You are catching on to a dead horse", "Come and get his bones, if you wish!" These

references were to Stalin.

The Party of Labor of Albania solemnly declares that it is opposed to these acts and to these assessments of the work and person of Joseph Stalin.

Soviet comrades, why were these questions raised in this manner and in such a distorted form, while possibilities existed for both Stalin's mistakes and those of the leadership to be treated properly, to be corrected, without creating such a shock in the hearts of the communists of the world, which only the sense of discipline and the authority of the Soviet Union prevented from bursting out?

Comrade Mikoyan has said that we dared not criticize Comrade Stalin when he was alive for he would have cut off our heads. We are sure that Comrade Khrushchev will not cut off our heads if we criticize him aright.

After the 20th Congress, the events we know took place in Poland, the counter-revolution broke out in Hungary, attacks began on the Soviet system, disturbances were aroused in many communist and workers' parties of the world and finally this that has occurred.

We pose the question: Why did these things occur in the international communist movement, in the ranks of our camp, after the 20th Congress? Or do these things happen because the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania is sectarian, dogmatic and pessimistic?

A thing of this kind should be of extraordinary concern for us and we should look for the source of and cure this malady. But, certainly, this sickness can not be cured by patting the renegade Tito on the back nor by putting in the Statement that modern revisionism has been completely done away with, as the Soviet comrades claim.

The authority of Leninism has been and is decisive. It should be established in such a way as to purge erroneous views everywhere and in radical way. There is no other way out for us communists. If there are things that must and should be said outright, just as they are, this should be done now, at this

Conference, before it is too late. Communists, we think, should go to bed with a clear conscience, they should strive to consolidate their unity but without keeping back their reservations, without nurturing feelings of favoritism and hatred. A communist says openly what he feels in his heart and matters will be judged correctly.

There may be people who will not be pleased with what our small Party is saying. Our small Party may be isolated, our country may be subjected to economic pressure in order to prove, allegedly, to our people that their leadership is no good, our Party may be and is being attacked, Michael Suslov equates the Party of Labor of Albania with the bourgeois parties and likens its leaders to Kerensky. But this does not intimidate us. We have learned some lessons. Rankovich has not said worse things about the Party of Labor of Albania, Tito has called us Goebels, but again, we are Leninists and they are Trotskyites, traitors, lackeys and agents of imperialism.

I wish to emphasize that the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people have shown in practice how much they love, how much they respect and how loyal they stand to the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that when the Party of Labor of Albania criticizes the wrong doings of certain Soviet leaders, that does not mean that our views and our attitude have changed. We, Albanians, take the courage as Marxists to criticize these comrades not because we hate them but because we think highly of them and because we love above everything else the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

This is how we love the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet leadership. With our Marxist severity we tell them in a comradely way, we open our hearts, we tell them frankly what we think. Hypocrites we have never been nor will ever be.

In spite of the severity we show, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will hold us dear, regardless of errors we may make, but the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist and workers' parties of the world will not accuse us of

lacking sincerity, of talking behind their backs or of swearing allegiance to a hundred banners.

In conclusion. I wish to say a few words about the draft-Statement submitted to us by the Editorial Commission. Our Delegation took cognizance of this draft and scrutinized it carefully. In the new draft-Statement many amendments have been made to the first variant submitted by the Soviet delegation which was taken as a basis of the work of the said Commission.

With the amendments made to it, the new draft-Statement has been considerably improved, many important ideas have been stressed, a number of theses have been formulated more correctly and the overwhelming majority of the allusions against the Chinese Communist Party have been rejected.

At the meeting of this Commission, the Delegation of our Party offered many suggestions which were partially adopted. Although our Delegation was not in agreement that certain important matters of principle should remain in the drafted document, it gave its consent that this document should be submitted to this meeting, reserving its right to express once again its views on all the issues on which it disagreed. Above all, we think that those five issues which remain uncoordinated, should be settled so that we may draw up a document which has the unanimous approval of all.

We think that it is essential to make clear in the Statement the idea of Lenin expressed recently by Comrade Maurice Thorez as well as by Comrade Suslov in his speech at the meeting of the Editorial Commission, that there can be an absolute guarantee of the prohibition of war only when socialism has triumphed throughout the world or, at least, in a number of other great imperialist countries. At the same time, that paragraph which refers to factionist or group activity in the international communist movement should be deleted since this, as we have pointed out also at the meeting of the Commission, does not help consolidate unity, on the contrary, it undermines it. We are also in favor of deleting the words referring to the overcoming of the dangerous consequences of the cult of the individual or else, of adding the phrase "which occurred in a number of parties", a thing which corresponds better to the reality.

I do not want to take the time of this meeting over this question and other opinions which we have on the draft-Statement. Our Delegation will make its concrete remarks when the draft-Statement itself is under discussion.

We will do well and it will be salutary if we take the courage at this conference to look our mistakes in the face and treat the wounds, wherever they may be, but which are threatening to become aggravated and dangerous. We do not consider it an offense when comrades criticize us justly and on facts, but we will never, never, accept that without any facts, they may call us "dogmatic", "sectarian", "narrow nationalists" simply because we fight with persistence against modern revisionism and, especially, against Yugoslav revisionism. If anyone considers our struggle against revisionism as dogmatic or sectarian, we say to him, "Take off your revisionist spectacles and you will see more clearly!"

The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that this Conference will remain an historic one, for it will be a Conference in the tradition of the Leninist Conferences which the Bolshevik Party had organized in order to expose and root right out distorted views, in order to strengthen and steel the unity of our international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labor will continue to strive with determination to strengthen our unity, our fraternal bonds, the joint activity of our communist and workers' parties, for this is the guarantee of the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism. The unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the unity of the international communist and workers' movement with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the center, is the most sacred thing which our Party will guard as the apple of its eye and will strengthen more and more with each passing day.

**Speech in Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the
Founding of the Party of Labor of Albania and the 44th
Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution**

7 November, 1961

Dear comrades,

We are celebrating the 20th anniversary of our Party in new international conditions very favourable to the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. Twenty years ago, when the Albanian Communist Party was founded, the world was ruled by the capitalist system – a system of oppression and wild exploitation of peoples. The Soviet Union, the first country of victorious socialism, was at that time encircled on all sides by capitalist countries. Whole continents were suffering under the colonial yoke of imperialism. The most reactionary forces of bourgeoisie, the fascist and militarist states, incited by the most aggressive circles of international imperialism, had unleashed the Second World War, they had put under their yoke whole nations and, like wild beasts, they were rushing against the offspring of the great October Socialist Revolution – the Soviet Union.

Today, after 20 years, great radical changes have taken place in the world. Owing to the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet peoples, in the first place, there was achieved the historic victory over fascism; the Soviet Union became the liberator of the enslaved European peoples. New states broke away from the capitalist system and embarked on the road of socialism. The people's revolution triumphed in China; this is the greatest historic event after the October Socialist Revolution. Socialism came out of the borders of a single country and became a world system stretching from the Adriatic coasts to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean; this is the greatest historic victory of the international working class.

The world socialist system, which includes in its fold over 1 billion people with a big economic and military potential continually growing at unprecedented rates, has become today the decisive factor in the development of the world history. It exerts a tremendous influence on the world; it has become a great attractive and revolutionizing force.

The world socialist system is showing with every passing day its indisputable superiority over the capitalist system. It has become the shield of all the progressive forces of the world, the impregnable bulwark of freedom and peace, democracy and socialism.

The irresistible development of socialism and the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples inevitably led to the collapse of the colonial slavery system of imperialism. Forty-two new states with a total population of more than 1 billion and 200 million have won freedom and national independence. While after the first world war the countries enslaved and controlled by imperialism made up more than 77 per cent of the territory of the world and accounted for about 70 per cent of the world population now such countries occupy only over 10 per cent of the area and account for about 3 per cent of the world population. The dissolution of the colonial system of imperialism is the second greatest event after the establishment of the world socialist system.

As a result of the establishment and consolidation of the world system of socialism, and of the dissolution of the colonial system of imperialism, the sphere of domination of imperialism has been greatly narrowed, its general crisis has further deepened, all its internal and external class and national contradictions have sharpened. Today imperialism is no more the only ruler and all-powerful ruler in the world. It can no more lord over it. Its laws do not operate everywhere in the world. In front of the capitalist system which is heading towards its inevitable doom, there stands powerful and invincible the world system of socialism round which there have rallied and continue to rally all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces which are striving for the national and social liberation.

Such is the reality of our days and this reality convincingly shows that the ratio of forces in the world today has radically and definitely changed to the advantage of socialism and to the detriment of imperialism. The forces of socialism, the forces of national liberation, peace and democracy are superior to the forces of imperialism, colonialism, war and reaction. All these things have created in the world a new situation, very favourable

conditions to carry out even more successfully the struggle against imperialism, for peace and for the accomplishment of the socialist, national-liberation, democratic and people's revolutions.

The Party of Labor of Albania recognizes and understands the deep changes that have taken place in the world, the new conditions and phenomena that have arisen. But we reject all and every attempt being made by the present-day revisionists who, under the slogans of the "creative interpretation of Marxism in the new conditions", are spreading their false and opportunistic viewpoints; they are seeking to sell them as a further development of Marxism, and they hasten to stigmatize as dogmatist, sectarian and adventurer anyone who goes on record against such viewpoints. These are known tactics. There is nothing new, nothing original in this. An the revisionists and opportunists, beginning with Bernstein and ending with Tito, under the guise of the "changes in the situation" and of the "new phenomena", have denied the basic principles of Marxism. As V. I. Lenin used to say, by always masking themselves under the slogan of the fight against dogmatism, using "the catch-word: dogmatist", they have risen against Marxism.

From the changes that have occurred in the world, there must be drawn correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist conclusions: there must be drawn such conclusions as not to create reformist and pacifist illusions and weaken the struggle against imperialism, but to strengthen ever more this just struggle: there must be drawn such conclusions as not to alienate the peoples from the cause of revolution, but bring them ever closer to it, not divert them from the struggle for their national liberation, but raise this struggle to an ever higher level.

Let us take the problem of war and peace. Does it mean that the change in the balance of power to the advantage of socialism has brought about also a change in the nature of imperialism, that imperialism has been tied up hands and feet, that it is unable to do anything, to unleash wars and undertake various aggressive actions? Such a conclusion is not only erroneous, but also very harmful. The underestimation of the forces of the enemy and the overestimation of our own forces weakens our vigilance and pushes us into dangerous adventures, just as the

underestimation of our own forces and the overestimation of the forces of the enemy leads to unprincipled concessions, to mistakes and opportunist attitudes. Proceeding from the real balance of forces in the world today, our Party has pointed out and continues to point out that in the question of war and peace both eventualities must be considered and we must be prepared for both, for war being prevented, as well as for it being unleashed on the part of the imperialists. Our deep conviction that at the present time a world war and other aggressive wars which imperialism unleashes can be prevented is by no means based on the "good intentions" of the leaders of imperialism, but on the tremendous economic, political and military power of the mighty socialist camp, on the unity and struggle of the international working class, on the resolute efforts of the peoples of the whole world against the imperialist war mongers, on the unity and compactness of all the peace-loving forces.

During all the years of the existence of the people's power, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has resolutely and consistently pursued a foreign policy which has fully met the interests of our people and country, the interests of freedom and national independence, as well as the interests of the whole camp of socialism and of the cause of peace and progress of human society. The foundation of the foreign policy of the Party of Labor of Albania has always been and remains to be: constant strengthening of the relations of friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual support and assistance with the countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union; support for the national-liberation, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations, as well as for the revolutionary struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries; efforts to secure relations of peaceful coexistence of the People's Republic of Albania with the capitalist countries especially with the neighbouring countries; efforts for the preservation and consolidation of peace in the world and in the Balkan and Adriatic area; exposure of the policy of war and aggression pursued by the imperialist powers headed by the United States of America and their partners and tools round our country, such as the Italian imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists.

In the foreign policy our Party and Government have always marched hand in hand with the other socialist countries in their efforts for the preservation and strengthening of the world peace. They have always approved and energetically supported the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries for the settlement of the most important international problems. And this foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania has always met with the full approval of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which have always considered it as a correct policy to the advantage of our common cause.

But of late, N. Khrushchev and company turned their coat and are accusing us at times of being "adventurists and warmongers" and at times of a "rapprochement" with imperialism. Those who are accusing us, besides slanders and inventions, have no argument, not a single fact to prove that the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania has changed. Nothing has changed in our foreign policy. Our attitude also has not changed either in regards the questions of war and peace, or in regards our relations with the other States, and especially with the neighbouring States, or in regards the struggle against imperialism and for the exposure of the Yugoslav revisionists.

Twenty years of life and revolutionary struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania reject all these base slanders and inventions which have caused a profound indignation to and have irritated our people who have heroically fought and continue to fight against imperialism and its henchmen. Those who accuse and slander the Party of Labor of Albania and its leadership are unable to adduce even a single fact that could prove their allegations, while we are in a position to present many documented facts clearly showing their estrangement from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and of the struggle against imperialism. We have never cherished illusions about our enemies, we have not embraced and kissed them, we have not flattered them and we have not caressed them, we have never bowed to them. Our Party and Government have always maintained a firm, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand towards the enemies of peace and socialism; they have sharply and constantly

exposed the imperialists, whether U.S. or British, French or Italian, and their policy of war and aggression; they have been irreconcilable with and have energetically and unreservedly supported the just cause of the peoples who have risen in struggle against imperialism. They have rendered all their support to the fraternal Algerian, Cuban, Congolese, Laotian and other peoples in their sacred struggle against imperialism, resolutely condemning all the aggressive attempts of imperialism.

For all this "good" which our Party has done to imperialism during these 20 years, it has been rewarded by it and its tools with a fierce and relentless fight which they have carried out against the People's Republic of Albania through continuous plot and provocations, through diversion, blackmail and successive slanders.

They accuse us of being afraid of imperialism, of being afraid to assume responsibility for the settlement of important international questions. By this they mean the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the West Berlin problem. The Party of Labor of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have not feared and never fear imperialism; they have not feared and never fear their responsibility as a socialist country and as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and they have honourably and strictly fulfilled their internationalist tasks. The attitude of the Party of Labor of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania towards the German issue is known to the whole world, it is contained in many publicly known documents. The Party of Labor of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have always supported and continue to resolutely support the efforts of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic for a peaceful settlement of the German problem. The viewpoint of our Party and Government has been and remains that the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the solution on this basis also of the West Berlin problem are indispensable measures, long since ripe and in the interests of the People's Republic of Albania, of the German Democratic Republic, of the other socialist countries, in the interests of peace and security in Europe. We have stood and stand for the earliest possible

settlement of these problems because any procrastination is only to the advantage of our enemies. The declaration of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania concerning the German question publicly stated that "in any situation and at any dangerous moment we shall fight to the end alongside with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries; irrespective of any sacrifice on every occasion and as always we shall solidarize with them to the end and honourably discharge our duty". Such has been, is and will remain the stand of our Party and our Government.

Then the question arises: Who fears indeed, who is afraid of the responsibility for the settlement of the German issue, who is dragging it on? We that have stood and continue to stand for its earliest possible solution or our accusers who have backed out on this question and have dragged it out from year to year?

Or let us take the disarmament problem. It is a matter of common knowledge that our Government has supported the Soviet Union's proposal for a total and complete disarmament because as long as the arms exist and the armament race is being conducted, as long as a total and complete disarmament is not effected, there is no security for peace. The Soviet Government, jointly with our Government, have forwarded the proposal to convert the Adriatic and the Balkans into a peace area, without bases for atomic weapons land rockets. But the proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries for a total and complete disarmament and for the creation of peace areas have been rejected by the imperialist powers. In such conditions our Government has supported and fully supports the Soviet Government's decision on the resumption of the nuclear weapon tests as a very important and indispensable measure for the security of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, for bridling the imperialist powers headed by the United States of America and the Bonn revenge-seekers, who have intensified to the maximum the frenzied armaments race and the feverish preparations for a new world war. We are aware that disarmament is a difficult problem. To force its solution upon the imperialists, great efforts must be made as well as resolute struggle must be waged by the socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces.

But N. Khrushchev, instead of pursuing such a correct path, is seeking to disarm a socialist country such as the People's Republic of Albania, which is encircled on all parts by enemies. By weakening the defensive might of the People's Republic of Albania he damages not only the interests of our country, but also those of the entire camp of socialism. And all this is done at a time when the U.S. 6th fleet is roaming about like a monster in the Mediterranean, when U.S. rocket bases have been established in Greece and Italy, when the NATO forces are feverishly continuing their armaments race, when the imperialists and revenge-seekers of West Germany are sabre-rattling and seriously endangering the world peace. The Albanian Government was not guilty of and bore no responsibility for this. But, at any case N. Khrushchev should by no means go to such lengths as to openly incite the imperialists and various reactionaries against a socialist country such as the People's Republic of Albania. However the defense of the Albanian borders is fully ensured.

In conditions when there exist in the world states with different social systems, the only just principle to govern the relations between them is the principle of peaceful coexistence, a principle outlined by Lenin and implemented also by Stalin. Our Party of Labor has always thought and thinks that the policy of peaceful coexistence meets the vital interests of all the peoples, both of the socialist and capitalist countries; it meets the aim of the further strengthening of the positions of socialism and universal peace. Therefore, this principle underlies the relations of our socialist state with the other non-socialist states.

It is absurd to accuse our Party and socialist State of allegedly standing against peaceful coexistence. This slander is refuted by the entire practical activity of our State in the field of foreign policy. We are not opposed to the principle of peaceful coexistence, but we do not agree with some opportunist viewpoints of N. Khrushchev and his followers who consider the peaceful coexistence as the general line of foreign policy of the socialist countries, as the main road to the victory of socialism on a world scale, who for the sake of peaceful coexistence renounce the struggle for the exposure of imperialism, who negate almost completely the ideological and political struggle against the

Yugoslav revisionism under the pretext that in some foreign policy issues Yugoslavia supports the Soviet proposals. Such an interpretation of peaceful coexistence is erroneous and anti-Marxist because it leads to the denial of the class struggle. The correct implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, implying also the exposure of imperialism and its policy of war and aggression, must promote the development of the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries, as well as the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. On their part, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle, by narrowing and weakening the positions of imperialism, promote the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence. The communist parties in the capitalist countries, parallel with the struggle to force the policy of peaceful coexistence on the bourgeois governments of their countries, are waging at the same time the class struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois power, for the transition to socialism according to the specific conditions of every country.

As regards the forms of transition to socialism, N. Khrushchev badly complicated this question, too, at the 20th Congress and later. He almost raised to absolute the peaceful way of the seizure of power by the working class, and thus the illusion was created that allegedly the working class and its communist party would be able to take power in their hands only by securing a parliamentary majority. Such theses were approved only by the revisionists and various opportunists who used them to justify their anti-Marxist viewpoints. We, the Albanian communists, have never been and are not a priori opposed to the peaceful way. But the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the historical experience and the reality of the present days teach us that, to secure the victory of the cause of socialism, the working class and its party must prepare themselves simultaneously for both eventualities – the peaceful way and the non-peaceful one. To take one's bearings only from one of these eventualities it means to embark on an erroneous path. Only by getting well prepared, especially for the non-peaceful way, the chances grow also for the peaceful way.

This is how we understand the peaceful coexistence and its connection with the class struggle. This is how we understand

and implement the policy of peaceful coexistence with the other non-socialist states, and in the first place with our neighbours.

It is strange that Nikita Khrushchev and his followers demand from us that we should put into effect the peaceful coexistence with our Greek neighbors. They accuse us of not marching along the same road with them as regards the proposals for the disarmament of the Balkan countries, they accuse us of not making efforts "for a Balkan understanding"; they join the chorus of Tito and Karamanlis that we are allegedly the "warmongers of the Balkans" at a time when Greece continues to consider herself in a "state of war" with Albania, when she advances territorial claims towards our country and is plotting to attack Albania, when monarcho-fascist Greece has become a fortress armed to the teeth by the American imperialists against our socialist countries. The charges of our critics are groundless, for no reasonable man can think that little Albania, encircled as she is by wolves which for 17 years in succession have sought to swallow her alive, does not stand for peace and disarmament.

How much monarcho-fascist Greece disarmed and to what extent the hopes of those believing in such a thing were realized, this is a matter of common knowledge, it is shown by life, but that we should avoid criticizing Nikita Khrushchev (and this criticism was made by us in a comradely way) when he gives hopes to Sophocles Venizelos for an "autonomy of South Albania", this would be a treason on our part. Nikita Khrushchev did not like our just criticism. This is the least evil. But he turned our criticism into a countercharge, accusing us of allegedly slandering the Soviet Union, which has liberated us and is defending us. This, of course, is machiavellian. But later the devil showed again his horns. At the time when the Americans, Greeks and Turks were carrying out their large-scale military manoeuvres around the borders of Albania and Bulgaria, N. Khrushchev, in his statement to the "New York Times" reporter, Sultzberger, on September 10th, 1961, textually said: "You (Americans) have established bases also in Greece and you are threatening from there our ally Bulgaria". Has not perhaps monarcho-fascist Greece installed rockets also against Albania? How long is it that Nikita Khrushchev has decided that Albania should be no more an ally of

the Soviet Union? This is monstrous. Are these unimportant questions? Is it permissible to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union even if he and socialist Albania were at daggers drawn, to openly tell the Greek reaction that socialist Albania is no more an ally of the Soviet Union and inform president Kennedy that "the relations between the Soviet Union and Albania have deteriorated"?

It is we, therefore, according to some, that view things as "sectarian nationalists", while others, who speculate on the interests of our people, are Marxists. Tomorrow, these same criticizers may hold us responsible also for the losses in election of the Greek progressive party – EDA. Do perhaps these self-styled Marxists think that we should hand the keys of our country to the Greek monarcho-fascists so that "their line of peaceful coexistence" may win or the seizure of power in Greece "in a peaceful and parliamentary way" may be achieved? No, they should not expect this from us. These self-styled Marxists should not forget that the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people have shown their great internationalism by saving tens of thousands of heroes of the Greek people and of the Greek Communist Party who, we are certain, do not spit the horse after having crossed the river.

Such is the foreign policy that has been pursued by our Party and our Government. Such are our viewpoints about the problems of the present day world development. It is precisely for these attitudes and these viewpoints that we are criticized, it is for this that N. Khrushchev attacked us at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this way, he first, unilaterally, made public our disputes, providing weapons to the enemy and assuming thereby a heavy historic responsibility as a splitter of the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp. Our Party of Labor has never publicly expressed our differences; it has dwelt on them only at party meetings, but now that N. Khrushchev made them public, our Party, too, is obliged to state openly its viewpoints.

N. Khrushchev, accusing our Party in his speeches at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said

that the Albanian-Soviet relations were spoiled for the fault of the Albanian leaders. It is well known that the 20 years of revolutionary activity of our Party are 20 years of a tremendous work for the promotion of friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet peoples, for the establishment of closer fraternal ties between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union; they are 20 years of exemplary cooperation between our Party and the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Twenty years of the activity of our Party are 20 years of sincere faithfulness, of great fraternal love of our Party for Lenin's great Party which has always been, is and will remain for us a source of inspiration and experience, from which we have learned and shall learn how to work and strive for the good of our peoples, for the cause of socialism and communism. Twenty years of the activity of our Party have been years of an unsparing and allround assistance by the Soviet Union to the Albanian people, of a fraternal internationalist aid, which our Party and Government have rightly utilized for the economic development of our country, for the up-building of socialism in Albania, for the improvement of the living standards of the Albanian people.

In such conditions it is absurd and incredible to everyone to allege that it is the Albanian leaders who "without any reason" and with "an amazing quickness" have changed their attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Incredible is also the monstrous slander that the Albanian leaders have allegedly linked themselves to imperialism and have allegedly sold themselves to it for 30 pieces of silver. Such "discoveries" may be believed by those who are fond of tales and detective novels, but by no serious man, for every honest person who knows somewhat the twenty-year old history of our Party can not fail to see that such a slander is not justified by any stand of our Party, by any action of its leaders. The Party of Labor of Albania, during its entire revolutionary path, has always fought and continues to fight with determination against imperialism and its agents; never in the past, at present and in the future has it stretched, is stretching or will stretch its hand to anybody for pittance, and less so to imperialism and its allies. It has received and receives from its friends and brothers of the countries of the socialist camp not alms, but only internationalist aids in credit and

it will continue to receive in the future, too, only from those socialist countries which will desire to offer to it such an aid. We ask for alms, from nobody. If N. Khrushchev and his followers, for one or another reason, do not like to help us, they are expecting us in vain to address ourselves to the imperialists and their allies for "alms". Our people have friends and comrades in the socialist countries who have not abandoned and will not abandon them. But, regardless of this, we tell N. Khrushchev that the Albanian people and their Party of Labor will live even on grass, if need be, but they will never sell themselves for 30 pieces of silver, for they prefer to die standing and with honour rather than live with shame and knelt down.

Why then did the Soviet-Albanian relations deteriorate? This is clear and well-known to N. Khrushchev himself and to the international communist movement. Khrushchev knows the cause, for he himself is the culprit. We shall say only this: that the June 1960 Bucharest meeting was the starting point.

Differences had existed between our Party of Labor and the Soviet leadership even prior to June 1960 on some questions of ideological and political nature; however they have not exerted any negative influence on the relations between our two socialist states, between our two Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always declared, and declares now, too, that the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the experience of its congresses, including here also the 20th and the 22nd Congresses, have been, are and will always be a great help on our road for the up-building of the socialist and communist society. However, as regards some special theses of principle of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our Party has not been and is not of the same opinion with the Soviet leadership, just as it is not also at present as regards some special questions of the 22nd Congress or of the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union approved by the 22nd Congress. Is not our Party entitled to this? Is this not consistent with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism? Can this be considered as an anti-Soviet attitude, as they are trying to accuse us?

The Soviet leaders consider us anti-marxist, dogmatist, sectarian, and opposed to proletarian internationalism, etc., any party that is not of the same opinion with them as regards some theses of principle which were raised at the 20th Congress. Moreover, the former member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union E. Furtseva went to such lengths as to declare from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress that "how can call themselves communists those persons who do not accept the decisions of the 20th Congress of our Party?" (Although we say that we do not agree with some theses of the 20th Congress, the Soviet leaders like to round out things and say the whole 20th Congress). That is, according to some Soviet leaders, the criterion of loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards communism and proletarian internationalism, is allegedly the attitude towards the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Can such a logic be Marxist? If all the communist and workers parties in the world would adopt the new criteria invented by Furtseva, then only the disagreement, let us say, with many revisionist theses of the 8th Congress of the Italian Communist Party would throw into misfortune millions of communists in the world and difficulties would be created for them, for they would not know to what address they should hand their party cards.

According to the Leninist principles governing the relations between Marxist parties, however important the congress of a party may be, however great and authoritative the party of a country may be, the decisions of its congress are binding only for its members. In the international communist movement all the parties – the Moscow Declaration points out – are equal and independent, they work out their policies proceeding from the specific conditions of their countries and guiding themselves by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The attempt to make the decisions of the congress of a party as international norms binding for all the parties is a crude violation of the principles of equality and independence of the Marxist-Leninist parties; it is in open contrast with proletarian internationalism. Therefore, it is not our Party, but the Soviet leadership, headed by N. Khrushchev, that has deviated from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, seeking to force its course upon the

other parties, demanding from them to renounce their own viewpoints and obey and submit to them.

Whether our Party stands or not on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, this is by no means determined by its critical attitude towards some theses expressed by the leaders of some fraternal parties, nor by the subjective evaluation that may be made of its line and activity by N. Khrushchev and his followers. The criterion of truth is life, practice; therefore the individuals and the various parties should be judged by the facts, by their practical activity. The path traversed by the Party of Labor of Albania, the line it has pursued right from its founding, its 20-year old political activity, are the most convincing facts attesting to its firm loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards the great cause of socialism and communism as well as towards the cause of the world peace.

Our Party of Labor has made its special remarks about some theses of principle of the 20th Congress and about some stands of the Soviet leaders, with which it has not agreed, through normal party channels, observing thereby all the jointly established principles governing the relations between the fraternal parties. As regards our remarks relating to the foreign policy and the problems of the present-day world development, we mentioned them above. Let us now see another important problem about which we have held and continue to hold opinions different from those of the Soviet leaders. The question is about the attitude towards J. V. Stalin and his work.

According to the views of our Party, N. Khrushchev had to uncrown first J. V. Stalin and his work in order to forward his opportunist theses to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and spread them later. He did this by his special report delivered at the 20th congress "Concerning the personality cult and its consequences". Our Party has not agreed and does not agree with the criticism against Stalin, as it was effected at the 20th Congress and later.

N. Khrushchev, slandering our Party at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and crudely interfering with our domestic affairs, said that the Albanian leaders were against the criticism of Stalin's personality cult

because the personality cult methods are allegedly thriving in our Party, that terror and injustice are allegedly reigning in Albania. We shall not stop here to reject these slanders, but the fact that their author has fallen so low as to mobilize the public opinion against our Party using such "arguments" borrowed from the most rabid enemies of socialism and communism, shows his dark aims. It is evident that by linking at the 22nd Congress his unsubstantiated attacks on the Party of Labor of Albania with his "fight against Stalin's cult and the anti-party group", N. Khrushchev aimed at showing the "analogy" between the alleged "Albanian Stalinism" and the "epoch of the Stalinist crimes" in the Soviet Union, in order to create in this way the "atmosphere" he needed at the Congress and in the world public opinion to make his slanders more credible.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always taken and continues to take account of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the role of the masses, classes, party and leaders. It has always considered and continues to consider the manifestation of the personality cult as phenomenon alien to Marxism-Leninism, harmful to a communist and workers' party. Our Party has not hesitated, when the case has been, to criticize while still in embryo the various manifestations of this kind among its ranks as it did at its Third Congress. Likewise, our Party, when the case has been, has boldly fought and has nipped in the bud any violation of the revolutionary legality, any abuse of the state power by anybody, as it did at its First Congress. Everybody knows what was the fate of the enemy of the Party and people Koçi Xoxe and company, who before the year 1948, incited by the Yugoslav revisionists and abusing the trust given to them by the people and Party, violated the state laws in order to dig the grave to the Party and state cadres.

There does not exist in our Party either the sickness of the personality cult or the violation of the socialist legality. But at the same time, while guarding itself against the manifestations of the personality cult, our Party, in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, nourished love and respect for its leaders strictly observing the socialist legality, our Party and our people's power are severe towards the enemies of our People's Republic, towards all those

who seek to bury the historic victories of our people.

The Party of Labor of Albania, therefore, has been and is opposed to the criticism done to J. V. Stalin at the 20th Congress and which was repeated also at the 22nd Congress for some other reasons of principle.

According to the viewpoint of our Party, J. V. Stalin, in his entire theoretical and practical activity, has been and remains one of the most distinguished leaders and personalities not only of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also of the international communist and worker's movement, one of the most ardent defenders and greatest theoreticians of Marxism-Leninism. His great historic merit lies in the fact that for many years in succession he had been a loyal disciple and determined comrade-in-arms of V. I. Lenin in the struggle for the overthrow of Tzarism and the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution; while following Lenin's death, heading the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he faithfully defended Leninism against the rabid attacks by the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites and other enemies and routed them ideologically and politically. J. V. Stalin, as the main leader of the Party, made a great contribution to the successful direction of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against fascism; he further developed Marxism-Leninism in a series of important questions of the Soviet socialist society and the construction of socialism and communism; he made a valuable contribution to the consolidation of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, as well as to the exposure of modern revisionism in the person of Tito's revisionist traitorous group. By thus appraising J. V. Stalin's activity, there is not doubt that the errors he may have committed during the last years of his life were partial and they cannot serve as a criterion to make a general evaluation of J. V. Stalin's person and his activity. In the general evaluation of J. V. Stalin's activity, in the foreground stand his great merits, his fight for the defense of Leninism, his struggle for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, his struggle for the creation and consolidation of the socialist camp, for the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement; his consistent

fight against imperialism; his policy for the defence of peace and the peaceful coexistence. They constitute his main characteristic feature as a leader and as a communist. Such has been and remains the firm position of the Party of Labor of Albania relating to the evaluation of J. V. Stalin's work.

N. Khrushchev's wrong position in his criticism against J. V. Stalin lies in the fact that:

1. he unilaterally and tendentiously exaggerated beyond measure J. V. Stalin's mistakes going even to such lengths as to make base slanders against him. Stalin was presented by him almost as an "enemy" of the Soviet Union and communism; he was characterized as "brutal", "capricious", as a "despot", "murderer", "blood-thirsty" and "criminal" towards the Party cadres and the loyal and tested revolutionaries, and as a "dupe" of the imperialists and fascists, as a man who committed great "follies", both in practice and theoretical questions, who did not "understand" of what was being done in the Soviet Union, who manifested a "lack of respect towards Lenin's memory", and many other charges of this kind. The detached statements made at the 20th Congress and after it, to the effect that Stalin remains a distinguished Marxist-Leninist, etc., are entirely formal and were made to mitigate the bad impression and the lawful anger aroused in the communists of the whole world by these accusations against Stalin. In fact, neither at the 20th Congress nor up today the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its propaganda has made no positive appraisal of J. V. Stalin's theoretical legacy to show his positive sides and his contribution to the defense and further development of Marxism-Leninism. This in humane attitude reached its climax at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where not only were repeated the accusations of the 20th Congress, this time publicly, but there was adopted also a special decision to remove J. V. Stalin's embalmed body from the mausoleum. Unable to reject Stalin by arguments of principle in the field of theoretical activity and

creativity, Khrushchev, in order to fight Stalin, introduces the question into the police and espionage field, and he took measures also for the liquidation of Stalin's corpse. How much hypocritically sound, following all these actions, N. Khrushchev's words pronounced in January 1957 to the effect that

"when it was the question of the revolution, of the defense of the interests of the class of the proletariat, in the revolutionary struggle against our class enemies, Stalin defended bravely and irreconcilably the cause of Marxism-Leninism", that "in the main and fundamental thing – and the main and fundamental thing for the Marxist-Leninists is the defense of working class interests, of the cause of socialism, the fight against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism – in this main and fundamental thing, as it is said, pray god every communist be able to fight as Stalin fought".

2. Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the soviet propaganda following that congress, unilaterally treated the question of the fight against the personality cult, throwing into oblivion the Leninist doctrine about the relations among the masses, classes, parties and leaders. The great Lenin, especially in his book of genius *Leftism – Infantile Sickness in Communism* [i.e. *Left-Wing Communism - an Infantile Disorder*], forcefully pointed out the indispensability of the creation, in every Marxist party, of a group of leaders, more or less permanent, composed of the most authoritative, most influential and most experienced persons. Without such a stable leadership the struggle of the working class and its communist party cannot be crowned with success. In contrast with these clear teachings of Lenin, at the 20th Congress, under the pretext of the fight against the personality cult, the mass democracy was contraposed to the role of the leaders. It is not bad to recall what V. I. Lenin writes in connection with this:

"To arrive for this reason at such a point as to oppose in general the dictatorship of the masses to the dictatorship of the leaders, is an absurdity and a folly. It is especially ridiculous when you see that the old leaders who had human viewpoints about simple things, are indeed

replaced (under the mask of the slogan: "down with the leaders!") by *young leaders* who say nonsenses which weigh nothing." (V. I. Lenin, *Works*, vol. 31, p. 31, Albanian ed.).

N. Khrushchev and his group used for their own anti-Marxist aims – and this is becoming ever more clear – the alleged "principled criticism" against Stalin's personality cult. How he used it and for what purposes he is acting in the internal plan (in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) this is not our business, this may be judged only by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Despite this, we can but note that in fact N. Khrushchev, dealing with the "crimes" that have been committed in Stalin's epoch, with the "murders of the innocent people", with the "elimination of thousands of cadres" through "false" court trials, with the regime of "terror", which is described with an unbridled enthusiasm, in the darkest colours, making all these things known to the international public opinion, is rendering a very bad service to the Soviet Union, pleasing only the imperialists and all the enemies of communism. N. Khrushchev has accused the leadership of our Party of the just criticism, also at party meetings, against some unlawful actions with regard to our country, alleging that the Albanian leaders "throw mud at the Soviet Union".

But how should we call this same unbridled zeal of his to darken a whole glorious epoch, the epoch of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to discredit before the eyes of the whole world the glory of the Soviet Union, presenting it as the country where terror and murders have allegedly reigned, just as the whole reactionary bourgeois press has propagandized and is propagandizing?

Is it not he himself that, by his actions, is discrediting the Soviet Union? Is he not gravely offending the heroism of the Soviet peoples who, in struggle with internal and external enemies, in struggle with countless difficulties and obstacles, under the leadership of their Communist Party which was led by Stalin, laid the foundations of the socialist and communist society in the Soviet Union, when he proposes that there should be erected in Moscow a memorial to the "victims" of the personality cult? Someone calls such actions a "bold self-criticism". Let them

think more deeply about how much good and how many evils has this kind of "bold self-criticism" brought to the Soviet Union and the communist movement.

N. Khrushchev, speaking of the "iniquities" and "victims of the period of the personality cult", declaring the various court trials as framed-up, regardless of the fact that in all that struggle there might have been made also some mistakes, appears to be consistent with his anti-Marxist concepts about imperialism and its servitors. Indeed, he rendered a service to imperialism, for he presents it as not dangerous to the countries which are building up socialism; he is weakening the vigilance of the peoples in their struggle against the espionage network of imperialism which has acted and is fiercely acting against the socialist camp. N. Khrushchev adopted his tactics of silence also towards the plot organized by the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarchofascist and the United States 6th fleet, a plot which was exposed in our country a few months ago. Moreover, after having recommended these tactics also to some other fraternal parties, he spread the slogan that the plot was an invention, that the participants in this plot were "patriots and honest fighters", whom later, at the 22nd congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in his concluding speech, he openly took them under his protection. While not long ago N. Khrushchev formally accused the Albanian leaders of being connected with the imperialist espionage. Therefore, according to his logic, it follows that he who fights against imperialism, he who fights against its agents, he who fights for the defense of the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland, is an agent of imperialism. And conversely, he who rises against the people's power and the Party, he who places himself at the service of the enemies of socialism, is a "martyr", a "good patriot", he is taken under protection by the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to such persons there will be erected memorials also.

The question of the fight against Stalin's cult has been used by N. Khrushchev to uncrown Leninism, to prepare the ground to revise Marxism-Leninism and spread his opportunist views in the most important questions of the present-day world development and the international communist movement. This

action and the tactics of his are neither new nor original. In fact, in his fight against Leninism Trotsky, too, used the same tactics.

". . . Trotsky in his writings – J. V. Stalin says – makes one more (one more!) attempt to prepare the conditions for the substitution of Trotskyism to Leninism. Trotsky has to discredit, at all costs, the Party, its cadres that carried out the uprising with a view to passing from the discredit of the Party to the discredit of Leninism. While he needs the discredit of Leninism to smuggle in Trotskyism as the "only" "proletarian" ideology (don't take it for a joke). All this is certainly (yes, certainly), done under the banner of Leninism, so that the procedure of this smuggling should be carried out "without any damage at all". (J. V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 6, p. 361, Albanian ed.).

N. Khrushchev used Stalin's question to strike on the healthy Marxist-Leninist elements in the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, to scare, and in case of resistance, also to liquidate any one who would dare to object; to reduce to silence the other parties and various leaders who would not support his revisionist views, his course. The question of the personality cult, in short, was used as a bugbear to exercise pressure on the other parties and to liquidate the leaders who were not to the liking of N. Khrushchev. These aims which, but recently, were concealed by him, covering them with a "principled" and "Marxist" phraseology, were openly stated at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev said in his speech:

"To put an end to the personality cult means for Shehu, Hoxha and others to renounce in essence the commanding posts in the Party and state". And added that "such a thing they do not want to do".

If we take account of the fact that in the same speech he, as we mentioned above, takes under protection and considers as patriots the anti-party elements and agents of imperialism, participants in the plot organized by the imperialists against the People's Republic of Albania, then clearly follows N. Khrushchev's "principled" fight against the personality cult in Albania, his great concern! He is seeking to liquidate the present-day leaders of our Party and place in their stead the anti-party elements and any plotter, agent of imperialism.

That N. Khrushchev, under the pretext of the fight against

the personality cult, is seeking to uncrown Leninism in order to pave the way to revisionism, is known also by the fact that he is by no means concerned with the just and principled. Marxist-Leninist fight against the personality cult. For, if such were the case, irrespective of his demagogical words, he could not have helped noticing that at present in the Soviet Union manifestations of the personality cult are appearing with every passing day, and even in more open and exalting forms for his own person. Thus, one can hardly find an issue of the Soviet illustrated reviews in which one will not find pictures of N. Khrushchev; the pages of the Soviet press are full of quotations from his speeches, he is the only one to speak in all parts and about all questions; a whole film is devoted to his life, and other films to his visits to various countries of the world: numerous praises are made to him in various speeches and writings attributing to him personally the greatest successes of the Soviet people in the field of the development of industry, science and technology. Great, feverish efforts are being exerted to present Khrushchev not only as a "great military strategist", but also almost as an "architect" of the victory over fascism in the Second World War.

Where does then lie N. Khrushchev's respect for principles in the fight against the manifestations of the personality cult, which he so noisily advertizes in his unprincipled fight against the other fraternal parties and their leaders?

This is why, comrades, our Party has not agreed and does not agree with the Soviet leadership in the question of their criticism towards Stalin.

Our Party of Labor has not agreed and does not agree with the Soviet leadership also as regards the question of the attitude towards the present-day revisionism, and especially towards the traitorous clique of the Yugoslav revisionists. N. Khrushchev and his group used Stalin's issue and the issue of the personality cult also to prepare the ground for the complete rehabilitation of Tito's revisionist and traitorous clique, to present it as a "victim" of Stalin's errors, encouraging thereby the revisionist renegades, wherever they are, to begin their activity against Marxism-Leninism under the demagogical slogans of "anti-Stalinism", etc.

It is known that Tito's revisionist clique was publicly condemned both by the known letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Soviet Union, signed by J. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov, and by the June 1948 resolution of the Information Bureau of some communist and workers' parties "Concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia" which was later supported by all the communist and workers' parties of the world. Later on, in November 1949, a second resolution of the Information Bureau was issued stating that the Tito clique had finally degenerated into an espionage center of imperialism, that it had liquidated the gains of the revolution in Yugoslavia, that it had diverted Yugoslavia from the road to socialism and the socialist camp and placed her on the economic and political dependence of imperialism, that the Tito gang waged a broad-scale activity of espionage and plots against the various socialist countries, that it supported in different forms the imperialist policy of war and aggression, etc.

The viewpoint of the Party of Labor of Albania has been and remains that the conclusions of Stalin and the Information Bureau in connection with the renegade revisionist clique of Tito, have been and remain correct. These conclusions have been borne out and are being borne out both by the Yugoslav reality at that time and the later and present day events. The Yugoslav revisionists became the centre of diversion and plots at the imperialist service against the countries of the socialist camp. Under their direction was working in Albania Koçi Xoxe's gang, which aimed at destroying the Party of Labor and at liquidating the people's power. From Tito's Yugoslavia were illegally smuggled in the socialist countries hundreds and thousands of agents and provocators, spies and diversionists, whose duty was terror, sabotage, hatching up of plots against socialism in these countries. Tito's revisionists clique has more and more openly since 1948 and on, placed itself at the service of the U.S. imperialism, with which it is linked with the millions and billions of dollars in the form of U.S. economic and military credits to Yugoslavia, with which it is linked by the participation in the Balkan, Pact, which is nothing else but an appendage to the Atlantic Pact, with which it is linked by the policy of diversion and plots against the socialist countries and the national liberation

movement of the newly liberated peoples or of those still suffering under the clutches of colonialism.

Until 1955, all the communist and workers' parties were unanimous in condemning the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and were waging a firm and principled ideological-political struggle against it. However, precisely at that time N. Khrushchev announced that towards Yugoslavia and her leaders had allegedly been done a great injustice, that "under the influence of the agent Beria" groundless charges had been levelled against them, that in the Yugoslav issue, too, J. V. Stalin had allegedly made a serious mistake. And immediately he took the initiative, went to Belgrade, where he called Tito "dear comrade", threw to the basket onesidedly the resolution of the Information Bureau and loudly announced that Yugoslavia is a socialist country and that the Yugoslav leaders, although they have some waverings, are in general Marxist-Leninists.

What does the experience, what does the life show? The experience and life both before and after 1955 show that in the assessment of the Yugoslav question Stalin and the Information Bureau were right, because their assessment rested on objective facts, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The experience and the practical life, on the other hand, show that in their stand towards Tito's revisionist clique N. Khrushchev and those who follow him are not right, because their actions are based on subjective viewpoints and are contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, contrary to the objective reality.

Let us refer to facts. What have been the results of the efforts to rehabilitate the Tito clique? The Yugoslav revisionist leaders have given up neither their anti-Marxist viewpoints nor their hostile activity against the socialist camp and the fraternal Communist and workers' parties. The most obvious result brought about by N. Khrushchev's efforts was the fact that after 1955, possibilities were created for the gang of Yugoslav renegades to act more freely against the world communist movement and the countries of the socialist camp under the guise of the "persecuted comrade", exploiting in this direction even the patronage of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The rehabilitation of the Yugoslav

revisionists brought with it also the rehabilitation of all their agents and companions in some fraternal parties where, under the mask of "correcting the mistakes", a true campaign started against the sound cadres of the Party and an activation of all the anti-Party elements. This happened in some parties of the socialist countries in Europe, as well as in some parties of the capitalist countries. The most typical in this direction are the events of Hungary, where the activation of the revisionist elements, headed by Imre Nagy, who had the active support and instigation of the Yugoslav revisionists, led up to the outbreak of the counter-revolution, which put in danger the very existence of Hungary as a people's democratic state.

In spite of this, N. Khrushchev continuously, with great confidence in Tito and his companions pursued insistently the policy of rapprochement flatteries and caresses with the Yugoslav revisionists. The events of Hungary show still more clearly this stand. When the counter-revolution started in Hungary, it was clear to everybody that in the Hungarian events a base role was being played by the Yugoslav revisionists. This was seen in their influence in the counter-revolutionary discussions of the "Petoeffi" club, this was seen during the counter revolutionary uprising and the enthusiasm expressed by the Yugoslav revisionists at that time, but it was still more clearly seen also in the fact that the traitor Imre Nagy, after the smashing of the counter-revolution, found asylum at the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest. Instead of mercilessly unmasking the Belgrade renegades as direct inspirers of the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary, N. Khrushchev tried in every way to mitigate their responsibility, to minimize it and, finally, to eliminate it entirely. The former ambassador of the Soviet Union at that time in Albania, L. I. Krylov, communicated to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania the letter that N. Khrushchev had sent on November 9th, 1956 to J. B. Tito. In this letter, among other things, Khrushchev wrote to Tito the following:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has examined your last letter. We consider it possible to agree with your viewpoints that no special importance should be given now to the question whether the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest has acted correctly or not by giving asylum to Imre

Nagy and his companions. We are noting with satisfaction that since the Brionit talks you have been in full agreement with our stand towards comrade Janos Kadar as a distinguished personality and with revolutionary authority in Hungary, capable in these difficult moments and conditions to head the new revolutionary government. . . You were fully satisfied with the fact the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, since the summer of this year, in connection with the departure of Rakoshi, was trying that comrade Kadar should become first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working Peoples' Party".

Any comment in connection with this letter is superfluous. This letter shows very clearly that the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, trampling under foot any regulation determining the relations between the fraternal parties, has gone so far as to interfere even in an issue of so important and markedly internal party character, as is the appointment in the place of the first secretary of a fraternal party of this or that person. It shows also very clearly that N. Khrushchev has been long since in full agreement with J. B. Tito, that he has deemed it reasonable that for everything, even for the "appointment" of the first secretary of another Party, to consult J. B. Tito, this enemy of socialism, the very inspirer and organiser of the counter-revolution in Hungary.

From this it is clearly understood and is entirely logical why N. Khrushchev tried to see the question of the Yugoslav intervention in the Hungarian events closed: because two things cannot be done simultaneously, both to consult Tito and to expose Tito.

After Tito's notorious speech in Pula in November 1956, the struggle of the communist and workers' parties against the Yugoslav revisionism was enlivened and the Yugoslav leaders were criticised for their stand. But the traitorous Tito group not only did not make any selfcriticism or any positive step towards the communist movement, but in 1958 it considered it convenient to formulate and sum up its revisionist ideas in the Program of the Yugoslav Communist League which was published as a counterweight to the Moscow Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties of November 1957. It seemed already as if there

was no more room even for the least illusion, because Tito and his group had openly written in their program what they were hiding for years under demagogical pseudo-Marxist and pseudo-socialist slogans. But what did happen? At the beginning, N. Khrushchev, who felt himself embarrassed before the public opinion and the international communist movement, although half-heartedly, took a stand concerning the Yugoslav revisionists. But this did not last long. With a wonderful nimbleness and contrary to the most elementary logic, he, at the Fifth Congress of the Socialist United Party of Germany in July 1 gave the orientation not to speak of the Yugoslav revisionists, by saying:

"In our struggle for the common questions we should not devote to the Yugoslav revisionists more attention than they deserve. They want that their value should be raised, that people should think that they are the center of the world. . . We will not help in fanning the passions, in aggravating the relations. Even, in the situation created in our relations with the Yugoslav Communist League, it will be useful to retain a spark of hope, to seek acceptable forms for some questions."

He stressed this also during his visit in Albania in May 1959. At the same time, again started to circulate more and more often the word on "comrade Tito", propaganda started again that "Yugoslavia is a socialist state", that between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia "there exists mutual understanding on many problems of the foreign policy".

It is appropriate to recall that V. I. Lenin in his time has waged an irreconcilable fight not only against opportunism, but also against those who preached the "unity" with the opportunists.

The revisionist group of the Yugoslav leadership, being left unmolested in their treacherous, anti-socialist and plotting work, continued with a greater intensity their activity, both to split the communist movement and to undermine the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement of the peoples fighting for freedom, or that have just won their national freedom. With every passing day the Yugoslav revisionists showed themselves enemies of communism and of the peoples freedom. Precisely because Tito's revisionist gang is such, the representatives of 81 fraternal communist and workers' parties resolutely condemned in the 1960

Moscow Declaration the Yugoslav revisionist leaders. As it is known the Declaration stresses that the Yugoslav leaders, having betrayed Marxism-Leninism, detached their country from the socialist camp, put it under the dependence of the so-called "aid" of the U.S. and other imperialists and in this way created the danger of losing the revolutionary gains reached with the heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people; that the Yugoslav revisionists are carrying out an undermining activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, that under the pretext of the policy of non-alignment they conduct an activity which brings harm to the question of the unity of all the peace-loving forces and states. Finally, the Declaration stresses the need for a continuous struggle to expose fully the group of Yugoslav leaders.

However, after November 1960, in the majority of occasions, these correct theses of the Declaration were thrown into oblivion by the Soviet leadership. More than that, as if to encourage Tito's revisionist clique, to "appease" its resentment, Soviet leaders saw it reasonable to make warm official statements at the address of the Yugoslav "comrades". Thus, only a few days after the issuing of the Declaration of the 81 fraternal parties, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union A. Gromyko, at the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, on December 23rd, 1960, stated that in some fundamental things the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is fully compatible with the foreign policy of Yugoslavia. While N. Khrushchev himself, in an interview to the observer of "The New York Times", Sultzberger, published by "Pravda" on September 10th, 1961, stated: "Of course, we consider Yugoslavia a socialist country". Is such a statement not contrary to the Declaration of the 81 fraternal Communist and Worker's Parties? Should it not be thought that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with this statement was aiming at "appeasing" the resentment of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and at making to them publicly known, that what is written in the Moscow Declaration, or also in some other document of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is formal, while his viewpoints are other?

Why is such a thing happening? Why is with such a

persistence being held such a benevolent stand towards a gang of renegades of Marxism-Leninism, submerged head and feet in the scum of revisionism and of treachery and, at the same time, are being rabidly attacked the communist and workers' parties which have always stood loyal to the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism?

The Party of Labor of Albania could not and cannot agree with such an opportunistic stand towards the dangerous revisionist gang of Tito, which is an agency of imperialism and an enemy of socialism and communism, of the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people. In the struggle against the modern revisionism especially against Tito's revisionist clique, the Party of Labor of Albania has taken and always takes into consideration the valuable teachings of great Lenin, who stressed powerfully that opportunism constitutes a serious danger for the very existence of the socialist order.

These important teachings of Lenin were all the more understandable for our party, because it had proved on its back what does Yugoslav revisionism mean, not only in theory but also in practice. Because, in fact, Tito's clique has never renounced, either before 1948 or after 1955, the plots and diversion against the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labor of Albania, but, on the contrary, has increased them. Therefore, the struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania against the Yugoslav revisionism was an important internationalist task of our party as a Marxist-Leninist party and at the same time its sacred duty to defend our socialist homeland against the aims and the plots of the Yugoslav revisionists. Some of the Soviet leaders did not like this stand of the Party of Labor of Albania, which was contrary to and constituted a hinderance for their schemes of rapprochement and embrace with the Titoite clique. The slogans started circulating that the "Albanians are hotblooded", "they view things narrowly and conduct the struggle against the Yugoslav leaders from the positions of nationalism", that the "Albanians want to capture the flag of antirevisionism" and that "they are increasing the value of Tito's clique", etc. etc. But our Party did not waver from its principled positions and continued consistently and uncompromisingly the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists.

This stand of our Party has never been to the liking of N. Khrushchev and is one of the reasons explaining his so fierce a stand against the Party of Labor of Albania and its leadership.

The stand of N. Khrushchev's group towards the Yugoslav revisionism, in fact, is not a stand different only from that of the Party of Labor of Albania, but from that of all the international communist and workers' movement, from the stand expressed in the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960, where revisionism is described as the main danger in the international communist and workers' movement, and the Yugoslav revisionism as underminer of the socialist camp and the forces of peace. Thus, it is obvious that the Soviet leadership is trying to mitigate the struggle against opportunism and revisionism in the communist movement. Here lies also the source of all the attempts to distort the clear thesis of the two Moscow Declarations on revisionism as the main danger in the communist and workers' movement and to bring to the foreground the struggle against dogmatism. For our party it has become clearer with every passing day that by accepting by words the need of fighting against revisionism and not doing it in fact, N. Khrushchev and those who follow him, under the pretext of the struggle against dogmatism, are fighting against Marxism-Leninism, are making efforts to reject the fundamental theses of the revolutionary doctrine of proletariat precisely as Tito tried to do earlier and as have tried to do in the past the opportunists and revisionists of the various brands.

What were the consequences of the spreading of the various opportunist viewpoints, of the unprincipled struggle against J. V. Stalin and the policy of reconciliation with Tito's treacherous revisionist clique, persistently pursued by N. Khrushchev and his group? Although they raise to the skies, with a great noise, "the wonderful consequences" allegedly brought about by the "criticism of the personality cult of J. V. Stalin" and the "normalisation of relations with Yugoslavia", although they present the questions as if with the 20th Congress a new era started in the development and further strengthening of the world communist movement, the facts speak entirely to the contrary. These distorted viewpoints and actions became a banner in the hands of the opportunist and revisionist elements in many

countries to launch their revisionist attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties. This happened in the Communist Parties of the United States of America, of Denmark, of Netherlands, of Italy, of France, of Great Britain, etc. Under the influence of the opportunist viewpoints presented by N. Khrushchev to the 20th Congress, revisionism was revived and assumed a large dissemination in many communist and workers' parties, becoming an extremely serious danger for the entire international communist movement. Precisely under the slogans of the struggle against the "Stalinist despotism", borrowed from the "secret" report "On the personality cult and its consequences", which, strange enough, fell into the hands of the reactionary circles of the West and was reproduced by them in tons, the imperialist reaction and the modern revisionists, especially the Belgrade revisionist renegades, enemies of socialism, of the Soviet Union and of the peoples of all the countries of the socialist camp, organized the counter-revolutionary actions against the socialist order in Poland and the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary. Precisely under the protection of these opportunist theses, of the attacks against Stalin and the appeasing attitudes of N. Khrushchev with the Yugoslav revisionists, Tito's renegade gang was enlivened still more, it was given free hand to develop broadly its undermining activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

For us it is clear that such a conclusion is not acceptable either to N. Khrushchev, or to his followers. But it is logical to raise the question: Why precisely after the 20th Congress were immediately enlivened the renegades and the revisionists in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, the Yugoslav revisionist clique raised again its head and all of them together launched a frontal attack against Marxism-Leninism? Why, let us say, the theses of the 19th or the 18th Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not become their banner? There is only one explanation here because some theses which were set at the 20th Congress were of an opportunist nature, therefore they constituted the ideological food for the renegades and the revisionists in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism; because the stand towards Stalin and Tito's clique were anti-Marxist, therefore they were utilised so

successfully by the enemies of Marxism and socialism for their aims.

These bitter consequences were felt in Albania, too. In our country, the opportunist elements of the Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu type, as well as many other elements expelled from the party for anti-party activity were activated and with the direct instigation of the Yugoslav revisionists, organized the plot at the Party conference for the city of Tirana in April 1956. It is known that a major role in this plot was played by the traitor Panajot Plaku, an old agent of the Yugoslav espionage, to whom, after he fled from the country, N. Khrushchev proposed ever since 1957 to be given political asylum to him in the Soviet Union. The slogans of these traitors were the demagogical slogans of "liberalisation and democratisation of the proletarian dictatorship", "of normalisation of relations with Yugoslavia", "of rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe and other anti-party elements condemned earlier", etc. It is significant that precisely at that time, in April-May 1956, the Soviet leadership, through M. Suslov and P. Pospyelov tried to persuade our Party to rehabilitate the traitor Koçi Xoxe, an enemy of the party and the Albanian people, an agent of Tito's clique, shot for his hostile activity which was aimed at liquidating the Party and the people's power and at turning Albania into a seventh republic of Titoite Yugoslavia.

N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist stand on the above-mentioned questions caused thus a great damage to our common cause, socialism and communism.

However, the international communist and worker's movement managed to cope successfully with the onslaught of the revisionist renegades. The ranks of the communist and workers' parties were strengthened and this is due to the strength and firmness of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, to the vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. And thus will always happen. Marxism-Leninism is the banner of victory, therefore its enemies, the revisionists and opportunists, have failed and will always fail shamefully.

From the above said it follows clearly that the nature of our disagreements has been entirely ideological and political, that

our Party has not agreed with some opportunist viewpoints and actions of N. Khrushchev as concerns some vital questions of the present-day world development and the international communist and workers' movement, viewpoints which are contrary to some of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and constitute a serious violation of the 1957 and 1960 Declarations of the communist and workers' parties. But the existence of these wrong viewpoints among the Soviet leaders is only half of the evil. The greatest evil is that they try to impose at any condition their opportunistic concepts to all the communist and worker's parties, not stopping for this purpose even before the pressure, blackmail and brutal attacks against those fraternal parties and their leaders that do not agree with the revisionist theses of N. Khrushchev, that oppose them and resolutely defend Marxism-Leninism. Here lies the greatest evil, here lies also the cause that relations between our country and the Soviet leadership have become tense. Seeing that his multifarious attempts to kneel down the Party of Labor of Albania and to impose on it his anti-Marxist viewpoints have failed in face of the firm Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party and wanting to justify before his party and before the international communist movement his impermissible, hostile activity against the Party of Labor of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, N. Khrushchev has gone over to wild and public slanders like those he and other Soviet leaders made at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The fact that he chose the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to carry out "the trial" against our Party, the fact that he deceived the representatives of some fraternal parties to express themselves uncomradely against our Party in their greetings to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, throws light on his putschist methods, on his tactic of surprise, on the onesided imposing of his desire upon the international communist and workers' movement, on the non-observance of the fundamental principles governing the relations between the fraternal communist and worker's parties, which have been established jointly and have been outlined in the Moscow Declarations.

To examine the activity of a communist and workers'

party, to express the viewpoint whether it stands on correct positions or not, can judge only an international forum, an international meeting of the communist and workers' parties, after hearing in detail the arguments of that party. But N. Khrushchev feared to ask the convocation of such a meeting because he was convinced that he would not succeed in condemning our Party of Labor. For this reason he did not invite to the 22nd Congress our Party also, because its word would bring to the fore the truth on the Albanian-Soviet relations, would expose his anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity, would reject all his entirely unfounded slanders and charges.

The method used by the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to attack one-sidedly our Party is known in the international communist and workers' movement. He applied this tactics at Bucharest, too, where with false and one-sided charges he tried to kneel down Marxist-Leninist parties and to compromise by means of a quick, unpondered and hasty pronouncement the representatives of the fraternal parties, but that despite his efforts, he did not succeed. On the contrary, N. Khrushchev was forced to agree to the holding of the Moscow meeting in November 1960, where correct debates were conducted, where it was clearly seen that his viewpoints did not meet with the enthusiastic support of the participants, and this is expressed also in the very documents approved by the representatives of 81 parties and which N. Khrushchev is brutally violating in all his activity. Therefore he, in order to attack our Party, since he feared to convene an international conference, resorted to his putschist methods, utilising for this purpose the 22nd Congress.

In this way, N. Khrushchev has effectively sabotaged any future international meeting also, because by attacking one-sidedly and publicly our Party, he has put the Party of Labor of Albania on conditions of inequality.

At the 22nd Congress, N. Khrushchev, and his followers charged our Party that it allegedly, with its actions, is "disrupting the unity, is splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement". One must have lost any feeling of responsibility or seriousness to say such a thing. Who is in reality

undermining our unity, the Party of Labor of Albania or the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by N. Khrushchev? Our Party, which has always observed the principle that our disagreements should be solved through the party way, on basis of the principles of the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960, or the Soviet leadership, which has trampled under foot these principles and has embarked upon the anti-Marxist path of pressure, blackmail and is openly calling for counter-revolution in socialist Albania? The Party of Labor of Albania has never spoken publicly about our differences, it has only through the party way and at party meetings, openly and courageously criticised the wrong viewpoints and actions of the Soviet leaders, while N. Khrushchev was the first to speak publicly from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress not only about the existence of our differences but also to vomit gall, to slander at full daylight against our Party and people's power, presenting it as a "regime of terror, where right and left there are prisons and firing squads", using the language of Rankovich, who has said that "in Albania there reign the barbed wire and the frontier guard boot". Our Party stands for the unity, for its further strengthening, but for a sound, iron unity, not for an anemic and sick unity. Precisely because it stands for the iron unity of the international communist and workers' movement and the socialist camp, it has courageously and through the party way criticised N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist manifestations and actions, which weaken this unity.

We greatly regret the fact that some leaders of the fraternal parties joined with N. Khrushchev's wrong viewpoints. We don't want to seek the causes which forced them to take this stand (we understand very well the difficult position in which they have found themselves), but can their onesided position be called correct, a priori, when the majority of the representatives of the fraternal parties have no knowledge of the development of relations between our Party and the Soviet leadership. Is it correct to take this or that stand, when one hears only the arguments of one side, while the other side has been deprived of the right to state its own viewpoint? Or in the communist movement should be established new principles, according to which the big one must be heard, the little one not, the big is right, while the little is

always wrong? According to our opinion, such a reasoning is not at all correct and is not compatible with the Leninist norms of relations between the fraternal parties. Such a stand does not help the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, the strengthening of the socialist camp, but weakens it and will later create great troubles.

In spite of this, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev was not supported by all the representatives of the fraternal communist and workers' parties. Out of the 80 foreign delegations which attended the proceedings of the Congress and spoke or sent by writing their greetings, 34 representatives of the fraternal parties did not join the N. Khrushchev's slanders and charges against our Party, they did not speak about the disagreements existing between the Party of Labor of Albania and the soviet leadership. Surely, many of them may have their remarks as concerns the work of the Party of Labor of Albania, but at the 22nd Congress, which was the congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of a definite party, they did not consider it appropriate to speak about a question which concerns the entire international communist movement, taking thus a correct Marxist-Leninist stand. We must say also that even the mass of the home delegates to the 22nd Congress did not express themselves about the Soviet-Albanian disagreements, they did not support N. Khrushchev in his attacks and slanders against the Party of Labor of Albania. Out of 88 delegates who took part in discussions in the congress, only 14 spoke against our Party. They all were members of the soviet leadership.

Our Party of Labor thanks for their principled and correct stand both the representatives of the fraternal communist and workers' parties who did not support N. Khrushchev in his onesided attacks against our Party and the delegates of the glorious Communist Party of Lenin, who, preserving the bolshevik traditions and the Leninist principles of objective judgements of any question, did not support N. Khrushchev in this anti-Marxist act.

From the rostrum of the 22nd Congress, among the numerous slandering charges, the first secretary of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union spoke also of the allegedly lack of democracy in our Party, of the allegedly violations of the Leninist norms in its inner life. This, of course, is an open interference in the internal affairs of our Party, but despite this we can say to these "defenders" of democracy: Look better your business, for not in the Party of Labor of Albania, but in your parties there are many scandalous examples of the violation of the most elementary rules of democracy. Dmitri Polyansky, on attacking the anti-party group, and especially comrade Kliment Voroshilov, surely refrained himself from telling in detail all the backstage he and his companions had organised at the time of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in summer 1957.

Poliansky has hidden this from the congress, but he has told this their "friend" Liri Belishova, who reported it to our party. Let us take another example. When the Tirana tribunal gave the deserved verdict against the agents of U.S. imperialism, of Yugoslavia and Greece, Teme Sejko and company, out of the whole press of the European people's democracies, only the newspaper "Trud", the organ of the Bulgarian working class, reported correctly this trial. But immediately, within the day, by the most "democratic" methods, it was announced that the president and the two secretaries of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions had been dismissed from their posts. And this was because the revisionist Tito on the same day lodged a serious protest with the Bulgarian Government in connection with the report given on the Tirana trial by this newspaper. Finally, those who speak of internal democracy and of the observance of the party norms, we are referring here especially to Palmiro Togliatti, does he consider regular, democratic his action at the 22nd Congress when he spoke and condemned our Party? He did not know before what has happened and how the relations between our Party and the Soviet leadership have been developed. At least our Party has not given the Italian Communist Party any material. His Central Committee had not adopted before any decision by which to denounce our party and thus to authorise its representatives to condemn it. At least we do not know of any such fact. Then of what democracy are speaking these leaders who scandalise themselves without cause for the fate of a person and

who when it is the question of the fate of a party, of 50,000 communists and an entire people, make offending statements without any responsibility and in flagrant contradiction with the elementary rules not only of the party democracy, but also of the simple logic and human conscience? Palmiro Togliatti threw at us the Roman anathema, by charging us that we are splitting the unity of the international communist movement. On what did Togliatti rely when he a few years ago attacked publicly the Soviet socialist system and preached polycentrism and the zones of influence in the international communist movement? He has not and will not have any fact against us, but with his own anti-Marxist theses he has greatly served the revisionist Tito. Nevertheless, strangely enough, nobody rose against Togliatti's revisionist viewpoints.

N. Khrushchev, who speak so much of democratic methods, patience and internationalism, has resorted against our party to the most anti-Marxist methods, methods which are entirely alien to the relations between the socialist countries. In order to subdue the Party of Labor of Albania, to prevent it from having its own viewpoint, to impose on it his anti-Marxist viewpoints, he and his followers have not stopped before any measure, not only as concerns the relations between our parties, but also as concerns the relations between our socialist states. Today we do not want to enter into detail and to dwell long on these questions, because there are many facts and countless documents which illustrate objectively these, but will mention that as a result of the adoption of anti-Marxist methods by the Soviet leadership for the settlement of existing disagreements, as a result of the consecutive pressure both in the economic and the political and military fields, the relations between our country and the Soviet Union have been greatly aggravated. This process has started since the second half of last year, that is after the Bucharest meeting. Since then, N. Khrushchev, instead of agreeing to settle patiently the ideological and political disagreements existing between our Party and the Soviet leadership, made them public and extended them to the state relations also.

Thus in the economic field, all the credits the Soviet Union had accorded to our country for the third five year plan

were suspended and this was done with a view of sabotaging the economic plan of our country; without any reason and onesidedly were withdrawn from Albania all the soviet specialists whom our economy badly needed and we had officially asked to stay; under the pretext of starting from this year with the repayment of the old credits (although according to the existing documents, this would begin after 1970), the Soviet side has almost entirely suspended the trade relations on a clearing basis, scholarships were cut to all the Albanian civilian and military students studying in the Soviet Union, etc., etc. The economic pressures have been accompanied with pressure and restrictive measures in the military field, too.

On the other hand, it is well known by all that the press of the People's Republic of Albania is continuously writing on the life and the successes of the Soviet Union in the communist building, supports the various moves and proposals the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government concerning various international questions, whereas the Soviet press, to the contrary, since almost one and a half years has established a strict silence blockade against Albania. While it does not let escape the least chance to write even concerning a single positive word which some British lord has occassionally said, the Soviet press does no write a single line about Albania, let alone the Party of Labor of Albania, as if it did not exist at all on the earth either the People's Republic of Albania or the Albanian people, who are building up socialism and struggling for peace in the wolf's mouth, surrounded on all sides by the imperialists and their tools. The ice of silence was broken only at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by N. Khrushchev, but it was broken only to slander and vomit gall against the Party of Labor of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania.

In these anti-Marxist and hostile actions towards the Albanian people, N. Khrushchev has been followed also by some leaders of the socialist countries of Europe. They are all together doing their utmost to isolate Albania economically, politically and militarily, by creating around her a "sanitary cordon". N. Khrushchev forgets that in the century of the triumph of Leninism there can be no "cordon" to isolate a people and a party which are

firmly fighting for the triumph of socialism and of communism, there can be no "cordon", regardless of how organised and strong it may be, to resist to the Marxist-Leninist truth. Any "cordon" will be smashed and its organisers will shamefully fail.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union did not confine himself to this. Seeing that all his pressure, blockades and blackmail did not bring the result he desired, could not kneel down our Party and people, from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress he made an open call for the overthrowing by means of a counter-revolutionary coup the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania, for the liquidation of the Party, something which he reserves himself to do even when it is the question of the governments of the capitalist countries, because he considers it an interference in the internal affairs. He said: "To put an end to the personality cult means for Shehu, Hoxha and others to give up in essence the commanding posts in the party and the state. But they do not want to do this. However we are convinced that the time will come when the Albanian communists, when the Albanian people, will have their say and then the Albanian leaders will have to give account for the damage they have caused to their country, to their people, to the cause of building of socialism in Albania". The Albanian people and the Albanian communists gave the reply to N. Khrushchev by means of hundreds and thousands of telegrams and letters, a part of which has been published by our press.

Our Party and people have heard continuously for 17 years in succession calls for the overthrow of our People's Power, for the liquidation of our Party and its leadership. They have heard and are hearing them every year from the U.S.A. State Department, from the U.S., British and other imperialists, from Franco's "Nationalist Spain" radio, from Tito's traitorous revisionist gang, from the Greek monarcho-fascists, etc. These have even hatched up plots to achieve their aims. We have heard now such calls also from Nikita Khrushchev, who in fact is joining them in the hostile activity against the Albanian people and its Party of Labor. On what have the imperialists and their tools relied in their activity against the people's power and the

Party in our country? Their army has been the scum of our society, the degenerate and anti-party elements, people sold to the foreign imperialist intelligence services, whom our people recalls only with a feeling of deep hate, contempt and scorn. This will be also the army of Nikita Khrushchev. And it can not be otherwise. The whole our people, old and young, all the honest and patriotic people of our homeland, party and non-party people, have rallied today more than ever around our glorious Party and its correct Marxist-Leninist line, which expresses the vital interests of our people and meets the common interests of our great cause, socialism and communism. In the face of the iron unity of our Party and people, in the face of this invincible force, will shamefully fail all the hostile actions and the brutal interferences of Nikita Khrushchev, as have failed earlier and will always fail the entire hostile activity and all the plots of the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and other enemies of the Albanian people, its Party of Labor and the People's Republic of Albania.

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev accused our Party and its leadership of anti-Sovietism, considering any remark and criticism towards his anti-Marxist viewpoints and actions, made in party meetings and according to Leninist rules, an attack against the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples. This is a monstrous slander and distortion. Our Party and people for 20 years in succession have been educated in the spirit of unbounded love and firm loyalty towards the glorious Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They have demonstrated this love and loyalty by deeds in their common struggle against fascism, in their joint efforts to built up the socialist and communist society, for peace and the freedom of peoples, they have shown it by their unswerving and principled struggle against our common enemies – the imperialists and the modern revisionists, especially after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and after the counter-revolution in Hungary, when the enemies of socialism launched wild attacks and slanders against the Soviet order and Soviet soldiers were attacked on the back. The entire 20 year old heroic struggle and untiring activity of our party and people for the continuous tempering and strengthening of the sacred Albanian-

Soviet friendship can not be liquidated so easily by means of some unfounded accusations and base slanders. The Albanian-Soviet friendship has deep roots, it will live in centuries, contrary to the desires and attempts of our critics.

Who does indeed defend the Soviet Union and its prestige, Nikita Khrushchev, who with his unprincipled attacks and slanders against J. V. Stalin has discredited the glorious Soviet Union, presenting it like a country where the fiercest terror has reigned, the same as in the Hitlerite Germany, or the Party of Labor of Albania that has defended and is defending the Soviet Union from the fierce attacks of the imperialist and revisionist propaganda, which Nikita Khrushchev has provided with weapons? Who does defend the Soviet Union and its prestige, Nikita Khrushchev who with his anti-Marxist actions, attacks, pressure and blockades against the People's Republic of Albania is providing with weapons the imperialists to stain before the world public opinion the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, or the Party of Labor of Albania, which has shown and is showing that his anti-Marxist actions have nothing in common with the principles and the internationalist traditions of the glorious Soviet Union and its great Party of Lenin, that they are an unfortunate and temporary sickness in their sound body.

Our Party heard with patience what was said at the 22nd Congress in its address. We, too, are saying our own viewpoint concerning these questions. The Party of Labor of Albania, with calm and pure conscience, appeals to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appeals to the new Central Committee elected by the 22nd Congress to judge with Leninist equity, with objectivity and calmness, not onesidedly, on the situation created in the relations between our two parties and our two countries. Our Party has always been ready, for the sake of the unity of the Communist movement and the socialist camp, of the interests of our countries, to settle the existing disagreements. But it has always been and is of the opinion that these questions should be solved correctly and only in a Marxist-Leninist way, in the conditions of equality and not of pressure and dictate. We hope for and are confident in the sense of justice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Our Party and people, regardless of the attacks, slanders and the

hostile actions directed against them, will guard untouched in their hearts the pure feelings of friendship with the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. Our Party has taught us to love the Soviet Union, the homeland of the great Lenin and Stalin, both in good and bad times. For us the glorious Soviet Union and the Soviet people, the great party of bolsheviks, have been, are and remain the most beloved friends of our hearts, our liberators from the fascist yoke, our loyal and resolute allies in the struggle for the upbuilding of socialism in our country. With the Soviet Union, with the Soviet people, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we have been and will be linked for ever. Our Party and people have and are following with a special sympathy the glorious successes and efforts achieved by the Soviet peoples, under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party, in all the fields of communist construction and consider them also as victories of the Albanian people in the joint struggle for the triumph of the great cause of socialism and communism. We are deeply convinced that the objectives and the tasks set by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be achieved as always successfully, for the good of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the entire socialist camp, to the benefit of the sacred cause of socialism and communism, of peace and the freedom of the people of the whole world.

Our Party and people, as always, will struggle for the cause of socialism and communism united in the socialist camp, alongside the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, alongside the fraternal Chinese people, alongside all the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp.

Comrades!

The entire 20-year old life and activity of our Party, as well as the facts of the present day reality, show clearly that our Party has always had a correct general line, that in connection with the present day important questions preoccupying the international communist movement too, particularly in connection with the question of the Albanian-Soviet relations, it stands on correct Marxist-leninist and internationalist positions.

Deeply convinced that they stand for the truth, our people

and Party, united like a single body, with a calm and pure conscience and a firm determination, will in the future too, follow unswervingly their correct path. And in this path they will win.

A guarantee for this is our heroic and indomitable people, our glorious party, the Party of the popular revolution, the Party which during these 20 years won over fascism and brought freedom to our people and homeland, which triumphed over the backwardness, over hunger and ignorance, and has embarked our country on the road to socialism, to progress and culture, the Party which, as a loyal offspring of our heroic people, has frustrated any provocation and plot which was aimed at bringing back the enslavement and poverty to our homes. A guarantee for our future victories will be our support and friendship with the Soviet peoples, with the Chinese people, with all the friendly peoples of the socialist camp and others, with which our Party, as a party loyal to the principles of the proletarian internationalism, has linked with an everlasting and invincible friendship our small but heroic people.

We are experiencing some temporary difficulties due to the fact that we have to face not only the attacks and the intrigues of our sworn enemies, the U.S. and other imperialists, their allies and lackeys – the Yugoslav revisionists, but because we have to repulse also the new slanders and attacks which are being made against us. But the difficulties have never scared and bent either our Party, or our people. By closing our ranks around the Party, by strengthening the vigilance, by multiplying our efforts to successfully realise, better than ever, the tasks for the fulfilment of the state plan in all the fields, we shall succeed. We are convinced that in this struggle and in these efforts we shall have the support of all our friends, of all the peoples of the socialist countries, including first and foremost the Soviet people, of all the communists of the world, including first and foremost the Soviet communists, who sooner or later will see that the blow directed against our Party and people is unjust, is dangerous for all the communists of the world.

With this confidence we are celebrating the great holiday of the 44th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution and the great holiday of the 20th anniversary of the founding of our

glorious Party. With this confidence, with the revolutionary banner of the victorious Leninism, with the unfurled banner of our heroic Party, we, the Albanian communists, together with our entire patriotic and fighting people, shall march forward with sure steps towards new victories, for the glory of Marxism-Leninism, for the glory of communism, for the glory of our socialist homeland.

Long live the 44th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the 20th anniversary of the Party of Labor of Albania!

Glory to the victorious Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the victories of our Party and people!

Long live our heroic and indomitable people!

Glory to the Party of Labor of Albania!

The Revolutionary Communists Expect China to Come Out Openly Against Khrushchevite Revisionism

3 April, 1962

The revolutionary communists in all the communist and workers' parties of the world expect the Communist Party of China to take an open and direct stand condemning Khrushchevite revisionism which is spreading and causing damage and which has encountered only one open opponent: the Party of Labour of Albania. They are all in solidarity with and support the correct line of our Party, admire the courage, but quite correctly expect the Communist Party of China to come out openly. The tactic of the ideological struggle which China is following against the Khrushchevites does not encourage the revolutionary elements, while it gives the waverers the pretext to say:

See, China is not moving openly for the sake of unity, we should not move either, for otherwise we would split, and that is not good."

And this at a time when the revisionists, on their part, are acting openly and covertly, attacking, slandering, etc. This is an important problem, but up now, the Chinese have not had any contact at all with us to discuss these things. Were our enemies to know that between us there is no consultation at all about the fight against the modern revisionists, they would be astonished. They would never believe it. But that is how things stand.

The Modern Revisionists on the Way to Degenerating Into Social-Democrats and to Fusing with Social-Democracy

7 April 1964

Every day that passes by brings new facts to light testifying that the modern revisionists, N. Khrushchev's group and their followers, have completely deviated and have turned into enemies of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, of socialism and of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the working class and the peoples under bondage, enemies of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. They have joined in a "holy alliance" with the American imperialists and the reactionaries of different countries, with all the anti-communist forces against peoples and socialism. They have turned the blade of all their daggers against Marxism-Leninism, against all fraternal parties and revolutionary communists loyal to it, against the anti-imperialist, liberation and revolutionary movement of the peoples. All their utterances about "loyalty" to Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of socialism, to the revolution and proletarian internationalism are sheer bluff and demagoguery from head to foot.

In order to carry through their anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary line, they stand in need of allies. And where could they find better allies than among the revisionist elements in the various parties and among the Titoite clique in Yugoslavia? Therefore, N. Khrushchev and his group succeeded, through 'putsch-es' and plots, deceiving some and compromising others, under the guise of fighting "the cult of the individual" in bringing to power and placing at the head of certain communist and workers' parties revisionist elements of their choice while, on the other hand, they rehabilitated Tito's renegade clique and joined up with them completely. Thus, the united revisionist front came into being. This was the first step.

In addition to this, the modern revisionists have never given up efforts to find other allies too. And who could these be? It is very natural for them to turn to—and they could not help turn to—their "brothers", fellow traitors—the right-wing social-democrat leaders. For revisionism and social-democracy of today

are two manifestations of the same ideology—bourgeois ideology. Social-democracy is the manifestation of bourgeois ideology in the workers movement, while revisionism is the manifestation of bourgeois ideology in the communist movement.

This is the common ideological basis that draws the revisionists closer to and united with the social-democrats and creates the premises for their complete fusion not only ideologically and politically but also organizationally. Therefore it is altogether natural and logical that the attempts of the revisionists to cause the degeneration of the communist parties they direct, into social democratic parties, that their tendency to fuse in with the social-democracy, is being made so very clear nowadays.

The trend to get closer and to join with social-democrats, the whole treacherous line of action of the modern revisionists, have their beginnings at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This trend was re-emphasized at the 21st and 22nd Congresses and was sanctioned in the new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Speaking of this line of approach to and union with social-democracy at the 22nd Congress, N. Khrushchev said: "This is not a tactical temporary slogan but the general line of the communist movement dictated by the basic interests of the working class". N. Khrushchev has also said: "If we are to speak of the role and position of the non-communist parties, we should stress, above all, that in the present situation, in order to achieve the socialist transformation of society, collaboration of the communist party with the other parties is not only possible but indispensable". (N. Khrushchev's reply to the editor of the Australian newspaper *Herald*, John Waters, published in *Pravda* June 25, 1958).

The line of approach to and union with social-democrats began to be put into effect immediately after the 20th Congress. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressed letters to the social-democratic parties of Western Europe calling for unity. Beginning with 1956 the Soviet Union was visited by a number of social-democratic leaders and by whole delegations of social-democratic parties who came into contact and carried on talks with N. Khrushchev's group.

The campaign for unity with social-democrats has become more intensive especially in recent times. A proof of this lies in the last year's visits to Moscow of such leaders of social-democracy as P.H. Spaak, secretary-general of the Belgian Socialist Party, Harold Wilson, the present chairman of the English Labour Party and Guy Mollet, secretary-general of the French Socialist Party, who conducted talks with N. Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders. In connection with these talks, in an interview with foreign journalists in Moscow Guy Mollet said that he had discussed with Khrushchev "a number of questions comprising all theoretical and doctrinarian problems of a general nature and which characterize the relations between social-democratic and communist parties". While in an interview granted to the newspaper "Unita" (February 22, 1964) Guy Mollet stated that "The talks which the delegation of SFIO conducted with the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in particular with Nikita Khrushchev, gave us sure satisfaction in many points."

The leaders of communist and workers parties in certain other countries are also following the line of fusing with present-day social-democracy under the dictates of "the conductor's baton". This is evident in many of their acts, in various articles and statements, in the columns of the Khrushchevian review "Problems of Peace and Socialism", in "the document of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party for the national conference of organization" appearing in the newspaper *Unita* dt. 9-1-1964, in the draft-resolution for the 17th Congress of the French Communist Party which will be held in May this year, and so on.

In all these attempts, documents and materials of the modern revisionists regardless of the phrases they use to camouflage their designs the prevailing idea is unity and fusion with the social-democrats "on whatever basis" and "at all costs", renouncing every thing that might prejudice this union, be it in the field of ideology or in that of organization.

The attempts of the modern revisionists to get close to and join up with the social-democrats are a logical consequence of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, are a component part of their grand strategic plan of "world integration" clearly formulated by

Tito in his well-known interview granted to Drew Pearson on August 7, 1962. To realize this objective the revisionists make extensive use of demagogical slogans. They try to justify their approach to and union with the imperialists and reactionaries, their approach to and union with Tito's clique in the name of "socialism", with the Roman Pontiff in the name of "humanity", with the social-democrats, in the name of "unity of the working class", in the name of "peaceful coexistence and of saving the world from a nuclear war of extermination".

Modern Revisionists Proceed Along the Treacherous Tracks of Social Democracy

The modern revisionists try to justify the approach to and union with the social-democrats under the pretext that "positive trends" are allegedly being observed especially in recent times, among the ranks of social democracy; that they have allegedly expressed themselves in favor of peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament, that they have positively modified their attitude toward the USSR, that they have expressed themselves in favor of some kind of approach to the communists, that they have expressed some sort of willingness to meet the demands of the working class, to preserve and strengthen democratic institutions, they have stated that they are in favor of socialist transformation of society and so forth. Thus, in order to justify their line of approach to the right wing leaders of social-democracy, the revisionists try to create the illusion that it is not the revisionist train which is speeding its way to the social-democratic station, but the social-democratic station is coming up to meet the revisionist train!

This is no new tactic for revisionists. N. Khrushchev's traitorous group and those who follow them have used exactly this maneuver to justify their approach to and complete union with the Titoite clique, pretending that the Yugoslav leaders have allegedly corrected many of their errors and have adopted the line of "Marxism-Leninism". In the same way, in order to justify their treacherous line of reconciliation with and approach to the imperialists, to the American imperialists in particular, they have spread and continue to spread illusions pretending that the leaders of imperialism have now become "wise", "realistic", "peace-

loving", "reasonable" and what not.

But facts go to prove that the present social-democrat leaders have changed as little in their nature and in their attitude as the Titoite clique and the imperialists. If we may speak of any kind of change of views and stands of the social-democratic leaders, the only obvious change of theirs is their ever growing inclination to the right.

What Does Present-Day Social-Democracy Represent?

Present-day social-democracy is a direct follower of the traitorous 2nd International. It has inherited all the ideological luggage, organization and tactics of the parties of the 2nd International. The social-democrats began their betrayal by getting away from the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which they proclaim as out-dated and inexpedient, by renouncing the class struggle and replacing it with the "theory" of harmony and reconciliation of classes, by negating the revolution and replacing it with reforms within the capitalist order, by giving up the revolutionary way and replacing it with "peaceful", "democratic" and parliamentary method, by denying the indispensability of breaking up the old bourgeois state machinery and accepting the capitalist state as a means to cross over to socialism, by withholding their assent to the dictatorship of the proletariat and replacing it with "pure and general democracy", by departing from proletarian internationalism and going so far the other way as to plunge into positions of the national-chauvinists, to open union with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Unmasking the betrayal of the old social-democrats Lenin wrote as far back as in his book *What is to Be Done*:

"Social-democracy should be changed from a party of social revolution to a democratic party of social reforms. Bernstein has bolstered up this political demand with a whole battery of 'new' arguments and considerations harmoniously connected with one another. He denies the possibility of endorsing socialism scientifically and of proving, from the point of view of the materialist conception of history, that it is indispensable and inevitable; he denies the fact that poverty and proletarianization are on the increase and that capitalist contradictions are getting worse; he proclaims the very notion of 'the final goal' as

groundless and unconditionally rejects the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat; he denies the divergences of principle existing between liberalism and socialism and the theory of class struggle which, he pretends, cannot be carried out in a wholly democratic society governed by the will of the majority". (V.I. Lenin: *Selected Works* in 2 vol. Albanian edition, vol. 1, page 110).

By embarking on this road, social-democracy turned itself into a loyal supporter of the capitalist order of things, into a servant of the bourgeoisie into a most important ideological and political abettor of the bourgeois policy in the workers movement. It has aided the bourgeoisie to oppress and exploit the workers of their country and the peoples of other countries, to suppress their revolutionary and liberation movement. "It has been verified by practice" Lenin says, "that the militant group in the ranks of the workers movement who adhere to opportunist trends, are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie themselves. If workers were not under the guidance of such people, the bourgeoisie would not be able to stand their ground" (*Works*, vol. 31, page 259, Albanian edition).

But social-democracy today has gone a step further in its betrayal when compared with the time of the 2nd International. At present it is characterized by a growing tendency towards the right.

Beginning from 1955 the social-democratic parties in Western Europe like the English Labour Party, the social-democratic parties in France, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Western Germany and in the Scandinavian countries, have changed their programs or have been engaged in elaborating new programmatic procedures. What characterizes these programs and new programmatic procedures? They are characterized by the eclectic blending of the old opportunist theories with the "modern" bourgeois theories, by their permanent renunciation of the principles and ideals of socialism, by their open support for the capitalist order of exploitation and by their frenzied opposition to communism.

If the former reformists avowed, even in words alone, that the establishment of socialism was their ultimate goal, present-day

social-democrats have openly rejected this end. They preach that they are in favor of the so called "democratic socialism", which has nothing in common with true scientific socialism. It is its negation, its replacement with certain bourgeois liberal reforms which do not tamper in any way with the basis of capitalist society. What kind of socialism is that when most of the social-democratic programs have discarded an elementary demand of socialism to abolish private property of the means of production?

Following the well-known statements of the socialist International "Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism" (1951), the new programs direct the working class not against capitalism as such but against "unsupervised" capitalism. Nationalization of a part of the enterprises by the bourgeois state, the establishment of state monopolist capitalism in the economic life of the country, the adoption of certain bourgeois-democratic reforms—all of these figure in the new programs and statements of the social-democrats as facts that go to prove that the basis of socialism has allegedly been laid in certain capitalist countries. At the same time, they deny the socialist character of transformations in the socialist countries. They repeat in this manner, openly or in a roundabout way, the bourgeois theories in vogue on "people's capitalism", "capitalism under control", "organized", "democratic" and so on.

The bourgeois reactionary press has more than once hailed this departure of socialism and in defense of capitalism. In a leading article under the title "Burial of Marxism" the "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper wrote: "84 years after its establishment at the historic Congress at Gotha, the German Social-Democratic Party in its Congress at Bad-Gotsberg, renounced Marxist ideology and, in fact, ceased being socialist in the true sense of that word. It reconciled itself to the principle of 'free individual initiative, wherever that is possible in economic life'"

The new programs of the social-democratic parties have canceled out all mention of contradictions, antagonism and class struggle, have leveled down all boundaries between the oppressed and oppressors, between the exploited and exploiters. In place of the class struggle they preach "the sense of responsibility" of man "in general". Thus the program of the German Social-Democratic

Party has it: "Freedom and democracy in industrial society are possible of attainment only if as many individuals as possible raise their social conscience and express themselves as willing to share responsibility. The social-democrats uphold the solidarity and 'harmony of all people' the attaining of their 'above classes' objective—democratic socialism".

Since "democratic socialism" does not encroach upon the basis of the capitalist order in any way, but it is a kind of "reformed capitalism", it naturally follows that there is no need whatsoever for a socialist revolution. "Democratic socialism", according to them, will come about through "spontaneous economic evolution", through limitation of the prerogatives and power of the monopolist unions and through the aid of the capitalist state itself. Nevertheless, in order to attain this ideal, it is necessary that the social-democrats come into power and the only way to achieve this is through electoral campaigns to obtain the majority of votes in the bourgeois parliament. Speaking highly of the declaration of the socialist International on "The aims and tasks of democratic socialism", one of its leaders, Brauntal, has said that this declaration "puts an end to the discussions on the dictatorship of the proletariat", "does away with the revolutionary class war method to achieve socialism", and "rejects adherence to any socialist theory."

The social-democrats have severed all connections with Marxism-Leninism, with the theory of scientific socialism and with the materialistic conception of things. The program of the Austrian Socialist Party has it: "Socialism is an international movement which does not at all demand an obligatory similarity of views. Regardless of where the socialists draw their points of view, from a Marxist or any other social analysis, from religious or humanitarian principles—they all aim at a common goal". Speaking at the Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party at Gotsberg, its former Chairman, E. Olenhauer, said "the demand to make K. Marx's and F. Engel's political program the substance of the social-democratic program for 1959 is more anti-marxist than can be imagined" and he added; "We can not be understood if we speak in terms of the past, we cannot solve the problems of today with our old conceptions."

Present-day social-democracy has not only slipped into positions of philosophic idealism and upholds idealism, but tries to find support in, and even fuse entirely with its extremist form—religion. Thus, for instance, the programs of German, Austrian, Swiss and other social-democratic parties maintain that "democratic socialism" has its roots in Christian ethics and doctrine, that socialism and religion, far from eliminating, are completely at one with each other. Speaking at the Congress of the Austrian Socialist Party in 1958, the author of the new program, B. Kautzky, said: "We would like to draw up a program, which would be fully endorsed by Marxists and non-Marxists alike, by atheists and socialist believers in religion alike". A similar attempt to reconcile christianity with socialism, religious idealist conception with socialist materialist conception, is made also in an interview given to the correspondent of the Italian newspaper "Unita" by Guy Mollet and which was published in this paper on February 22 of this year.

Such, in general, are the ideological views of the present social-democrats. What should be stressed in this connection is that their programs, as a rule, are more leftist than their acts. If the right socialists still try, in words, to pose as socialists in order to deceive the workers, in deeds they have long become staunch defenders of the capitalist order. Both when they are in opposition as well as when they are at the head of bourgeois governments, or take part in them, the heads of social-democracy serve to preserve and strengthen the bourgeois order through all their views and acts. All the socialist demagogy of the social democrats has been shown up by experience. Socialists have more than once been in power, at the head of bourgeois governments both in England, France and elsewhere. They are at the head of or take part to this day in the governments of capitalist countries. And what have they done for the workers, for socialism? They have done nothing but follow Leon Blum's instructions: that being in power the socialists should be "faithful directors of capitalist society".

Let us dwell even briefly on the activity of the French Socialist Party and its leader Guy Mollet, who has more than once taken part in and even headed the French government, and whom the revisionists consider a left-wing element and conduct hearty

talks with. When at the head of the government, the French socialists set the dogs loose on workers on strike, incited the outbreak of the dirty war in Indo-China, undertook police repressions against the people of other colonies, carried on the fighting against the Algerian people with more ferocity, approved the North Atlantic Pact and the re-arming of Western Germany. Guy Mollet's government signed the agreements for "the European Common Market" and "Euratom", it was one of the organizers of the military aggression on Egypt, Guy Mollet's betrayal paved the way for personal rule in France and so on and so forth. Speaking of Guy Mollet's activity even the labourite weekly "Tribune" wrote at the beginning of 1957 that "Mollet is a disgrace to France as well as to socialism".

These are the true features of social-democracy today. Many representatives of the bourgeoisie have not been wrong in stressing the great role of the social-democratic parties in suppressing the revolutionary movement of workers and in defending the capitalist order, they have not been wrong in singing their praises. Thus, for instance, T. Junilla, director of a capitalist bank in Finland, has said: "In the struggle to win over industrial workers spiritually only the social-democrats can serve as a powerful force against the communists. If the social democrats lose this battle, it may very well be the end of democracy in Finland. This is why, being a bourgeois member of the conservative party, I feel obliged to state that we need a united, militant, social-democratic party which firmly upholds northern democracy". The English bourgeois newspaper *Financial Times* wrote in the same vein on June 28, 1963: ". . . the industrialists are scared less by the Labourites, and some of them cherish the opinion that a Labour government would open up better perspectives for development than the Tories."

It is precisely because the social-democrats are agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement that the Marxist-Leninists have always had it clear that without a determined struggle to unmask and smash the social-democrats ideologically and politically, the working class cannot wage its struggle and carry it on to victory: ". . . Bourgeois parties of workers" as a political phenomenon, V.I. Lenin has written, "have already been

set up in all advanced capitalist countries. . . . Without a resolute, relentless war on all fronts against these parties—or, what amounts to the same thing, against groups, trends and so on—it is futile to speak of the struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of the workers socialist movement" (V.I. Lenin: "Against Revisionists", Albanian edition, page 368). J.V. Stalin too, as a revolutionary and consistent marxist, has stressed: "Present-day social-democratism is the ideological support of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present social-democratic politicians are 'true agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement, lackeys of the capitalist class from the workers ranks' and that 'in the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie' they will undoubtedly take sides with the 'Versailles' against the 'Communards'. 'No end can be put to capitalism without putting an end to social-democracy in the workers movement. Therefore, the epoch of the death of capitalism is at the same time the epoch of the death of social-democracy in the workers movement'" (J.V. Stalin: *Works*, Albanian edition, vol. 10, p, 242).

The 1960 Moscow Declaration too, stressing the fact that the right-wing leaders of social-democracy have aligned themselves openly with the imperialists, uphold the capitalist system, split the workers movement and that they are "enemies of communism", called upon the communists to continue to expose them.

But the modern revisionists, with N. Khrushchev's group in the lead, as renegades and foes to Marxism, act entirely at variance with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, with the instructions of the Moscow Declaration; they pursue the line of joining in and fusing with the right-wing leaders of social-democracy. And this is not accidental: social-democrats of today and modern revisionists have common things together, they proceed in the same direction and towards a common counter-revolutionary objective.

Modern Revisionists Have Slipped into the Positions of Social-Democracy

Just as the old opportunists and reformists betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the working class, of the

revolution and of socialism, so do the modern revisionists betray these ideals and are pursuing the same road as their forerunners who are at the same time their spiritual inspirers. Those who have changed are not the social-democrats but the modern revisionists, who have fallen into the treacherous positions of social-democracy.

Rejecting Marxism-Leninism, the social-democrats claim that "problems of today cannot be solved by old concepts". Following in their wake, the revisionists too, speculate with the newer conditions and phenomena, and, under the guise of fighting "dogmatism" and upholding "the creative development of Marxism" claim that many things today should be looked at with a critical eye, that what was right 30 years ago cannot be such any longer, that atomic weapons and the danger of a nuclear war makes it indispensable to revise our views and stand on many questions of strategy and tactics, that he who abides by the basic theses of Marx and Lenin in the sixties of the 20th century is a dogmatist who takes no account of the great changes that have come about in the world, and he who consults the classic works of Marxist-Leninists in order to analyze and explain the present historical process, is afflicted with the mania of quotations and so and so forth. Hence, Marxism-Leninism is outdated for revisionists too, it no longer suits the newer conditions, it should be "enriched" with new ideas and new conclusions. Just like all the old opportunists and reformists, the revisionists too are stripping Marxism of its critical and revolutionary spirit and are attempting to turn it from a weapon in the hands of the working class into a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie to be used against the working class.

"Not the class struggle but the solidarity and harmony of all men who possess the sense of responsibility towards society"--this is the motive power of present-day society, the social-democrats maintain. The revisionists too have erased the class struggle from their books, and in fact have replaced it with the idea of class reconciliation in the name of "preserving peace" in the world, they have renounced this struggle in the name of "saving the world from the danger of nuclear war", and instead of the class struggle they preach "peaceful coexistence" as the only

method to solve all the vital problems that stand before human society. "Peace at all costs, peace with all and above all", "christian love for everybody", "abstract humanism above classes", these are the ideas that the modern revisionists preach far and wide. In the name of this ideal the revisionists make common cause with the enemies of the class, with the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries and their agents and lackeys—the right-wing leaders, social-democratic leaders and the Titoite clique, while, on the other hand, they fight furiously against all those who loyally uphold the interests of the working class and their Marxist-Leninist ideology—the communists parties and all the revolutionary communists.

The social-democrats have long given up the revolution and preach that socialism will come about through reforms within the framework of the bourgeois order of things, of democracy and bourgeois legality. Following in their tracks, the revisionists too have abandoned the revolutionary way, saying that the way to socialism is the way to an ever broader democracy, the way of observing and carrying out bourgeois constitutions, the way of "reforming structures". Just like the social democrats, the revisionists too, identify the struggle for democracy with that for socialism, confine the struggle for socialism to that for democracy. Dragging Kautzky's and Bernstein's theories from their burial place, they express themselves in and only in favor of the "peaceful" and "parliamentary" way, which they hold up as a world strategic principle, and they have concentrated all the efforts on the struggle for votes in order to win the majority of seats in bourgeois parliaments.

The social-democrats consider the capitalist state as a state above classes, as an interpreter and champion of the interests of society as a whole, they are opposed to breaking up the old bourgeois state machine, they are opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, according to them, is the negation of democracy, is a totalitarian rule and so on and so forth. And the revisionists spread the illusions that the capitalist state may change its class nature, that it may become a state that will express not only the interests of the bourgeoisie but also those of the proletariat and of the laboring masses, they say that Lenin's thesis

on the indispensability of breaking up the bourgeois state apparatus must be modified, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an out-dated idea, or, at most, suitable only for backward countries, that it may take not only various forms but also quite a different content. Both the social-democrats as well as the revisionists slander against the dictatorship of the proletariat and describe the entire period of its rule as a period of mass terror and arbitrariness, as a period of brutal violation of laws, of socialist democracy, and so on and forth.

In their practical political activity too, the modern revisionists are proceeding in the footsteps of the traitorous leaders of social democracy. As a matter of fact, they have joined with the enemies of socialism and of the peoples—with the imperialists and particularly with the American imperialists, and with the reactionaries of various countries. For the sake of getting closer to imperialism, for the sake of achieving Soviet-American collaboration, which is N. Khrushchev's and his group's highest aspiration and ideal, the revisionists do not hesitate even to betray the true friends and allies of the Soviet people, the vital interests of the socialist countries, the working class, the peoples and nations oppressed and exploited by the imperialists. A proof of this lies in such activities of the revisionists headed by Khrushchev's group as their adventuresome and capitulating attitude in the Caribbean crisis, in their pressure exerted on socialist Cuba to capitulate to the American imperialists, sacrificing its dignity and its sovereignty, in their union with the Indian reactionaries against the People's Republic of China, with the Titoite clique and with Venizelos against the People's Republic of Albania, in the infamous Moscow Treaty for a partial ban on nuclear tests, which is high treason to the interests of the Soviet Union, to the other socialist countries and to peace in favor of the American imperialists, as well as in a number of other facts.

Anti-communism permeates all the ideology and practical activity of the modern social-democrats, they slander the socialist countries and communist parties, they split the workers movement, counter scientific socialism with "democratic socialism" which is no other than reformed capitalism, try their utmost to preserve the capitalist order where it prevails and re-

establish it where it has been overthrown. The modern revisionists are also carrying on anti-socialist and anti-communist activities on a wide scale. N. Khrushchev's group and their followers have split the socialist camp and the international communist movement and are speeding ahead towards degenerating the socialist countries into "docile bourgeois republics" and the communist and workers parties from parties of social revolution into "parties of social reforms". N. Khrushchev and his group deny the proletarian class nature of the socialist state and the communist party, they are liquidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the communist party in the Soviet Union under the pretext of turning them into the state and party of "the entire people". The revisionists are organizing and reorganizing with a view to changing the forms of management of socialist economy after the pattern of Titoite Yugoslavia, violating the Marxist principles of managing socialist economy, they belittle the experience of many years of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, and call on all to learn from the experience of capitalist countries, going as far as to stretch their hands to the imperialists for aid, credits and capital investments "to build socialism and communism", as Khrushchev himself did of late. Under the guise of fighting "the cult of the individual and its consequences", they have done away with the sound Marxist-Leninist cadres and have rehabilitated the traitors and enemies of socialism, living or dead. They have flung open the door of the socialist countries to the unhindered penetration of bourgeois ideology, of all kinds of alien anti-socialist trends and manifestations in art, letters and in all the life of country, in the name of "freedom of conscience" and of "an abstract humanity above classes". This "liberal" and "humanist" socialism of the modern revisionists is getting closer and closer to the so-called "democratic socialism" which the leaders of the modern social democracy preach.

Thus, all the given facts show clearly that the modern revisionists are proceeding along the treacherous tracks of the social-democrats. This is very clear to the socialist leaders who have openly expressed their approval, their joys and hopes regarding the traitorous course followed by N. Khrushchev's group and their followers. Here are some of their statements:

In a speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations at its last session P.H. Spaak said: "N. Khrushchev is trying to test peaceful coexistence and the West should not make it difficult for him to make this experiment. It would be a terrible and inexcusable mistake to discourage him. At this moment the future line of demarcation will not be any longer between communists and non-communists, between colonized and colonizers, between ideologies and races. We are witnesses of the struggle between those who wait the opportune time and inhuman doctrinarians on one hand and those who have had confidence in progress and have never ceased to hope, on the other. Let us not let this great occasion slip from our hands".

In his interview on February 24, 1964, the chairman of the English Labour Party, H. Wilson, pointed out that he was the first of the Western politicians who visited Russia after the death of Stalin and, on his return from there, reported to W. Churchill, Prime Minister at that time, that "a great change was taking place in Soviet politics" and that this "is of major importance as regards relations between East and West". He is fully justified to be proud of his farsighted anticipations which today have become realities.

Before going to Moscow with the socialist delegation to talk with Khrushchev Gerard Jacques, director of the newspaper of the French Socialist Party stated: "We have long given up engaging in polemics with the Soviet Union and admit that this country is in the full phase of evolution. . . The problems raised are those of democracy and the democratic guarantees of the single party, of the role of the socialist party in socialist society, of the nature of the socialist regime and its structure. The attitude maintained by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the divergences between Moscow and Peking throws ample light on the attitude of this party towards dogmatism and political sectarianism".

After his return to Paris from colloquys with N. Khrushchev, the Secretary General of the French Socialist Party, Guy Mollet, stated that he became convinced that "a positive evolution is taking place in the Soviet Union", which, according to his words, were summed up in these matters: "Admittance of many ways to build socialism", "end of the proletarian

dictatorship", "internal evolution" and so on. Whereas an interview granted the newspaper *Unita* (Feb. 22, 1964), Guy Mollet declared "I am convinced that the communist world has embarked on the road to transformation".

These statements of the leaders of social-democracy are at one with the statements made by the leaders of imperialism and their spokesmen who also express their support for N. Khrushchev's revisionist line and consider him "the best friend of the West in Moscow". They say that "The Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev acts like an American politician" and affirm that the officials in the State Department in the USA are of the opinion that "the United States should facilitate N. Khrushchev's task to a certain extent" and so on and so forth.

Towards a Complete Fusion of the Modern Revisionists with the Social-Democrats

The falling of the modern revisionists into the ideological position of the social-democrats in major issues constitutes the basis of the complete amalgamation of revisionists with the social-democrats. By pursuing this course and recommending it to communist and workers parties of different countries, the modern revisionists with N. Khrushchev's group in the lead, aim at causing the degeneration of the communist parties into reformist parties of the social-democratic type, at impregnating the working class with bourgeois ideology and reformist illusions, at weakening the revolutionary fighting spirit of the working class movement, and alienating it from the only correct road against the capitalist order of oppression and exploitation.

The revisionists, of course, do not, as a rule, proclaim their hostile intentions openly. They accompany every step they take to the detriment of the cause of the revolution and of communism, with demagogical slogans and clothe it with all kinds of justifications. Their anti-Marxist action of fusing with social-democracy too, they try to justify with the pretext that the social-democratic parties too are allegedly workers' parties and that the unity of the working class is essential in the struggle against capitalism. Let us dwell in brief on this matter.

Workers Parties or "Bourgeois Parties of the Working

Class"?

Are the social-democratic parties really and truly workers parties? To judge whether a party is a party of the working class or not it does not suffice to look at the name it attaches to itself. Hitler's party too, called itself "nationalist socialist"! The only correct criterion is whether or not it defends and upholds the interests of the working class, whether or not it fights for its cause. And in order to elucidate this matter one should see to whose advantage are the ideology, policy and all practical activities of this or that party. "Don't bush faith in phrases", Lenin teaches us, "but rather see to whose benefits they are" (Works, vol. 19, p. 33, Russian edition). And if we look at this manner from this prism, from the prism of class, which is the only correct, Marxist-Leninist criterion, then it becomes clear to every true communist that the social-democratic parties are not workers parties, but they are, as Lenin has dubbed them "bourgeois parties of the working class". We showed above through numerous facts, that in both ideological views, political views and all around activities, modern social-democracy is nothing other than, as Lenin says, "a political detachment of the bourgeoisie", "a promoter of its influence", "a true agency of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement".

From the point of view of its social make-up, too, the social-democratic parties have undergone and are undergoing visible changes. The number of workers in their ranks are becoming less and less and the number of elements of the petty bourgeoisie and of the workers bureaucrats are increasing. The modern reformists have themselves launched the slogan "the deproletarianization" of the social-democratic parties. And this has been expressed in the new programs of many social-democratic parties. Thus, for instance, the program of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party has it: "At the beginning socialism was the concern of the working class which used to be exploited by capitalism alone. . . . Now socialism is the concern of all mankind. It pertains to every man with a sense of responsibility for the welfare of society".

This is for the groundwork, for the masses of the social-democratic parties, whereas as far as the leading cadres are

concerned, the higher up you climb in the hierarchy of the social-democratic parties, the fewer workers you find in them. As a matter of fact many social democratic leaders have long become real capitalists: many of them take part in the administrative councils of the biggest banks and own packages of solid shares, drawing millions upon millions of dividends each year. Thus, for instance, according to returns of the recent years, 410 principal functionaries of the German Social-Democratic Party occupied 929 high paid posts in the major banks and corporations of Western Germany, 62 social democrat personalities were directors of the firms Mannesman, Klekner, Krupp, Flick and others. The same situation prevails in other social democratic parties of the West like France, England, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries and so on.

This is the kind of "workers' class' the social-democratic parties represent. The modern revisionists, who are themselves nothing but traitors to the working class, have every reason to stick the label of "workers' party" not only on themselves, but only on the social-democrats, but also on any English bourgeois conservative party if such a thing is dictated by their anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary plan of action.

It is therefore obvious enough that the argument of the modern revisionists pretending that the social-democratic parties are parties of the working class, is altogether a false one. Hence, their slogan on "the need for unity of the working class" is demagogical, a pretext to justify their union with the "bourgeois parties of the working class".

The workers' movement in almost all the advanced capitalist countries has been split. Who is to blame for this split? Who hinders the achievement of unity and action in the workers movement? The 1960 Moscow Declaration points out that the originators and promoters of this split on a national and international scale are the "ruling classes, the right wing leaders of social democracy and the reactionary leaders of the trade unions". Under these circumstances, in order to realize unity of action in the workers movement, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists are guided by the following considerations:

1. that unity of action may be attained only in battle with splitters, therefore they wage a relentless and persistent war of principle against the splitters—the treacherous leaders of social-democracy
2. that all efforts should be concentrated to achieve unity of action at the base with the working masses of the socialist parties, that the watchword of the Marxist-Leninists for unity of action could and should be: reliance on the masses, alliance with the leftists, uncompromising combat against the treacherous right-wing leaders who cause the split in order to expose and isolate them
3. that by soliciting unity of action with socialists, the communist parties should consider this not as collaboration between two political parties of the working class but as collaboration between a proletarian and non proletarian party in order to achieve some specific objectives. In connection with this it is essential to always keep in mind and strictly observe Lenin's teachings, who has more than once stressed with force that it is essential that, when concluding an alliance or agreement with other movements for this or that question or objective, the revolutionary party of the working class will maintain its political independence at every moment and in every situation, so that it may not lose sight at any moment of the basic interests of the working class in its fight to achieve its final objective—the triumph of socialism and communism.

Every departure from Marxist-Leninist positions brings about as a consequence the alienation of the working class from its revolutionary line of action and its fall into the mire of opportunism. Such is the attitude of the Marxist-Leninists towards unity of the workers movement.

But what stand do the modern revisionists maintain in connection with this? They have not only given up fighting the splitters of the workers' movement—the right-wing leaders of social democracy but, what's more, they are advocates of unity "at all costs" and "under the conditions" with these traitorous splitters.

The revisionists even rise against all those who fight against the right-wing leaders of social-democracy and who expose their betrayal, considering this fight as "sectarian", "dogmatic", as "insolent" and "dangerous attack" and so on.

But everybody knows that social-democratic leaders like Spaak, Guy Mollet and others, with whom N. Khrushchev and his followers conduct "hearty talks" and try to achieve unity "at all costs" are servitors and agents of the bourgeoisie, who have even been and continue to be at the head of bourgeois governments in many capitalist countries. Therefore, unity with these traitors is by no means a unity of the workers movement, but an attempt at unity between the working class and the bourgeoisie, for the subjection of the working class to the bourgeoisie, unity and collaboration with the reactionary bourgeois governments pretending to be "socialist".

Formerly when they had not yet revealed so openly their treacherous features, the modern revisionists used to claim they are opposed to the right-wing leaders of social-democracy, that no unity was possible with them and so on, and they had even said a word or two against them. N. Khrushchev, for one, said at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the cause of unity of the working class is hindered by "imperialist reactionaries and their lackeys in the workers movement such as the anti-communist leaders of Social-democracy—Guy Mollet and Spaak. We know these leaders of anti-communism by name and we do not rely on them when we speak of unity of action of the working class". Whereas now it is the same Khrushchev who conducts "hearty colloquys" with and solicits the collaboration of such anti-communist leaders as Guy Mollet, Spaak, H. Wilson and their ilk to achieve "unity of the working class"! One of two things must have happened: either Guy Mollet, Spaak and Co have ceased to be anti-communists or N. Khrushchev himself has ceased to be a communist and makes common cause with the leaders of anti-communism, servitors of the imperialist reactionaries! So far there is no sign to prove the first, while there are plenty of facts to prove the second.

Regardless of the demagogic slogans they make use of in order to waylay the masses, the modern revisionists are not only

in favor of "unity at all costs" with the social democrats including their traitorous leaders, but have gone even further, expressing themselves willing to collaborate with them "on any basis". Thus, in an article appearing in the "Komunist" review of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union No. 3, 1960, we read: "Unity of action with the reformists, even with the sworn ones on this or that issue is always possible, provided they really try to achieve any reform, be it ever so small, for the benefit of the working class, of the workers". Whereas the leaders of the French Communist Party, on the basis of a resolution of the plenum of the Central Committee during September 27 & 28, 1961 regarding collaboration with the socialist and other parties have stated: "We on our part, are ready to collaborate on any basis". (See the "Komunist" review No. 3, 1962, p. 95).

Thus, speculating on the slogan "unity", the revisionists sacrifice the principles, level off the distinction between communists and social-democrats, trample upon and sacrifice the basic interests of the working class. This is sham unity, unity in favor of the bourgeoisie and their agents in the workers movement, which aims at submitting the workers movement wholly to the bourgeois and reformist influence, at liquidating the revolutionary spirit and the revolutionary party of the working class. This is high treason to the cause of the working class and of socialism.

All of these things give rise to an important conclusion: full unity on sound basis of the workers movement can and will be achieved through bitter combat not only with the right-wing leaders of social democracy but also with the modern revisionists, against the workers movement to the poisonous and counter-revolutionary influence of social democracy and of its treacherous right-wing leaders.

Liquidation of the Communist Parties—the Goal of the Modern Revisionists

Facts go to prove that the hue and cry of the modern revisionists are raising about "unity" of the workers movement, is nothing but a bluff, a demagogical maneuver to cover their tracks. Whereas their true objective is to cause the degeneration of the communist parties into parties of the social-democratic type, and

to join with the social-democrats under "any condition" and on "any basis" and then to liquidate the communist parties, to amalgamate them with the social-democratic parties.

The social-democratic leaders, who cannot plead ignorance of these attempts and intentions of the revisionists, have defined their stand and their tactics towards them in compliance with this. The social-democratic leaders pursue the same two-fold tactics towards the revisionists as the American imperialists and the Titoite clique do.

On the one hand, they sing praises to them for their revisionist line of action, back them up and encourage them as allies in their betrayal, incite them against Marxism-Leninism and against all those that stand loyal to it. To meet the revisionists halfway and to throw dust in the eyes of the masses, certain social-democratic leaders, have, especially of late, started to speak in terms similar to those of the revisionists and to make statements in favor of peace, peaceful coexistence and disarmament, they have somewhat changed their attitude towards the Soviet Union and towards the communists in their countries, and so on. This has, of course, nothing to do with any real, positive, basic change of the social democrats, but a mere change of attitude towards the revisionists for the above reasons. It is exactly this kind of "change" that the revisionists try, in a demagogical way, to hold out as "an inclination to the left" of the social-democrats, in order to justify their transition to the right, to justify their own line of approach and collaboration with them.

On the other hand the social-democratic leaders maintain a "superior" and "haughty" attitude towards the servile requests and appeals of the revisionists for approach and collaboration and demand more and more concessions. And what do the social-democrats demand?

In the ideological field they demand that the revisionists give up for good the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of leadership of the communist party, proletarian internationalism, and so on, not only in essence but also formally.

In the field of politics, they demand "further democratic

guarantees", toleration of many parties, consequently of bourgeois parties as well, and the distribution of power among them in socialist states, a change in the electoral system to allow lists of candidates including anti-socialist elements in them, etc. They demand in other words "the liberalization" of the socialist regime and its transformation into an ordinary bourgeois democracy.

In the economic field they demand abolition of the cooperative system in the countryside, of the "old forms" of organization and management of economy, in order to proceed towards alignment and "wide and all-round collaboration" of the socialist countries with the capitalist countries and so on.

In the field of international relations they demand further and bigger concessions towards the imperialists in the name of "preserving peace", renunciation of support for the revolutionary and national-liberation movements and even the sacrifice of the German Democratic Republic as a condition of establishing peace in Europe.

Such are the demands put forward, for instance, by Spaak, Guy Mollet and other social-democratic leaders. These demands are as similar as two drops of water to those made to the revisionists by the imperialists, particularly the American imperialists through Eisenhower, Dulles, Kennedy, Johnson and others.

The social-democratic leaders are convinced that the revisionists will continue to make further concessions, for this is an inevitable consequence of the traitorous line which the revisionists pursue. And facts go to prove more clearly as days go by that they are not mistaken in their calculations. In fact, having embarked on the road of degenerating the communist parties into social-democratic parties headed by them, the revisionists are now attempting to make the next move—to complete fusion with the social-democratic parties.

At the top of these efforts stands the revisionist "troika"—N. Khrushchev's group, Tito's clique and the revisionist leadership of the Italian Communist Party with P. Togliati in the lead. A living example of how to proceed along this treacherous road is that of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party. P. Togliati and

other revisionist leaders have imposed on the Italian Communist Party a line which is opportunist and reformist from top to bottom, a line that flagrantly deviates from the teachings and basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, a line which has replaced the class struggle, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the so-called "Italian Road to Socialism" through "structural reforms" within the framework of "bourgeois democracy", of the bourgeois state "above classes", of the bourgeois constitution. And this is not all. Proceeding along their anti-Marxist road, P. Togliati and other revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party have long been trumpeting abroad the indispensability of changing the "character, functions and organizational structure" of their party, allegedly to fit the major political exigencies lying before it and the "transformations that have taken are are taking place in the economy, social and political structure of the country" "with the problems of the struggle for socialism in the advanced capitalist countries" and so forth and so on.

Just in what direction these changes will be made and what their objective is, is made clear by the "Document of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party for the national conference on organization" published in the newspaper "Unita" dated January 9, 1964. In this document we read: "The essential exigency is to look for and adopt a system of new contacts and connections among all forces which accept a socialist policy and future" in perspective so that "the separation existing among the various organizations of the working class may be organically overcome and the basis for a single party may be laid". It is even said that in light of the struggle against monopolist development of the country in order to direct the latter toward socialist development, we should look into the "problem of the relation and dialogged with the political, democratic catholic movement, which is the other major force, whose support is essential in building a new society in Italy".

These theses of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party are the continuation and further concretization of the opportunist views expressed long ago by P. Togliati. At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party on June 24, 1956 Togliati said: "We can detect, as a matter of fact,

a drift towards socialism, a more or less clear trend towards economic reforms and transformations of the socialist type even in countries where the communist parties far from taking part in the government, are not even a major force at times. . . . This situation exists today and assumes special significance in those regions of the world which have been emancipated from colonialism only recently. But also in very advanced capitalist countries it may happen that the working class, in its majority, may vote for a non-communist party and it cannot be excluded that in such countries even non-communist parties based on the working class, may express the urge coming from the working class for a drift towards socialism. Even where communist parties exist and are strong, there may exist side by side with them other parties which may have their basis in the working class and a socialist program. The tendency to bring about radical economic changes in a direction which, in general is that of socialism, many after all come also from organizations and movements which do not call themselves socialist".

What is new in the latest document of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party for the conference on the organization of the party, lies in the fact that attempts are being made to pass from pseudo-theoretical considerations to practical steps to set up the so-called "single organization of the working class", in other words the liquidation of the communist party as a revolutionary and independent vanguard of the working class.

We have already had the occasion to point out that these views of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party are not at all original, but entirely the same as those of the Titoite renegades sanctioned in the program of the Yugoslav Communist League and already condemned unanimously by the international communist movement as profoundly anti-Marxist. It is in this revisionist program that we read: "The view that communist parties own a monopoly in every line of development towards socialism, and that socialism is expressed by them, is theoretically incorrect and practically very harmful". We read there further: "The Yugoslav Communist League considers it dogmatic to clan the absolute monopoly of the communist party over the political

power as a universal and perpetual principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction".

The unity of views of the Italian Communist Party leaders with those of the Titoite clique extends not only to this, but to their entire line of action. This revisionist unity was clearly expressed in the joint Tito-Togliati communique signed in Belgrade on January 21 of this year, as well as in a leading article by Togliati on his return from a visit to Yugoslavia.

During this encounter in Yugoslavia Togliati and Tito did not keep it a secret that they talked about coordinating their joint activity in spreading the triumph of the "new positive course" in the communist movement, especially in Europe, and in overcoming the obstacles in the way of the unity of the workers and communist movement on the basis of this course. These talks pointed out again the "special role" which the leaders of the Italian Communist Party have assigned to themselves in the communist and workers movement in Western Europe (let us recall the theory of "polycentralization", implying, of course, that one of the principal and most "attractive" centers of direction would certainly be the Italian Communist Party with Togliati at the head!).

To achieve their end—the triumph of the "new course", the degeneration of the communist parties, the revisionists with N. Khrushchev at the head, need, first and foremost, to break, subdue and set moving towards degeneration not only the Italian Communist Party which Togliati himself is zealously trying to do, but also the French Communist Party, as two major parties in Western Europe. It is precisely for this reason that the "Trojan Troika"—N. Khrushchev's group, Tito's clique and the revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party—are exerting strong and all-round pressure on the French Communist Party by the right-wing socialist leaders under Guy Mollet as well as by the various revisionist elements in the ranks of the French Communist Party itself like Raimond Gouyot and others.

The French Communist Party is a party with revolutionary traditions. It has formerly made valuable contribution to the struggle against various anti-Marxist trends ranging from the right-wing socialists like Leon Blum and Guy Mollet to Tito's

clique of renegades. Now this criticism seems to have been suppressed either as a result of obedience to the "conductor's baton" or by the pressure on the part of revisionist elements who are bent on leading the French Communist Party towards the inglorious road of submission to anti-Marxist degeneration, to the line against which it fought.

Let us take, for instance, the latest document of the leadership of the French Communist Party—the draft resolution for the 17th Congress of the Party which will be held in May this year. It is said therein that for the sake of unity and collaboration with the socialist party, the French Communist Party has done much and is willing to do more, to smooth the "obstacles" in the way of this collaboration, that "it has given up the idea of a single party as an essential condition for transition to socialism. This idea upheld by Stalin constituted an abusive generalization of the specific circumstances under which the October Revolution came about. Later experience has proven that common objectives of the parties representing the working class of the cities and of the countryside, lead to an ever deeper unity for transition to socialism, for building socialist society."

Here we come across a new major concession of principle which the French Communist Party is making to the social-democrats. Through this very serious step the French revisionists are jeopardizing the very existence of the Communist Party, they are proceeding towards its liquidation, towards its complete fusion with Guy Mollet's Socialist Party. This is another clear proof of whither the modern revisionists are leading the communist parties. No wonder the big bourgeois newspaper "Le Monde" greets this statement with these words: "The Communist Party firmly rejects the idea of the single party". No matter how hard they may try to justify this step, how hard they may try to slander against Stalin, the revisionists of the French Communist Party will not succeed in covering up their betrayal, the plot they are hatching up to cause the degeneration of the French Communist Party into a social democratic one.

J.V. Stalin, like all consistent Marxist-Leninists, has never denied the possibility of collaboration with other parties in taking over the reins of state and building socialism. He has never

universalized the special historical circumstances which determined the existence of a single party in the Soviet Union. It is an indisputable fact that it was precisely in Stalin's time that the communist parties in various countries of Europe and Asia, collaborated for the first time with other parties, both during the revolution in order to ascend to power, as well as after the assumption of power, during the construction of socialism. But it is clear in the documents both of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party and of the French Communist Party, the question is not whether the communist party may or may not collaborate with other parties during the socialist revolution and during the construction of socialism. The question here is that for the sake of this collaboration these documents erase all distinction between the communist parties and other parties, they deny in fact the necessity of the leading role of the communist party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

J.V. Stalin however upheld just this idea, the idea of the leading role of the communist party, an idea which is not Stalin's alone, but a basic teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin emanating from the historic mission of the working class and from its Marxist-Leninist ideology which is the sole ideology of scientific socialism. This is clearly emphasized also in the 1957 Moscow Declaration in which we read: "the leadership of the masses by the working class, whose nucleus is the Marxist-Leninist party, during the accomplishment of the revolution in this or other form, during the establishment of the dictatorship in this or other form" is the general law of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Time was when the leaders of the French Communist Party bitterly criticised the leaders of the Italian Communist Party because the latter placed the communist party on the same level with the other so-called "workers parties", advanced the necessity of the existence of many parties under socialism and denied the indispensability of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Debating on these views of P. Togliati & Co, the organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, "Cahier de Communisme" published in its January 1957 issue an article by the present member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, R. Gorad, under the title: "In collection with

'the Italian Road to socialism'" pointed out the denial of the radical distinction between the communist party and other so-called "workers" parties permeated with the ideology of other classes, which, therefore, cannot fully represent true present and future interests of the working class, means, in fact, to place the communist party on a level with non-proletarian parties, to deny that "there is only one scientific socialism which clearly determines the historic role of the working class, the tactics and the strategy, which enables it to carry out its mission" and "to admit the possibility of a reformist 'way' to socialism placed on a level with the revolutionary way". "Cahier de Communisme" at the time likewise stressed that this means to slip into positions of Kardelj and other Yugoslav leaders, who have proclaimed the Scandinavian social-democratic way as one of the possible forms towards socialism thus erasing the radical distinction between scientific socialist ideology and social-democratic ideology which preaches reconciliation, class collaboration and peaceful integration, in other words, denunciation of socialist aims.

To deny the thesis on the role of leadership of the communist party as an essential condition of the transition to socialism, to place the communist party apart from other "workers", "socialist" parties, as the modern revisionists do, means to sever all connections with true scientific socialism and true socialist ideology, it means to renounce the principles and program of the communist party and to join and fuse with the social-democratic parties on the basis of their anti-Marxist program. And that's exactly what the revisionists are doing.

There was a time when the French Communist Party did not agree with the treacherous, thoroughly revisionist line of the Italian Communist Party leaders with P. Togliati in the lead. Are there today any divergences between the French Communist Party and the revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party? If there are, then why do they keep silent about it? Why did the French Communist Party find it so easy to attack the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania and keep silent towards the Italian revisionists? If there are none then why doesn't it say openly that it is d'accord with them and that it had been mistaken before? Or is it because "the conductor's baton" beats that tune?

To keep silent, to shut your eyes to the treacherous line and behavior of the revisionists—such an attitude is not only anti-Marxist but also dangerous. It causes serious damage not only to the Italian Communist Party, which must be helped to see where Togliatti's revisionism is leading it to, but also to the French Communist Party itself, to the entire communist movement. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists are seriously alarmed at the catastrophe threatening the communist and workers parties. They can not nor should not keep their silence when a group of traitors try to lead the communist parties like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Italian Communist Party, the French Communist Party and others into the abyss, but they should raise their voice to help the genuine communists, members of these parties, to see the danger clearly, to understand where their present revisionist leadership is leading them to, before it is too late.

There was a time when the communist parties of France and Italy were set up at the Congresses of Tours and Leghorn, as revolutionary proletarian parties of the new types, detaching themselves from the socialist parties of that time which had betrayed the interests of the working class and of socialism, and severing all connections with the opportunists and reformists of the 2nd International adopting the Marxist-Leninist conditions and program of the communist International. Now we are witnessing a reverse process. The line of demarcation set at the Tours and Leghorn Congresses is being wiped out. The attempts of the modern revisionists to join up and fuse with those they had detached themselves from—the treacherous social-democratic leaders—by making to them repeated concessions, by renouncing the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, are becoming more and more evident. That is why the revolutionary communists of Italy and of France, as well as those of other countries, who are being threatened by the danger of revisionism, should rise up against these renegades. This is the only correct course to pursue. The attacks which the revisionist 'troika' under N. Khrushchev's leadership, are launching against the communist and workers parties, are very much like the treacherous acts of the social democrats of the 2nd International. That's why the Marxists should draw lessons from history, should pursue the revolutionary ways of former days in defense of the Marxist-Leninist party, in

defense of the revolution.

On the eve of the 17th Congress of the French Communist Party finds itself on the horns of a dilemma: will it continue to give blind obedience to the 'conductor's baton' and allow the revisionist group in the leadership to plunge it definitely on the way of betrayal, or will it break the conductor's baton, correct its mistake, and return to the heroic revolutionary road of Marxism-Leninism?

Many leaders of the French Communist Party have hurled insolent words and made impudent charges against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership. This we will not forget. Eventually, if not today, tomorrow, every thing will be settled in a Marxist way. We are certain that those who have acted in this manner will eventually blush with shame. We are not indebted to the French Communist Party. Its leaders are indebted to the Party of Labor of Albania. Nevertheless, we sincerely call on the French Communist Party to turn to the way of revolution, before it is too late, for the good of the French people, of the French proletariat and of the international proletariat. There is its place. Those who correct their mistakes command the respect of others and enjoy the support of the communists and of all the progressive people of the world, while the traitors are loathed by everybody. They are looked down upon and mercilessly fought by all as in the case of Khrushchev's group, Tito, Togliati and their loyal companions, against all the modern revisionists.

A Stop Should be Put to the Treacherous Acts of the Revisionists; the Communist Parties Should be Protected!

Through their political course and through all their practical activity, the modern revisionists, with traitor Khrushchev in the lead, have created a grave situation in many communist parties and in the international communist and workers movement. They have wrecked the internal unity of certain parties in particular and of the movement in general, and are proceeding posthaste towards social-democratic degeneration of the communist parties, are trying to lead the whole world communist movement onto an opportunist and traitorous path. This reminds one of that period when as a result of the deviation of their leaders, the parties of the 2nd International strayed away from the

revolutionary path, renounced marxism, plunged definitely into the mire of opportunism and reformism, degenerated into "bourgeois parties of the working class".

The betrayal of the parties of the 2nd International which was expressed clearly especially during the First World War, when they crossed over openly to the social-chauvinistic camp, met—and it could help meet—with the firm resistance of the revolutionary communists with Lenin at the head. The latter, though in the minority, expressing the true fundamental interests of the working class, of the laboring masses waged a bitter struggle of principle for years on end to unmask the traitorous leaders of the 2nd International, to expose the opportunism and reformism of the parties of this International, in defence of proletarian internationalism and Marxism, for the purpose of setting up new revolutionary parties of the working class. "It is impossible", V.I. Lenin wrote at that time, "to carry out the tasks of socialism at present, it is impossible to achieve true internationalist unity of workers, without a through break with opportunism, without explaining to the masses the inevitability of its failure". Speaking of this struggle of Lenin, J.V. Stalin has written: "Every bolshevik, if he or she is a real bolshevik knows Lenin pursued the line of separation, of breaking with the opportunists in the Social-Democratic Party of Russia, as well as in the 2nd International, especially in the German social-democracy, long before the war, approximately beginning with 1903 & 1904 when the Bolshevik group was formed in Russia and when leftist elements appeared for the first time in German Social Democracy". (Stalin: *Works*, Albanian edition, vol. 13, p. 83).

The firm struggle of principle by Lenin and other revolutionary communists to smash the opportunists and traitors of the 2nd International ideologically and politically, led to further major victories of Marxism-Leninism and of the world revolutionary movement, it was crowned with the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, with the setting up of new revolutionary parties of the new type, and with the failure of the 2nd International and its replacement by the 3rd Communist

International.

Today too the betrayal of the modern revisionists, who have departed for good from Marxism-Leninism, from the principles of the revolutionary proletarian party and from the vital interests of the revolutionary proletariat and of the broad masses of workers, has met—and could not help meet—with the firm resistance and struggle of principle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and of revolutionary communists. This is a battle of major historical significance, a battle which concerns the future of the world revolutionary and liberation movement, a battle in defense of Marxism-Leninism, against revisionism, in defense of proletarian internationalism against nationalism and chauvinism, in defense of the socialist order against liberal bourgeois degeneracy, in defense of the revolutionary communist parties against social-democratic degeneration, in defense of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist parties, of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp, against revisionist splitters.

Just as the classic writers of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the communist movement teaches us, the only right way to respond to the challenge of the revisionists is to muster all the efforts of the Marxist-Leninists for a determined uncompromising struggle against the revisionist renegades. The blows and pressures of the revisionists, foreign and internal, cannot be warded off by pursuing a vacillating centrist line, nor by preoccupying ourselves with maintaining a false and formal unity alone. The party cannot be rescued by sobs and sighs nor should it be sacrificed for the sake of saving the "prestige" of any one, at a time when this "prestige" is being unscrupulously utilized to bury the great cause of the working class and of socialism.

N. Khrushchev's group has led the leaders of many communist parties into a blind alley. He has urged them to ignore the revolutionary past of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of their own parties, through false slanders against Stalin, he has put the old revolutionary leaders who have a brilliant past to their credit, in an embarrassing position. Many of them fell a victim to Khrushchev's line of peace and coexistence, which has now been clearly proved to be an anti-Leninist line, a line of

getting closer to and collaborating with the enemies of peace and socialism—the imperialists. The tragic thing about some of them is that although they have got wise to a number of things, although they see that the line of N. Khrushchev's group is a revisionist line fraught with errors, nevertheless they do not find enough Marxist courage to tell themselves: Halt! They do not conduct themselves towards this matter as it befits them, as revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. They try to save the party in the revisionist line which is mortal to it. They try feebly to justify this road, of which they nurture doubts and are not in complete agreement, sometimes even talking in narrow circles about differences they have with N. Khrushchev. But that's all they do, they go no further, they do not take heart and bring these matters up for discussion in their parties in a Marxist-Leninist way. They agree to taking up and discussing materials sent to them by N. Khrushchev, but they are afraid to discuss in their party documents and written materials of other parties.

A big struggle takes place in their innermost conscience. N. Khrushchev's group too, are at work; they have won over many adherents in the leadership of many other parties, who exert pressure, blackmail and other maneuvers to subject their parties to the conductor's baton. Following in N. Khrushchev's tracks many communist party leaders have entered into a blind ally with their political stand. It is of course right to ward off the danger that comes to world peace from western German militarism and from the imperialist Bonn-Paris axis, but it is altogether incorrect and anti-Marxist to give up the struggle against imperialism which is the main force of war and aggression, the bastion of world reaction, the greatest international gendarme and exploiter, the greatest enemy of the peoples of the world, as the 1960 Moscow Declaration has called it, under this pretext. It is correct and Marxist to fight against "personal power" and its consequences, but it is altogether anti-Marxist to follow blindly N. Khrushchev's pro-American policy and not to take advantage of the split that is becoming ever deeper in the imperialist camp. We know why this attitude is maintained. Of course, the bandmaster has struck that tune. But eventually, if this 'conductory' flirts with "personal power" for the adventuresome, anti-Marxist intentions, what will happen? Or is the bandmaster training other musicians to open the

way to new adventures?

The revisionist camp is in a critical situation. Its ship has split, water is gushing in and it is foundering. N. Khrushchev's group are trying their best to avert the catastrophe. To sidetrack further exposure they are raising a hue and cry about stopping polemics which they themselves started and why they formerly considered fully justifiable, necessary and Leninist. But under present conditions, to stop polemics would mean to every true Marxist and revolutionary to join with the traitors, to create facilities for them to distort and destroy Marxism-Leninism. In his attempt to mislead people, N. Khrushchev swears by unity. But the true revolutionaries and consistent communists will not be deceived by adventurers, demagogues and splitters! Revolutionary communists observe with fidelity great Lenin's teachings, which say: "Unity is a great issue and a major slogan. But the cause of the workers demands *unity of Marxists* not unity of Marxists with opponents and those who distort Marxism" (Lenin: *Works*, vol. 20, p. 211, Russian edition). Now it has become clear that N. Khrushchev and his group represent just these opponents and distorters of Marxism in the present communist movement. N. Khrushchev, on his part, continues title work splitting by diverse forms, through regional meetings, bi-partite pow-wows, dictating new instructions and tasks with a view to compromising and leading over parties and their leaders further ahead towards revisionism and betrayal. It is high time for everyone to stop and think, not to obey the "conductor's baton", to offer resistance to the traitors in order to defend Marxism-Leninism, the socialist camp and the Soviet Union, in order to defend the great revolutionary cause of the working class.

It behooves all communists to muster all efforts and fight the imperialists headed by the American imperialists. And the struggle against modern revisionism is a constituent part of the struggle against imperialism, for it is the offspring and ally of imperialism, the manifestation in theory and practice of bourgeois ideology, imperialism's "Trojan horse" in the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Great Lenin's words sound more contemporary than ever today when he said that without waging a firm and consistent struggle against

opportunism and revisionism, no successful struggle can be waged against imperialism. Without exposing and smashing revisionism, no revolution can be effected, no socialism and no communism can be upheld and successfully built.

We are fully confident that, just as in the past, the present fight against modern revisionists, headed by N. Khrushchev's group, will be crowned with the further success of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism and of the international revolutionary movement. The revisionists will not succeed in the turning historical revolutionary process backwards. We are witnesses to the fact that the revisionists are being more and more exposed and discredited in their own countries as well as in the international communist movement, they are meeting with defeat after defeat, while the ranks of the parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism and those of the revolutionary communists are increasing and becoming stronger, their fight against the modern revisionists more and more intensive. The complete defeat of revisionism and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism are inevitable.

Literature and Art Should Serve to Temper People with Class Consciousness for the Construction of Socialism

Closing Speech at Fifteenth Plenum of the CC of the PLA¹

26 October, 1965

Dear comrades,

I was in two minds whether or not to speak at this meeting, and the cause of this hesitation was that the report of the Political Bureau delivered by Comrade Ramiz [Alia], as well as the very good and mobilizing contributions of the comrades have analysed the major problems with which we are concerned today, have examined in an all-sided way and subjected them to a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis. Hence, in view of what has already been said what I am going to say will not be of any special importance.

However, allow me to re-emphasize some of the ideal that were expressed either in the report or in the discussion.

In one of his writings Marx says:

" . . . we are not going to come out before the world as doctrinaires with a new ready-made creed: here is the truth, fall on your knees before it! We are developing new principles for the world, which we draw from its existing principles. We do not say to the world: 'Stop the struggle; all struggle is in vain,' we provide it with the true slogan of the struggle. We are simply showing the world the real reasons it is fighting for, whereas consciousness is something that the world has to gain, regardless of whether or not it wants this."

These words of Marx should inspire us also in the development of literature, the arts, and culture in general.

It is not consciousness that determines being but it is being that determines consciousness. Looking at the question from this Marxist-Leninist angle we can understand the magnitude, variety, as well as the difficulties of the leading role of the Party in the tempering of consciousness, of consciousness as a direct

¹ This Plenum discussed the situation of literature and the arts in the PR of Albania and gave orientations for their further development.

derivative of the struggle and the efforts of our people.

From this stems the great role which literature and the arts should play in the inculcation and development of this consciousness, closely linked with the period we are going through, with the efforts, the struggles for the construction of socialism, with the struggle on a world scale against imperialism, the bourgeois ideology and its variant, modern revisionism, etc.

The consciousness of man and that of society is not something, petrified, unchanging, formed and developed once and for all. It undergoes positive and negative changes, it alters in accord with the material-economic forces, with the class struggle, the revolutionary situations, the relations between the antagonistic and non antagonistic classes, with the ideas which inspire the class struggle, the revolution, and so on.

We say "class consciousness," "proletarian consciousness," "bourgeois consciousness," "capitalist consciousness," we say, "he has a clear conscience" or "a troubled and heavy conscience," and so on. This means that in life and struggle people do not display a standard consciousness; consciousness reflects different world outlooks, which derive from the developing economic situation. But there is more to it than this, although, as Engels says, this is the main thing, the decisive thing that opens the way. It is also dependent on other social factors and on the superstructure of every economic system, because, on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism, the prevailing ideas in one or another country, in one or another historical epoch, are those of the ruling class. Both the feudal class and the bourgeoisie have each tried to proclaim the "universality" of their ideas, to create, to mould the consciousness of their class, in order to prop up and perpetuate their state power. However, at the same time, their economic system, their reactionary ideology, their class consciousness also created their grave-digger — the proletariat, with its proletarian ideology, with its proletarian consciousness, with its social-economic system — socialism, with its science of the vanguard, of revolutions, the class struggle, and with its own ideological and political superstructure.

Socialism has transcended the borders of one single state,

the imperialist bourgeois system is heading for its demise, Marxism-Leninism is enlightening, inspiring, and leading mankind to revolution, to socialism and communism.

By going through struggles and revolutions. today our Albania has become a socialist state, where the working class is in power, where our Marxist-Leninist Party is successfully and unfalteringly guiding the future of the people towards socialism and communism.

In such conditions the tasks of the Party, and those of literature and the arts in particular, in tempering the people with working class consciousness, with the morality of the working class, in order to go ahead successfully with the construction of socialism, are glorious, but by no means simple. If we do not examine the developments taking place in our country from the unerring angle of Marxism-Leninism, as the Party teaches us, if in our analysis and interpretation of these processes we are not guided by the compass of Marxism Leninism which the Party has put in our hands, not only will we make mistakes in our judgement of things, but the changes and progress will be made more slowly and with greater difficulty.

Albania embarked on the road of the construction of socialism after a long process, after many efforts, revolutions, struggles with the external and internal enemies, a process which has its roots deep in the ancient history of the people: economic processes — economic struggles, processes — political struggles, processes of ideas struggles, literary processes — literary-political struggles, etc.

All these processes tempered the Albanian people, armed them to resist the enemies, to fight them, to fight the feudals, the bourgeoisie, reaction, fascism, and finally, to take state power into their own hands. The thinking of our people advanced, their patriotic, political, and moral consciousness was awoken and underwent positive tempering. Herein lies the key to the victories of the Party, herein lies its mastery, in that it knew how to reckon with these things in their revolutionary dynamism and development.

But it would be a mistake to think that after every process

and every victory, the past and especially the old world outlook, which is expressed in customs and prejudices, are wiped out at once, completely, and without any danger of their returning. It would be naive to think that the old retrogressive world outlook and prejudices in the consciousness of men, in the mode of working and thinking, in the way of life, would be wiped out automatically, parallel with the economic and political transformations which make the greatest and most rapid strides forward.

Nevertheless, it must be understood correctly that the new revolutionary men have not fallen from the heavens, but have been prepared in the new economic and political conditions. Hence the material basis for such a transformation exists and the ideology of the Party that inspires them also exists. We must push this basis forward and from it we must fight the shortcomings, mistakes, the remnants and impediments from the not-too-distant past, which show up in one way or another in the people's consciousness and their daily struggle. Thus, under the leadership of the Party, the energies of the entire people should be mobilized for this struggle, for the new life, for a better, more bountiful and more beautiful life and future.

I want to turn to the concrete reality and to emphasize with what a sacred duty and a heavy burden of responsibility our Party and people have charged you writers, poets, artists, composers, painters, sculptors, etc. Like everyone else, you, too, must carry out these tasks conscientiously, with your struggle and toil. Your valuable and delicate work must be inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, because only in this way and by basing yourselves on the people, on their struggle and efforts, will your militant and revolutionary spirit display itself and burst out in your creative works and activity, and thus you will become educators of the masses who accomplish great works.

The work is extending, the level of the masses is rising, their demands are increasing in quantity, quality and range, therefore the Party and you, all of us, are faced with heavy collective and individual tasks, and we must make great efforts to fulfil them.

If we advance with the people, live and struggle together with them, if we know how to make good and proper use of the numerous material and moral means that the Party and the people's state power have put at our disposal, the literature and the arts in our country will continue to advance with great and unprecedented vigor. Among the people we should find our inspiration, the notes of the song, the rhythm of the dance, the purity of the language, the tempo of work, the inspiration to creative work, the example of heroism and sacrifice, the lofty virtues of the people's modesty, of the people's justice, and so on and so forth. The basis of creative activity in the arts and literature, as in everything else, should be the people.

Whether to build a colossal hydro-power station on a big river to provide the people with light and to make the river irrigate the fields and create prosperity for the people, or to allow it to flow how and where it will, to create ponds and marshes, or to flood the wheat fields, depends on us, on people.

Of course, the Party has followed the former road and has done great things. But it is known that the building of our hydro-power stations, and the draining and irrigation of our land, at one time either marshy or parched, are by no means mere fantasy, nor have they been created by our people merely with dreams and imagination. These people, once ignorant and today learned, have tramped all over the country, have worked and lived in water and mud, with mosquitoes eating them; others have laid down their lives while working to build the dams, just as in our beautiful legends about the building of bridges and castles.

Hence, when the Party advises our people, and particularly the writers and artists, that they must equip themselves with broad culture, must learn Marxism-Leninism, must go to the people and work in their midst, become inspired and create there, this is a decisive issue. The work should be conceived in close connection with the aim and the reality. And this reality is at the base, not within the four walls of your study, nor is it the brainchild of some mountain-top god. The head adapts, harmonizes and beautifies it from every aspect.

There are some who think, and think mistakenly, that by

making a flying visit to the base, by sitting in a café, cigarette in hand, in order to see the various types whom they want to put in their work passing in the street, or who think that by walking through some factory or plant, they have gathered the necessary material and go home, where they start to write superficially, and sometimes entirely back-to-front, about those things and people that they "photographed" in passing. Thus the world of such a person is restricted by the narrow petty bourgeois concept of the role of the writer, and he thinks that his head is capable of doing great things. But can it be said that the engineers of the hydro-power stations or those who drain the marshes do not work with their heads, and that the writers alone have this privilege? No! But the engineer, quite correctly, works with the people, studies the environment, the nature, draws plans, checks them again with the people, with the best experience of others, encounters difficulties, struggles with them till he overcomes them. But should not our writer and artist work in this way, too? Then why do we have to point this out to him so many times?

Fortunately, we do not have to point this out to all, but there are some to whom it is necessary to mention it, because such individuals not only lack any correct concept of work among the people and with the people, but are the only ones and the very first to make claims for themselves.

Many people have an inclination to be a writer or poet, but not all of them can become writers and poets. To be a writer or a poet does not mean just to have an inclination, to link phrases imaginatively or to create rhyming or non-rhyming verses, it is not sufficient just to have gone through a special school, where you have learned the art and technique of this skill. No! I think that this is not enough.

You cannot become a real writer simply because you have talent, if you do not develop this talent, this means, by learning, if you do not work on it, test it, and hammer it into shape on the great anvil of the people and if you do not study a great deal, and first of all, the social and economic sciences. Only in this way will the writers provide the working class and the peasantry with worthwhile works.

I said that the writers and artists should study science but they may ask, where will we find these scientific works to study? In our country not everything is prepared and ready to hand. Many things are prepared, well or with mistakes, others have to be studied and written, have to be studied even while preparing your novel. There are many facts and documents in existence, not only of our National Liberation War and the construction of socialism but also of pre-Liberation times. However, these have to be searched out, studied and exploited by all, and not by the method of fantasy, but scientifically. You must not say lightly, "I have experienced these things, so I know them and do not need to refer to the documents," or "My grandmother told me these things as we sat around the fire-place and I can write about the life of our people in the past from my own imagination."

Such a work cannot be considered serious. A serious work is one which deals competently, in a scientific way, with all aspects of the particular problem, which carries the problems through to the end, which analyses the process correctly and in a realistic manner, makes it completely understandable, and brings out properly, along with their good and negative aspects, the circumstances that brought this process about, the role of the main operative forces and actors of this process. Then the work becomes vivid, educational, arouses enthusiasm and opens perspectives; the heroes also come out as living people and fight, not with the moon, but with reality, with the difficulties of life.

The range of themes is extremely wide, extremely inspiring to those who want and know how to write and create. The themes are just as numerous, with as great a variety as our life, as the struggle and efforts of our Party and people.

I do not want to repeat anything of what was said in the report delivered by Comrade Ramiz in regard to the range of themes and our objective of tempering the new man of the new socialist Albania, of inspiring him with the heroism of the National Liberation War, with the heroism and the sacrifices of the people and the Party, with the ideas of the partisans, with their aspirations and dreams, in order to inspire and educate him with the rich, exalting, living reality of the construction of socialism in our country, this period which is one of the most brilliant in the

history of our people.

Beautiful works have been written about these periods, and an endless series of hundreds of others will be written, which will perpetuate the majestic work of the Party and the people. The main stress should be put here. The men of the new Albania, who under the Party's leadership, in the course of their work and struggle are performing miracles, should experience this reality intensively, should understand it properly, in order to go armed into the coming battles, which will no doubt be difficult, and which will certainly be won by our people. These two periods are an inexhaustible source for our writers and artists, they are the great base of inspiration, and I shall say no more about this. However, I want to re-emphasize the importance which the past epochs of our people have for our literature and arts. I am thinking, especially, of the romantic epoch of the Renaissance, without going back to ancient history.

The history of our people is an indivisible whole. For purposes of study we may divide it into periods, epochs, on the basis of economic-social development, on the basis of wars and revolutions with arms and pen, etc., but the history of our people is a single whole, and as such it should be made the subject of an all-sided scientific, literary, artistic study by all our people of all fields of creative historical and literary studies, and these should complement one another.

The history of our people must be a subject for study not just by historians, but also by economists, lawyers, philosophers, sociologists, ethnographers, linguists, composers, writers, painters, sculptors, architects, critics in various fields, etc., etc. Without all-sided, detailed, careful work, unearthing every document, every legend, every custom, while studying and interpreting them correctly, in their dialectical materialist development, we are not going to have the literary works we need. These broad fields of the history of our people are not separated by walls, which require that the jurist, for example, should do his work first so that the writer can then take over and base himself on this.

Let us take a concrete example, suppose I am a writer and

have in my head a theme about the pre-Liberation period of Albania. There are two ways I can choose, either to indulge in fantasy, simply relying on what I have heard from my mother or grandmother about the sufferings, struggle and efforts of our people, or to take these things into account while making concrete studies.

Where should I carry out these studies? First, among the people; the people are the greatest book, even greater than grandmother's; then in the archival documents of the regime of that time. Do they exist? Yes, they do, but they are covered in dust. These documents are the shame of the tyrannical regime of Zog, but there you find reflected the struggle, the grievances, the law court records of our people, you find reflected there the political, economic and social situation, the oppressive measures, the usury, the plunder, the brutality of the regime, etc., etc.

How can a writer fail to make use of them, how can he wait till the jurists carry out and complete their studies? The writer ought to knead the dough with his own hands, otherwise he has Chosen the easiest, but least fruitful way. With this I want to bring to our writers' attention that there is a gap in our pre-Liberation literature for the reasons we know. It falls to us to fill this gap, to cover it with realist works, which will bring out the continuity of the life, the struggle, the work and thinking of the Albanian people even in those dark periods of their existence. If we fail to do this, we shall be making a mistake and the coming generations, who have not lived in that period, will not know the past of our country and people properly, and will not treasure the efforts of our people and Party to mount the difficult steps one by one, as they ought to.

But there is an important question we should always bear in mind. that the emphasis laid an the values of the past of our people should not create even the slightest confusion in the minds of the people of our time of socialism. It is our duty to cleanse the treasures of our national culture of their bad aspects, and these treasures should serve the socialist order we are building. We should bring out very clearly those things which help and not those which hinder the development of our society today. The aim of the Party is to create new values. Our revolution demands new heroes appropriate to the time, the efforts, and the aims of our

period. Not all the deeds and attitudes of the heroes of our people's past are in conformity with the requirements and ideals of the people of our epoch.

There is also another reason. We carried out the revolution, now we are building socialism, but the past, in various forms, is a burden on our backs. In order to combat the negative consequences of the past, we have to explain to the younger generation the origin, the reasons that caused the development of these things. Our fathers and our generation have experienced those situations, but the others have not. However, in this direction the page is not entirely blank. Some valuable novels have been written about pre-Liberation times. The novels of the epoch of socialism, too, can speak about the past. We must not neglect these periods and must enrich our literature and arts.

Literature and the arts reflect the existing social relations. This is true of all periods, from Homer and the Greek society of that time to capitalism, from the Enlighteners to Gorky, Mayakovsky and the Great October Revolution.

Our new literature and arts, national in form and socialist in content, follow this course, too. Many beautiful, realist works have been produced by our people... When you read them, hear them, or see them, you are seeing and feeling the pulse of the life and struggle of our people. The talent of our writers and artists is developing successfully and advancing with their efforts to learn, to study, and to link themselves with the people.

A great inspiration is urging onward a new generation of wonderful writers and artists, who are winning renown and becoming dear to the people. Our Party, through its work and maternal care, must protect, educate and encourage these young people with all its means.

We must encourage the new talents. To do otherwise would be a mistake, but without checking their impetus, we must educate the new talents in a correct way. We must teach them not to become conceited over a couple of poems they have written.

Let me tell you something that happened. Some years ago, in the paper of a house of culture, I read some simple poems

by a young girl, a teacher. I said to myself: her verses are not without an idea. I lost sight of her, but some months ago I received a letter from her, the tone of which seemed to me very brash and arrogant in regard of the Publishing House and the people of education, who do not publish her "works" allegedly because of jealousy, and so on. Well, I thought, youth is youth, and we can forgive its impetuosity, and I advised the comrades to keep close to her, to make things clear to her and help her. Later I received another letter from her, full of anger and arrogance in regard to our publishing organs. In a word, she is just about demanding that "they put up a statue to her." Such things are not good, but, alter all, she is a young girl and we should be indulgent; but I want to teil of another instance, this time about an elderly man, who was in the War and has written some verses to the rifle. They are some three separate poems without any great value, but the Publishing House has published them in a booklet of 8 or 10 pages. Somebody made a serious criticism of it. Apparently this friend considered his poetical "rifle" insulted by this criticism and wrote to the Central Committee that measures should be taken against the critic, who, he claims made this criticism out of spite, "because — listen! when he was my student, I gave him a bad mark for his composition!"

From these and other examples of this kind it should be understood that to write for the people and publish for the people is one of the most serious and delicate things. Those who write should keep in mind Marx's idea when he said to Engels:

"Nothing has been, or ever will be, published from my hand that is not perfect."

But there has only been one Marx.

However, we should feel that when we set about writing for the people we are doing a great service, but the people want us to be modest. We should also understand that the Party and the state have set up the printing houses and the press, not to publish any rubbish somebody chooses to produce, even though he may be an old writer who has produced good stuff in the past, but has now run out of ideas and produces worthless things. Everything should be examined with a critical eye by the critics, the

publishing houses and other enterprises, without bias (because, unfortunately, there are cases of bias). The Party and the organs of state power should be vigilant. I am of the opinion that we should not wait for masterpieces to be turned out, and then print; by no means, because we would soon run out; but neither should the press be used by a few people, and fortunately there are not many of them, for their own financial profit, or to spread ideological confusion or valueless works. There are such petty-bourgeois elements, who push themselves into the limelight, who with their ill-formed or petty-bourgeois ideological and political baggage, distort the ideas of the proletariat.

Engels severely criticized Karl Liebknecht for having allowed such people to penetrate into the party and its press. We should not think that we have escaped such unhealthy elements. These we must cure in a correct way and not by patting them on the back.

Marx said:

"Of course, the writer must earn money to live and write, but in no instance should he live and write to earn money."²

And we should not think that we have escaped these unhealthy elements, either. These, too, we must cure and teach how to go straight.

The Party's policy in the field of ad and literature has been and is clear to everybody. It will always give powerful support to the good works, the correctly inspired works, those that educate, mobilize and open perspectives. Mistakes are made and will be made, as happens with every work. They should be corrected; criticism should be constructive and not denigrating, and he who is criticized should respond, not with petty-bourgeois pride, which keeps all its sins to itself, but with an open heart.

With those who are confused in their works from the ideological, political and artistic point of view, in content or in form, it is the duty of the Party to correct them with patience. I agree with the criticisms, which were made in a correct spirit and with good aims, about two or three plays and some works of prose

2 Ibid., 76.

or poetry. I know that their authors have honestly admitted their mistakes and I am sure that they will not repeat them. I am convinced of this because they are sons of the Party, in whom the Party has confidence, because they are talented writers, determined to serve their people on the road of the construction of socialist society and socialist culture, and their mistakes can be considered momentary ones. The Party will look after them, will extend its hand to them, as always.

But when it happens that it pleases someone to produce mistaken things, in bad taste, which nobody needs, he has no reason to complain about the Party; it will neither publish nor sell them. Let whoever so desires go on producing for his own bookshelf, and we shall not disturb him so long as he does not become socially dangerous.

In regard to literature and the arts which are developing in our country, as in regard to the other issues, there are not two moralities, but only one, the proletarian morality of the working class. The ideas expressed in the works should conform to this morality. A work devoid of ideas and of this morality may occasionally appear to be of some limited interest from the viewpoint of its artistic skill, but from the social ideological viewpoint it cannot have any value. Therefore we should always bear in mind that the maintenance of a stand in literature and the arts is part of the political struggle waged by our Marxist-Leninist Party, in complete unity of thought and action with its people.

In the report and the discussion of it, there were many correct things said about folk music and folklore. I am not going to enlarge on these important problems and the principles guiding us in our work, but I shall underline some ideas.

Folklore should not be identified narrowly with folk music: Folklore is not only folk music; music is only one of the expressions or manifestations of folklore. Folklore covers a very wide range, as wide as the life of the people. Folklore is the song, the lahuta,³ the pipe, the drum, the folk songs of Labëria, Myzeqe, Devoll, Dibra, Shkodra, etc. On the other hand, neither the popular satire, verse, or fables, nor the Weddings, mournings,

3 K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, vol, 1, p. 381, 2nd Russian edition.

joys, or sorrows, nor the multi-coloured costumes with all their variations in cut and style, the popular handicraft with its national flavour, can be divorced from folklore, any more than the customs, the written and unwritten laws, etc., etc. can be divorced from it. In my opinion, if we fail to understand the problem in this way, if we destroy its basis, do what we may to preserve our folk music, we shall not achieve this. In order to preserve our folk music, the basis for it, or the main parts of this basis, must be preserved. The improvement of folk music should proceed parallel with the improvement of the basis for it.

To put it more concretely. We know how all our great folklore has been developed and enriched. Whole books should begin to be written about it, for this is a priceless asset. We have set up a Folklore Institute and think that everything has been done. The Institute is working, but rarely does anyone go there to make a thorough study of those valuable things it has collected, not to mention the music and art schools, whose programs, if I am not mistaken, deal very little with our folklore but almost entirely with classical and modern music.

What occurs in the majority of cases? The banal verses of some poets, to whom an article of the *Zëri i Popullit* gave a well-deserved thrashing, are preferred by our musicians and around them they compose their music. If someone were to tell these musicians to have a look at the popular verses of Uncle Selim from Brataj, they might smile ironically and even deride him, saying: "He is not in his senses." But the people themselves have put the verses of the Uncle Selims to music and have been singing them for centuries, those verses which you "boast about" in principle, but which you scorn in reality. There is inconsistency here, you say one thing and do another. With this I do not mean that you should not write beautiful new verses and set them to music.

Let us take the question of musical instruments. On the one hand there is talk about the beauty, the variety of folk music, on the other the houses of culture are filled with accordions, guitars, mandolins, whereas you will find few of the pipes, clarinets, tambourines, drums, lahutas, bagpipes etc. with which the people have sung and which are a great foundation for our folk

music in the houses of culture, and especially among the people. I am not in the least against new instruments and the best of the new music. On the contrary, but I am also for the old instruments, for producing and spreading them among the people because through the centuries the people have sung with them about their joys and sorrows, the struggle they have waged, and they want to sing with them and will continue to do so.

Such an incorrect action has brought its own consequences. The new instruments have spread the modern songs, to which I am not opposed, but willy-nilly, there is a danger that they will gradually take the place of the folk songs, and this would be a great mistake. They have led to the spreading of European dances, to which I am not opposed if they are kept in proportion, but we must not eliminate the folk dances, because this, too, would be a great mistake. We teach the people who graduate from the schools, whom we send to the houses and centres of culture, to organize modern choirs and a number of standard things, but they are not taught to inspire the workers to sing folk songs, either when they are alone, or when they are at work, to put their heads together and sing in pairs, as is the custom with our people. Indeed they forget that the people love to sing, that they do sing, because their life, their traditions and customs demand it.

The folk songs and dances go well and in unity with the jokes, the marvellous humour and the costumes. But, little by little, we are eliminating them, forgetting the jokes and popular humour, displaying these costumes in museums, and what is worse, we are doing this in an administrative way, through orders and campaigns (I am not referring to either the baggy Turkish trousers, which are not national and should be put away in museums or at the bottom of clothes chests, or the ugly woollen breeches worn by women in some districts).

The Party has been right to say that money should not be spent uselessly on folk costumes, that people should go to work in plain clothes. But what harm does it do us if a girl wishes to dress in a beautiful national costume when she marries, or a man from Dibra wants to wear a pair of the traditional trousers? This does no harm; on the contrary, it is all to the good, because it helps

preserve our traditions. We are not ashamed of our national costumes. On the contrary we are proud of them, and they are beautiful. But he will spend a lot of money, they say. That is his business. Let him reckon up his own budget. After all, why should we interfere?

The Party's advice is that there should not be great useless expenditure on funerals, weddings, dowries and other such manifestations of life. This instruction is correct, but in many cases it is understood and applied wrongly. One may ask, what connection has this with folklore? It has a great deal to do with it, because our folklore and our customs have been developed and enriched during these important events in the life of men. There are also some bad customs that come under this heading, and the Party has issued instructions that they must be eliminated, but not to prohibit the fine customs of the people. To advise someone not to involve himself in heavy expenditure when his son gets married is correct, but to instruct him how many people to invite, or advise him not to invite some friends and relatives to sing, dance and enjoy themselves is a mistake. To combat the idea of a dowry for a daughter, as it was understood and practised in the past, is absolutely right, and this fight must be continued, but it is wrong to prohibit a parent from seeing to it that his daughter has some clothes, a bed, and some other things. But in this latter instance, when such a fuss is made about these things that every girl feels she has to bring her husband a dowry, or otherwise he will not marry her, as actually occurred in an ugly incident in Korça, this must be combated.

But how can we fight these evils among the many fine customs of our people? With administrative measures? No! They must be fought through educative work, good examples and well-considered actions towards various manifestations in life. These evils can be combated through our mansided folklore itself. The people have a great deal of humour in their songs, they make many pointed and witty jokes which make you laugh, but educate you, too. The variety shows can do a great deal in this direction...

The institutions and the works they perform must be of the people and for the people, express the struggle of the people for the construction of socialism, their finest and purest sentiments

and aspirations, must follow the efforts of the people step by step, inspire them correctly, open up new perspectives and be in the vanguard.

If our institutions are to achieve this, the authors and actors must live with the people and with the line of the Party, must know and feel the problems of the people, their joys and sorrows, their victories and defeats. This reality can be neither written nor expressed on the stage on the basis of formal lessons alone. The school teaches actors, musicians, etc. a great deal, but life, with its toil and struggle, teaches them other, very valuable and inspiring things. The play, the author, the director give the actors their instructions, but neither the author nor the best director can teach them what the life of the people, their feelings and experience teach them. Life and the revolutionary struggle full of the vigour and enthusiasm of the people and the Party are the most talented authors and directors there can be.

However talented the artists and the writers may be, I would never use the bourgeois term "stars." No, compared with the talent and the creative skill of our people they can never be "stars." Therefore, if these "stars" lose contact with the earth, they lose all their brilliance.

The repertoires of our opera and ballet theatres should be simple and understandable to the people. This does not mean that they should be "banal and devoid of ideas."

In a simple presentation the ideas are expressed more clearly and fluently, like the clear waters of a mountain stream.

A complicated, intricate and exaggerated presentation, in most cases, hides unclear, equivocal ideas.

The people need clear ideas, not obscure ones, therefore, the Party will support the former and not the latter.

In our musical and theatrical works the people should be presented in struggle and in work, just as they are, with their noble sentiments, their heroic character, their modesty, their fine qualities and their shortcomings, and these shortcomings should be pointed out because they must be corrected, but they should not be presented for purposes of denigration or disparagement or for

the sake of some evil decadent, revisionist theories, by means of which a few aesthetes do not fail to brag and beat the air in order to show how learned, profound and talented they are or in what an allegedly independent spirit they go about their creative work.

To imagine, invent. to conjure up, even with the greatest skill, non-existent situations, unreal characters and types, out of a possibly fertile though unhealthy imagination inspired either by excessive reading of foreign dramatists, without any sort of critical attitude or Marxist-Leninist dialectical method, or by pseudo-progressive, or Freudian philosophical trends, are things which our people do not like, which the Party will not permit and will combat as harmful to the people's culture.

The wrong outlook of some authors that "everything they write should be put on the stage without delay," should be rejected. The good ones will certainly be put on the stage, while the rotten ones will be thrown into the waste paper basket. Spiritual food is far more delicate than physical food; that is to say, good, fresh meat is eaten, stinking meat is thrown out.

The theatre, the ballet, the variety shows, the opera cannot be at the service of those who are sick in the head, but of those whose heads are in order and whose hearts beat in unison with the heart of the people.

The overwhelming majority of the repertoires should comprise popular, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Albanian subjects. Foreign pieces should be somewhat less and be subjected to the most careful selection, not on account of xenophobia, because we know that xenophobia will undoubtedly lead to self-isolation and conceit.

In no way should we cut ourselves off from the best of the world repertoire, but however good it may be, it cannot be understood except by a limited section of intellectuals of extensive culture. The masses do not understand it properly and do not enjoy it, or else we make them dream outside their objective reality, if during the performance, a critical dialectical attitude is not maintained and the stress is not put on its positive aspects.

Some may say, "But we must make our people acquainted

with foreign reality and the finest foreign creative works, too." This is indispensable. I am in complete agreement and do not reject this idea. Therefore I say that our people should be given a taste of this healthy dish, but it should be only one among many healthy and delicious dishes from the Albanian cuisine. Some may say, "But we have no repertoires." What reasoning! We must create them! At first, they will not be perfect, but that is something everyone has gone through. If we proceed from the idea of staging foreign ballets, because we have none of our own, and sometimes stage unsuitable ones, we have solved nothing but have created a grave situation. Such an idea is incorrect, is not realistic, because our composers have produced truly beautiful, praise-worthy national operas, our ballet masters have staged choreographic works with folk motifs over which one can enthuse, our soloists sing folk songs and songs of the war that fill one with joy and inspiration and the authors of novels, plays or film scripts have produced works of great value to the people.

Therefore, in order to create something good, which will serve the people and the Party in this great battle for socialism, we must not choose the easiest way, but the most arduous, full of toil and struggle.

I have said already that we may also stage foreign works; possibly our authors, too, will be inspired by foreign subjects, but only in the right way. Always, before commencing work on any undertaking, they must ask themselves the question, "Does this thing I am doing serve the great cause of the people?" One's fantasy, imagination, ought to work, but not in order to create fantastic things.

I will give two examples of a differentiated choice of compositions:

Some weeks ago, my friend, the well-known composer Kristo Kono, sent me his new composition "Prometheus." He had told me about this opera in a talk I had with him on music and compositions. I wished Kono success in composing his opera even though it was a subject that many well-known composers have tackled. But since he had started work on it, and since I, for my part, consider this theme positive, as I shall explain in a minute, I

made some suggestions to him. Kono's composition may be beautiful, and this is what we hope, and then we shall say that his efforts have not been wasted, because, as you know, Aeschylus made Prometheus, the hero of mythology, a symbol of the fighter for the happiness of mankind. Whoever has read "Prometheus" will remember the words of the hero to Hermes, the servant of the gods:

"Be sure, I would never want to exchange my miserable fate for your servitude, because I would rather be bound with chains to this rock than be the obedient lackey of Zeus...

In a word, I hate all Gods."⁴

Marx said:

"Prometheus is the noblest saint and martyr in the philosophical calendar."⁵

However, I told Kono that in the history of our people there are many heroic subjects which ought to inspire him, therefore instead of going back to mythology, he should compose something beautiful and purely Albanian, beautiful and inspiring not only to our own people, but also to people outside the borders of Albania. He gave me his word and I believe that he will keep it.

On the other hand, some days ago I read in the paper that our ballet ensemble, in preparing Performances for the people, had not found any subject other than Strauss waltzes, arranged in a special composition, allegedly with a theme of proletarian morality, that has nothing to do with the crazy epoch of these waltzes. What are the Strauss waltzes? An excitant, the expression of an epoch, a symptom of the transformation of the society existing at the end of the 19th century. This coincides with the decline of a regime of unrestrained luxury for the bourgeoisie, an epoch of pleasure-seeking, and which is always a disturbed epoch — the "Blue Danube" is not blue, but turbid if we analyse the social and political situation of the time when that waltz was composed. But the music is beautiful. This is an undeniable fact, and I am not against putting this and other waltzes on the radio, but for our producers, together with the ballet ensemble, to work

4 Aeschylus, *Tragedies*, "Prometheus Bound," p. 71, Tirana, 1950 (Alb. ed.).

5 K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion*, p. 12, Tirana, 1970 (Alb. ed.).

for months on end to elaborate a performance with these waltzes, this is of no benefit politically in the education of the masses, hence is useless effort.

Why do our people need this ballet? What inspiration does it bring them? None at all, I would say.

On this occasion, we must face the question of how we should study and utilize the experience of the foreign world in the fields of literature and music, the fine arts, theatre and cinematography.

Should we profit from world experience in these directions? It would not be Marxist if we were to say no, but it would also be anti-Marxist if we were to become slaves to it and gulp down everything the foreigners have produced, without a thorough critical analysis and a proper classification.

Every work, of every genre and period, has its good aspects and also has its bad ones. We must choose what is good. Each of these good aspects has its own technique, ideas, art of expression, sound, etc. But should we take these and adopt them en bloc, with the passion and feelings that do not recognize reason, that do not recognize the epoch, the social situation, the ideas, tastes, and inclinations of people and their struggle and efforts? This, of course, would be a great and very dangerous absurdity.

Every creative work, in whatever epoch, has been tendentially inspired by the ideas of the time, by the social situation of that epoch. Many works have resisted the passage of time, have foreseen the future, prepared it, but they cannot be considered perfect in their entirety and models for every period, for every epoch. There are people who are passionately devoted to certain of their idols and who, with non-Marxist judgment, seek to introduce these idols everywhere, to adopt them for every period, to copy them in place and out of place. To dress them up in some garments of our time and pass them off as socialist works.

Writers, poets, composers, etc. must read. Study, and learn from the others. It has never been said that they should not be passionately fond of some of them, but what they learn and study

from foreigners should always be taken with a critical spirit and with a definite aim, and what is taken should serve their own people, should serve the creators of literature and the arts so that they live with their own people, with their struggles. Aims, aspirations and customs in order to create what is suitable and understandable to their people, appropriate to the time and the struggle they are waging. In this way, they will write really original works.

Thus, study of the works of foreigners must serve the acquiring of knowledge of the life, struggle and development of those peoples. This does not mean that the struggle, ideas and development of your own people are the same as theirs, in spite of the fact that there may be some similarities or connections with those of others. This lesson, this experience from the foreign works must serve you to open horizons in order to study the history of your own people better, but your people's history has its own peculiarities, your people's ideas have their particular development in the particular social situation of your people. This interests us, in the first place, and it has also interested that foreign writer of genius, Balzac; when he wrote his great work "The Human Comedy."

We should learn their art of writing, their style, their method of work, rhythms and meter, but we should learn them not to become slaves to them, because our people have their own style and rhythms, we are creating our socialist style which is our basis, on which we shall work, build and create our own originality, for only in such a way will our people understand us and will we inspire them.

I think that we should not step beyond these correct, objective limits, because, notwithstanding the fact that you may be very knowledgeable and learned, wisdom and learning are worthless as long as you do not know how to channel them in the interests of the people; as long as the purpose of them is not to enrich the treasury of the people's marvelous creativeness, they will be only an ornament hanging from your personal neck, but an ornament of no value to the people...

Some of my conclusions in this closing speech may seem

rather blunt. This is not unintentional, first of all, because the conclusions in the report are complete and your contributions to the discussion supplemented them, and second, because I want to stress that in all our activity we must not forget the existing situation of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our Homeland and that this encirclement is an iron one and not merely a figure of speech. The bourgeois and revisionist ideology is attacking us from all sides. Our enemies and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism would like us to occupy ourselves with weighing up details on a set of "gold scales" and entering into academic discussions while we let the wolf into the sheep fold. We must shut the door to the wolf and shoot it dead. Let them call us savage, because we play the pipe, and the beat of the drum and the clarinet ring out from our stage, or because we have given the place of honour to dances in our national costumes. For us, the only important thing is to defend the Homeland, the people, Marxism-Leninism and socialism. And these are defended when everything national in form and socialist in content is defended, when the line of the Party is always borne in mind and properly applied.

To you, the people of literature and the arts, worthy sons and daughters of our Party and people, as in the time of the War, the Central Committee directs the call: always hold high the banner of the Party, and always march into battle and to victories with the fire of the Party and the people in your hearts!

Some Preliminary Ideas about the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Speech to the Eighteenth Plenum of the CC of the PLA¹

14 October, 1966

Comrades, I want to express some preliminary ideas about the Proletarian Cultural Revolution which is going on in China during these months. I say preliminary ideas, because this revolution is a major and serious problem which requires further consideration on our part, more detailed analyses, based on more complete facts, possibly requires clarifications by the Chinese comrades, and all these things we should analyze carefully in the light of Marxism-Leninism. Many things are not clear to us, we can and do make suppositions, but they remain only suppositions which require verification from the facts, from life.

However, although we do not have enough information, the Central Committee has to judge on those facts we have and form a more or less clear internal opinion. The possibility cannot be excluded that, for the reasons I mentioned above we may not be very accurate in certain judgment or definitions.

However, the first preliminary brief analysis (because this problem does not figure on the agenda of this meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee), and the criticisms we may make of the principles, by the urgent and imperative need for Marxist-Leninist unity between our two parties and the repercussions this revolution may have in the international communist movement.

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution, as the Chinese leaders have presented it and are carrying it out, present two aspects of a single problem: the national aspect and the international aspect. Our Party, the other Marxist-Leninist parties and the entire world are interested in both the one and the other of these aspects, and in the problem as a whole.

¹ This meeting of the Plenum was held to analyze and endorse the report to be submitted to the 5th Congress of the PLA; however, at the Plenum Comrade Enver Hoxha made the speech on "Some Preliminary Ideas about the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution" which was not included on the agenda, but for which he had received the approval of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA at its meeting of October 10 and 11, 1966.

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution is viewed, analyzed, interpreted, lauded or criticized from many different positions, there is a great deal of speculation about it, but we may say that the interpretation of it is done mainly in three directions: interpretation from the positions of the capitalist bourgeoisie, interpretation from the bourgeois-revisionist positions and interpretation from the true constructive Marxist-Leninist positions.

It would be a gross mistake on the part of the Chinese comrades if they were to confound these stands and lump them together, when the first two are diametrically opposed to the third. In this case they would be lacking in Marxist-Leninist objectivity.

Therefore, comrades, you will understand how difficult, not to say impossible it is for us to make a correct, open and comradely criticism of the Chinese comrades in these complicated circumstances I mentioned, or criticism of the things I shall go on to speak about, especially in regard to the unrestrained cult of Mao Zedong. But, as always, our Party will defend the principles boldly, correctly and fearlessly and will find not only the courage but also the wisdom and cool-headedness, which have never been lacking and which it has gained in difficult struggle, to express its opinion to the Communist Party of China, to discuss patiently and in a comradely way with the Chinese comrades for the common benefit, for the benefit of Marxism-Leninism.

We base the opinions we shall express here on the facts of which you are informed, from the relations between our Party and the Communist Party of China for many years on end, the views of the Communist Party of China on the major international problems and the problems of international communism, to the exchange opinions through letters and delegations by the two sides, the exchange of experience through party and state channels, etc. You are also informed about the development of the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution from start to finish through our press and, in a more detailed way, through a voluminous material of the ATA which you receive every day, therefore I am not going to run through the history of it, but shall merely briefly recall certain moments which I consider of special importance:

1. At their congress, ten years ago, not only were the Chinese comrades unclear about the betrayal of Tito, but they made Stalin the culprit and exonerated Tito. We have facts about this stand, because this comprised the essence of their talks with us. Later, as you know, they corrected this stand, but continued to underrate the Titoite danger in face of the great Khrushchevite danger.
2. The Chinese comrades did not realize the danger of the Khrushchevites fully and properly. They did not openly acquiesce in the accusations and slanders of the Khrushchevites against Stalin, but they believed a great part of them and strengthened their own opinion about Stalin in the time of the Comintern and later, about Stalin's alleged mistakes in regard to China, "mistakes" which Zhou Enlai outlined to us especially to "convince" us when he came here the last time, although he could not convince us. Even assuming for a moment that we accepted the things Zhou told us about Stalin, in our opinion they do not constitute serious faults or mistakes of principle, but at most are tactical stands adopted in various political and military situations, which, without comparing documents, and especially when a long time has passed since these events and there are no documents available, at least to us, can very easily be interpreted one-sidedly.

Later the Chinese comrades realized the dangerous nature of the Khrushchevites, but their tactics remained mild, especially at first, indeed even at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU and following it, when we were openly attacked and the heat of the revisionist fire was directed at our Party alone, the Communist Party of China tried to have the polemics stopped.

Nevertheless, immediately after the fall of Khrushchev, the Chinese comrades wavered somewhat, had some erroneous illusions and took some incorrect actions. You know about the episode of Zhou Enlai with the Albanian ambassador² and the

2 The Chinese leaders described the fall of Khrushchev as a "radical change," hailed this change by a telegram to the new Soviet revisionist leadership and decided to send a party and government delegation to Moscow to take part in the November 7

stand of our Party.

Another erroneous stand of the Chinese, which had consequences especially in certain parties, like those of Korea and Japan, was the proposal for the "creation of the anti-imperialist front including the revisionists." We forcefully and resolutely rejected this proposal, and the Chinese comrades with-drew. Now the Koreans and the Japanese have raised the banner of this idea. You have had all this in the material you have read.

3. As you know, we have had a controversy over principles with the Chinese comrades, not mainly over the class struggle, but "about the existence of the feudo-bourgeois class as a class, as an entity which fights us, even from positions of state power, at a time when state power in our countries is the dictatorship of the proletariat." We know what our thesis is and this we base on our struggle, on facts and on Marxist-Leninist analysis.

The Chinese comrades have claimed the contrary. As you know, we have told them that it may be so in their country, but not in ours, because the class struggle in our country has been waged and continued consistently from the time of the National Liberation War and since the war right to this day, and it will go on against the remnants of the feudo-bourgeois class, etc., etc. There is no bourgeoisie in power in our country. The Chinese comrades demanded that we adopt their view which may have been formulated after an analysis of the situation in China. But it was in vain, because, confronted with our analysis, they were forced to lower their tone; nevertheless, we suspect that they are not convinced and continue to think that "the Albanians are wrong in their analysis." And see, they even made their final attempt to

celebrations. They tried to impose this stand on the PLA through Zhou Enlai, who asked the ambassador of the PRA to Beijing to inform the PLA that "he had also proposed to the Soviets to invite Albania to the November 7 celebrations." He insisted that the "Albanian comrades" should send a party and government delegation there. The PLA rejected this proposal by means of a special letter to the CC of the CPC. "We think," the letter said, "it is impermissible for us...that in these conditions when the Soviet government has broken off diplomatic relations on its own initiative and has committed outrageous anti-Marxist actions against us, to ignore these things for the only reason that the person of Khrushchev has been demoted." Zhou Enlai went to Moscow on mission to unite with the new Soviet leaders, but he suffered ignominious defeat. (See Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China," vol. 1, pp. 125-135, 177-180, Tirana 1979, Eng. ed.).

impose their conclusion on us in the joint statement when our delegation went to China.³ But they failed again.

4. In our opinion, the analysis which the Chinese comrades made of the causes of the advent of revisionism to power in the Soviet Union, a problem of major importance for international communism, has not been completely objective. They lay the blame on Stalin alone. This is of particular importance, and, if we are not mistaken, is done with ulterior motives. Our Party has another view; our analysis of this important problem agrees in some aspects with that of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, but does not agree and is opposed to it in some other aspects. The mutual exchange of opinions, criticisms and suggestions are natural, but they can be constructive only when carried out in the Marxist-Leninist way.

I mention these problems not because they have become obstacles in our relations with the Chinese comrades, but to enable us, as far as possible, to see more clearly into the recent events which are occurring in China, because, in addition to the things I pointed out, there may also be other things which we do not know about.

We have been informed about and have followed the recent developments in China only through the Chinese press and Hsinhua. The Communist Party of China and its Central Committee have not given our Party and its Central Committee any special comradely information. We think that as a party so closely linked with ours, it ought to have kept us better informed in an internationalist way, especially during these recent months.

You are acquainted with the exposé Zhou Enlai gave us. He told us nothing more than what the Chinese press had said up till then, but as to what has been done since then and what will be done later, we know nothing apart from what has been said in the press. Hence, comrades, you will understand how prudent we must be in drawing well-grounded and complete conclusions, because many facts about what is going on inside their party are

3 In May 1966.

unknown to us. To some extent we know the external appearance of events, their outward development, as well as the orientation of the development of events, but we know nothing about their causes, their fundamental reasons. We may guess, make suppositions, build up hypotheses, but the great seriousness of the problem and the seriousness of our Party do not allow us to be imprudent and hasty.

If we are not mistaken, in the chronology of events, matters began with an article by Lin Biao about the army, which, we may say, did not imply anything special apart from the strengthening of the army and its popularization, which is natural in these international situations. It was continued with the criticism of some novels and articles and rose to crescendo in the universities of Beijing, in the rectorates and among the professors, the attack was shifted to the Beijing Party Committee (without even now mentioning the name of Peng Zhen), shifted on to some members of the Bureau, such as Lu Dingyi, to Lin Biao's deputy in the army, and thus, in turn, to the creation of the "Red Guard" and its activities. Meanwhile, Lin Biao's second article, which fanned up the cult of Mao and again recommended the reading of his works, came out. This article, you might say, was the call to action, etc., etc.

Certain things draw our attention. It came out in the Chinese press, that the Beijing Party Committee, of course, including Peng Zhen, but without mentioning his name (Zhou Enlai mentioned it to us), Lu Zingyi, Luo Ruiqing and others were "revisionists, anti-party, agents of the bourgeoisie," etc., they supported the bourgeois elements in the university, among the writers, etc., and the newspapers published criticisms of many other literary works. Hence, according to them this hostile activity is based in the field of culture and the school. But the three persons named and others were members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Was it in this sector alone that they had betrayed? We cannot offer any opinion about this, because the Chinese are not saying one word. When was this "big plot," as they called it, discovered? According to them, the entire work, the whole line, all the collective and individual actions of the leadership have been analyzed, as it is usually done in normal

and especially abnormal times. We can say nothing about this, because this is an internal problem of theirs; we do not know but can only say: how is it possible that this hostile work, which in fact was manifested openly, was not discovered earlier?

The fact is that it is now ten years since the last Congress of the CPC was held and the new five-year plan is going by without being examined in the Congress. This is abnormal, not in order, a violation of the Constitution and, as far as we can judge from outside there has been no objective reason to prevent the holding of the Congress. This is not simply an organizational question, but first of all an issue of principle: the supreme leadership of the Party does not take decisions, and nobody renders account to it, that is, it is disregarded. Why? It is impossible for us to know this, but we can say that it is a grave violation which may have very dangerous consequences.

So much for the Congress, but what about the plenum of the Central Committee? Four years without meeting! How is it possible? Facts are facts. The principal forums of the party have been disregarded. How have the problems been judged, in unity or not? In a distorted or correct way? We can say nothing about this because we do not know, but one thing we can say, that all this is irregular, unlawful, impermissible, condemnable and with grave and dangerous consequences for the party and the country. Such a practice cannot be found in any Marxist-Leninist party.

What has impelled the Chinese comrades to violate the most elementary and most vital rules of the party? We can imagine a lot of things.

On the basis of the experience and the norms of our Party, we would severely condemn these actions as hostile, would nip them in the bud and would never allow them to become established, because the example of the leadership with its good and bad aspects, is reflected right down to the base.

One can imagine how all that Chinese party with its huge numbers, divided into committees and territories and with many complicated problems, has been led.

Let us take certain questions. The 11th Plenum of the

Central Committee of the CPC was held after a lapse of four years. Apart from the communiqué on the struggle against imperialism and Soviet revisionism and certain things I shall mention below, we know nothing about what was done, what was discussed, and what was decided there. But was the line of the Party analyzed, were the good things and the mistakes pointed out, were those who had made mistakes faced with their responsibility, individually and collectively, what measures were taken to put things in order, etc., etc.? These are their internal matters and they are saying nothing. There as no announcement, either, about when their next congress is to be held, that means carrying on without a congress and this implies that matters are still not in order internally, have not been smoothed out and cleared up. Perhaps we are mistaken, but there may also be factions within the leadership; if this is so, then the differences must still be profound and, in the opinion and practice of our Party, it is difficult to eliminate them with those methods and forms used up till now by the Chinese comrades who continue to keep the factionalist elements, recognized enemies of the Party, not only in the ranks of the Party, but also in the Central Committee, and even in the Political Bureau.

What emerged officially from the meeting of the Central Committee? You know that, in particular, the 16-point declaration on the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution"⁴ emerged, that Lin Biao emerged second in line after Mao, and a new ranking of the main Chinese leadership was published, in which new comrades come to the fore and Liu Shaoqi, Chu Deh and others go down to the eighth and ninth place and below. From this we gather that there were discussions at the meeting and measures were taken, but we know nothing concretely.

One thing that we do know is that the "Red Guards" had been created and had gone into action before the plenum was held, that is, the Cultural Revolution had been launched and together with it the cult of Mao was raised to the skies in a sickening and artificial manner, as you know. Everything was identified with Mao; the party, the Central Committee were hardly mentioned and it emerges clearly that "the party exists and fights thanks to Mao,

4 See Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China," vol. 1, p. 252, Tirana 1979 (Eng. ed.).

that the people live, fight and breathe only thanks to Mao and to Mao's ideas alone." And the worst of it is that Mao himself is doing nothing to restrain this cult about him. Can it be that they have reached the conclusion that their party has decayed from within and only the authority of Mao can save the situation? Of course, Mao's authority is of importance, but any action on the part of the Chinese comrades should be carried out in the correct Marxist-Leninist way.

Naturally, this thing worries us greatly and there is reason for us to worry about it, because it concerns the fate of international communism, the fate of the People's Republic of China, of socialism and the Marxist-Leninist relations between our two parties and two countries.

The Chinese comrades are giving unprecedented importance to this "revolution," but along with "its immense importance," as yet are not seeing the clear orientations for this "revolution." In the 16 points, if we read them carefully, we shall find some laconic orientations and some general allusions on political and organizational problems of the party, which must have been discussed at the plenum and are given to the masses to bear in mind. On the basis of the classification of the communists or the committees made in these 16 points, Lin Biao speaks before the "Red Guards" saying that "there is a bunch of capitalists in the leadership," etc., etc. In regard to the question of how this Proletarian Cultural Revolution should develop, what paths it should follow, what its aims and objectives are, this is not very clear to us at least, because to sum it up as the "destruction of the four old things" and the replacement of them with the "four new things" can be neither a complete nor a clear explanation, but even if you concentrate on these "four old things" you may come to the conclusion that the Chinese comrades are not thinking quite correctly about the cultural revolution and the development of socialist culture; you have the impression that everything old in Chinese and world culture should be rejected without discrimination and a new culture, the culture they call proletarian, should be created. Hence, the Cartesian theory of wiping off the past in order to build the new culture, and this will be achieved only through the "ideas of Mao," by reading his works and

quotations which have now replaced every-thing in China.

Let me read you a quotation from Lenin, and I recommend you to reread his book "On Culture and Art" published in Albanian ten years ago. One should continually delve into the works of Lenin and Stalin, and study how they dealt with this or that problem.

Here is what Lenin says about socialist culture:

"We shall be unable to solve this problem unless we clearly realize that only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture. The latter is not clutched out of thin air; it is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the logical development of the store of knowledge mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist, landlord and bureaucratic society. All these roads have been leading and will continue to lead up to proletarian culture, in the same way as political economy, as reshaped by Marx, has shown us what human society must arrive at, shown us the passage to the class struggle, to the beginning of the proletarian revolution.

"When we so often hear representatives of the youth as well as certain advocates of a new system of education, attacking the old schools, claiming that they used the system of cramming, we say to them that we must take what was good in the old schools. We must not borrow the system of encumbering young people's minds with an immense amount of knowledge, nine-tenths of which was use-less and one-tenth distorted. This, however, does not mean that we can restrict ourselves to communist conclusions and learn only communist slogans. You will not create communism that way. You can become a communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures of man-kind.

"We have no need of cramming, but we do need to develop and perfect the mind of every student with a knowledge of fundamental facts. Communism will become an empty word, a mere sign-board, and a communist a mere boaster, if all the knowledge he has acquired is not digested in his mind. You should not merely assimilate this knowledge, but assimilate it critically, so as not to cram your mind with useless lumber, but

enrich it with all those facts that are indispensable to the well-educated man of today. If a communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the cut-and-dry conclusions he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work and without understanding facts he should examine critically, he would be a deplorable communist indeed. Such superficiality would be decidedly fatal. If I know that I know little, I shall strive to learn more; but if a man says that he is a communist and that he need not know anything thoroughly, he will never become anything like a communist."⁵

In the same work Lenin says also:

"Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat, because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, inspired by the practical experience of the proletarian dictatorship as the final stage in the struggle against every form of exploitation, can be considered the development of a genuine proletarian culture."⁶

This is clear, while the Chinese course, as it is publicized, is not very clear, at least it is not clear to us.

What does this Cultural Revolution, as it is being carried out in China, consist of?

The "Red Guards" are changing the names of the streets and restaurants, because they had a reactionary content, writing dazibaos and criticizing anyone just as they please, ransacking houses and putting the dunce's cap on kulaks and reactionaries and parading them through the streets and squares; it is said they are wrecking the graves of foreign imperialists and, what is more dangerous, they are attacking party committees, burning libraries and paintings, destroying old monuments, etc.

It is difficult for us to call this revolution, as the "Red Guards" are carrying it out, a Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The signs could be removed by the municipal organs, the enemies

5 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, pp. 319-320 (Alb ed.)

6 *Ibid.*, p. 356.

could and should be captured by the organs of the dictatorship on the basis of the law, and if the enemies have wormed their way into the party committees, let them be purged through party channels. Or in the final analysis, arm the working class and attack the committees, but not with children.⁷ Why are such actions taken in this sensational way and with more of a political than a cultural character? And to all these people who have been set in motion to carry out this work the schools have been shut and they will not attend school or acquire culture for a year, a little red book with Mao's quotations has been put in their hands, a red band tied around their arms and they have been given permission to shout.

Who are the pioneers of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution? The students and school pupils, and the Chinese communiqués say that they are backed up by the workers, soldiers and peasants. It seems to us that this may be so, but it is not a correct, principled course. It is dangerous, it is not serious. The socialist or proletarian cultural revolution, as the Chinese want to call it, could not be carried out in a genuine Marxist-Leninist way with these principles and these forms.

The socialist cultural revolution is a very serious, very complicated problem, and the Chinese comrades know (or say they do) that it must be guided with the greatest care by the party, which must be vigilant at every moment to check up on the line, to verify its implementation, to correct the mis-takes, to guard against the leftist and rightist deviations which are so prone to occur in such a broad and delicate sector.

One has the impression that having discovered "a grave hostile current in literature" (and why did they not see this and take measures earlier?), having discovered that "cadres in the leadership of the party and state are on the capitalist road" (and why did they not see this and take measures earlier?), having woken up from their heavy slumber to realize that capitalists and kulaks have grown fat and strong to the extent that it seems they are still in power (why was this allowed?), the Chinese comrades may thus have arrived at the conclusion that all these evils will be solved by the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the "Red Guards"

7 Reference is to the red guards who were school pupils.

comprised of the youth, and the build-up of the cult of Mao to a fantastic level.

This is a matter which is not very clear to us. In appearance it is based on the correct slogan of the "line of the masses," but a line of the masses which goes beyond the norms and principles, which disregards the party and its justice and is based on the cult of the individual, on the exaltation of non-proletarian youth who improperly exploit all the successes achieved by the party and the people in all fields. Such a course may lead to anarchy, may weaken the confidence of the masses in the line of the party.

We think that this Cultural Revolution may be a rectification of the entire line of the party, but a rectification undertaken outside the Leninist norms of the party and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through the cult of Mao and hurling into action that stratum of the people which is the most easily carried away, the noisiest, the most delicate and most mobile as a stratum, lacking maturity and experience of the difficulties of life.

This may have grave consequences, either immediately or later, if the Chinese comrades do not correct these mistake that can be seen. The experience of the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin taught us many things.

As you will understand, many matters which I mentioned above and of which I tried to make an evaluation, which may be mistaken since we do not have the facts, are internal matters of China, of the Communist Party of China, and we do not have the right to interfere or to express our opinion, if it is not sought. However, it is impermissible for us not to have an internal opinion of our own for general orientation, even a provisional one, with some points unclear and possibly some incorrect conclusions. It is likewise impermissible for us to be lacking in prudence and caution on a question of such major importance to the cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Our great aim and concern is and must be to avoid falling into errors ourselves, to try to see more clearly into this question, and when we have the opportunity, to exchange opinions with the

Chinese comrades in a comradely way to the great general interest.

However, everything that occurs in China is not just an internal affair of China and the Communist Party of China. While being their affair, at the same time it has an international and internationalist character, because China is a big country, of great weight in the international communist movement.⁸

The Chinese leaders and the Chinese propaganda say that the "Cultural Revolution has shaken the entire world." This is a fact.

On October 1, Zhou Enlai said more or less: "The world has been split into two over the question of the Cultural Revolution, into enemies who fight us and friends who are with us and defend us."

It is precisely this international and internationalist aspect of the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution that I want to touch on now, after touching on the national aspect.

Today, the Chinese comrades and the Chinese propaganda pose the problem in this way: "The present epoch is the epoch of the ideas of Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong is the greatest Marxist of our time, Mao Zedong is the heir to all the classics of Marxism-Leninism, Marxist-Leninist science, and the world science, he is the sun," etc., etc. Hence, Mao Zedong's ideas should lead the entire world, and, in regard to the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is being developed and led by Mao Zedong personally. This is something unprecedented in the history of the world.

The posing of this great problem by the Chinese comrades in this way is not correct, not Marxist and far from unduly modest. But what is even more grave and dangerous is the fact that those same forms and methods they use within their own country, they want to use abroad too, that is, they want others to accept and apply this incorrect and erroneous posing of the problem in such dogmatic forms, without discussion, because otherwise, for the Chinese comrades, you go over to the other side of the barricade, to the enemies.

8 This is how it was considered at that time.

Now some orientations for us :

1. I want to stress certain things which the Party must keep well in mind, and which every communist should work out in his own head and not wait for directives from above about every stand. The stands of the Party, the communists and the cadres must be guided by the directives of the Congress, the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the government. These things are clearly ex-pressed in documents and our daily press, therefore they should be assimilated and we should be guided by them.
2. The line of our Party on the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism is correct, therefore we must proceed resolutely on this course, because it is decisive.
3. For our part, the economic and friendly relations with China will be maintained and developed only on the correct Marxist-Leninist road.
4. The cult of Mao or anybody else must be combated and we should proceed in everything just as we have done, on the Marxist-Leninist course. Not the slightest concession or opportunism in this. With the correct stands of our Party, the Chinese comrades ought to be clear on this question. Even if they are not clear or take it badly, we cannot do otherwise, because this is an issue of principle. We respect Mao in the Marxist-Leninist way and within the Marxist-Leninist norms. In regard to Mao we shall use only the official descriptions of our Party.
5. As you have noticed, our press does not speak about the Chinese Cultural Revolution in the same terms and ways as Chinese propaganda does, and we have avoided doing so in a comradely way and without aggravating things, for the reasons I have mentioned above. Probably, in fact undoubtedly, this has not pleased the Chinese comrades, but we cannot act otherwise until everything becomes clear-er to us and we consider it correct.
6. Our propaganda against China, its successes in all fields,

including culture and the works of Mao, etc., should be carried out within correct norms, as hitherto, and any undue demand on the part of the Chinese comrades should be tactfully avoided. Concessions and sectarianism should be avoided, because neither the one nor the other serves our great cause which it is our duty to strengthen on the correct Marxist-Leninist road for the benefit of communism.

I think that in defending our line on many questions in the report we shall deliver at the Congress we also indirectly define some of these stands towards the views of the Chinese comrades who, so to say, ought to take them as our objections, especially to the cult and to the Cultural Revolution, as we understand them. A delegation of the Communist Party of China will come to our Congress and we have hopes that we shall try to clear up these matters as comrades should.

That was all I had to say. The Central Committee must advise us whether we view the problems correctly. I think all these matters should be kept within the Central Committee, because they are very delicate.

The entire Plenum of the Central Committee expressed agreement with the matters presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

For the Continuous Improvement of the Composition of the Party and its Growth — for the Protection of the Purity of its Ranks

5th Party Congress of the PLA

1 November, 1966

The composition and extension of the party, the growth of its ranks and the steeling of its members must be one of the most serious issues for all party organisations. It always has to be shown quite clearly that the party work in general and especially the admission to the party and the problem of its growth is a thing of great responsibility about which many factors have to be kept in mind: political, ideological, organisational, economic ones as well as factors concerning one's awareness, etc.

In such delicate issues a cut and dried, formal performance of instructions or existing rules is as harmful as the negation of all rules and instructions, like in anarchist or spontaneous tendencies. We must not become slaves of predetermined structures; but on the other hand we are unable to do without correct, revolutionary structures, renewed and animated through struggle and experience.

The admission to the party follows the terms of the party statute and the rules issued by the Central Committee according to specific instructions.

... It happens that people join the ranks of the party who do not yet hold all necessary characteristics to be a communist or who are not worthy of that name...

...Often such qualities like character, morals and the personal behaviour of the candidate, his readiness to make sacrifices and his political maturity, his ideological level and revolutionary spirit as well as his connections with the masses, etc., which should be the main requirements, are not considered at all.

The basic organisations leave the judgement and the serious rating to those who issue the recommendation. Finally the same carelessness dominates during the probation time of the candidate. In fact this is very often a probation time in name only.

The candidate is not bound up in any specific systematic revolutionary activity and therefore he sees himself as a member of the party from the day on which he has been accepted as a candidate. Only the colour of the envelope of his membership register makes him any different from a party member. It has to be said that such a "normal" procedure is revolutionary neither in form nor in content.

The party needs new blood, but pure blood. The party has to be strong especially regarding quality, therefore we should not seek quantity.

...The candidate is expected to give top priority to his work, keep discipline, show bravery and readiness to make sacrifices as well as determination to defend the party line, to be closely connected with the workers and peasants and humane towards his colleagues, that he is severe against himself and his flaws and mistakes and fights them...

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that the candidature should last 2-3 years, depending on the candidate's character of work and his qualities.

To put up higher requirements for the admittance to the party should in no way be understood as closing the doors of the party. The party will close the doors to class enemies and to those unworthy of joining but its doors are open to all sons and daughters of our heroic people, to all those who want to dedicate their lives to the great cause of the revolution and of Marxism-Leninism. (Applause)

The party organisations and committees not only have to pay attention to the task of upholding the purity of the Party of Labour of Albania and to its qualitative consolidation in connection with new admittances but also with regard to the further steeling and educating of those communists who are already fighting in the ranks of the party.

The members of our party have to be true to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to the party and the people. This means that they always have to be revolutionary and upright fighters for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, determined till

their deaths to serve the party and the people at every moment and in every situation, ready to commit every sacrifice which might be asked from them in the name of the interests of the revolution and of socialism.

Communists have to show an iron and a conscious discipline as well as a strong will to enforce the party line, the laws and the preservation of the morality and customs of our people. But this does not mean that they have to apply the received instructions in a mechanical way. A communist has to approach his work in a creative way; he has to delve into the concrete ideological and political core of the concrete party resolutions respectively state laws and has to organise his activities, depending on the circumstances under which he works, in such a way that those resolutions are enforced and applied successfully.

The members of our Marxist-Leninist party have to be aware that the party affiliation will not and cannot earn even the smallest personal privilege. It [the party affiliation – Rjevan] only brings big, difficult and responsible tasks with it. Who holds a different opinion, who seeks to ensure privileges for himself, his family or somebody else by the medium of the membership register, no matter if those privileges are of material or moral nature, does not deserve the great honour to be a member of the party for even a single moment.

A communist has to be connected closely to the masses, to listen considerately and respectfully to their voice, to live and work with the masses, to feel their pulse and know their sorrows, to head and lead the masses. He has to be an unforgiving enemy of a cocky nature, arrogance, addiction to domination of others, favouritism and nepotism, of any kind of underestimation and scorn for the masses and their work, he has to fight bravely against everybody who reveals such tendencies to damage the interests of the workers, the party and our socialist state.

A good and consistent member of our party is one who always keeps the class struggle in mind and enforces it without hesitation, outside of the party as well as within its ranks, by firmly relying both on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism

and the party line. He has, after a correct dialectical analysis, to be able to differ between good and bad, the dangerous and the less dangerous, he has to understand how to use the most appropriate methods of convincing and persuading others and lastly of using force. A good and revolutionary member of our party is one who wins the trust and love of the people by his actions and behaviour, who teaches and saves those who are erring and strikes with the utmost hatred against those who are incorrigible and socially dangerous, against the enemies of the people and the party.

Every communist has to acquire a truly revolutionary vigilance to ensure the party line and the purity of its ideals.

A member of the party has to be characterised by the highest sense of justice, by the purity of his conscience and actions; he has to be strong in his principles and he never must hide his flaws and mistakes but criticise them himself without waiting for others to expose them. Only in this way is he able to effectively criticise the mistakes of his comrades, exercise vigilance and improve others through his purity and his just struggle.

A revolutionary communist has to fight with the utmost conscientiousness in the place where the party puts him and where it needs him, always putting public interest above all. He must never give in to an unsound situation which was caused by the incorrect conclusions and enactments of any party or state authority, just as he must not give in to the mistakes or despotic acts of any functionary.

Those characteristics, which are embodied in the majority of our party members, have to become a second nature to all Albanian communists. Without this the revolutionary spirit of our party cannot be protected and one cannot speak of revolutionising life in our country. Therefore the whole attention of the party committees and the basic organisations has to be aimed at the constant steeling of the communists. The party organisations have to be very persistent especially in this regard. Consistent revolutionaries have to be educated in their [the party organisation's — Rjevan] ranks and have to act as determined communists, so that they fully earn the honour to be members of

the Party of Labour of Albania.

The right way for steeling the party members is their most active participation in the construction, their insistent and constant work on their political and ideological education. The consistent revolutionaries will stand out and grow in their daily work and struggle, in the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, in the effort put into the enforcement and the defence of the party line, while on the other hand the half-hearted will drift to the surface, those who look for a quiet place to live in the dream world of the past, those who gloat over the past and therefore demand privileges; and in the end those will drop out who entered the party without justification or by mistake. The party has to give everyone what they deserve. The first have to be supported, encouraged, educated by the party so that they will advance. The party has to stand by the second in a helpful way and open their eyes, so that they will see in what a bad situation they are; it has to clarify that their situation is not compatible with the responsibilities and the role of a revolutionary, it has to take care that they leave this swamp as soon as possible, rise with regard to the general revolutionary enthusiasm and side themselves with the first ranks of the most outstanding fighters. The third have to be thrown out of the party; they are unworthy to be part of its ranks.

In the struggle to improve their quality the party organisations have to pay special attention to those party members with long-lasting fighting experience. This is a great treasure of the party which must not be wasted but guarded jealously. The party has to work with those people, too, has to educate them so that they will forever stay consistent revolutionaries until they die. Even in the last days of their lives they are supposed to struggle bravely for the cause of the party with their remaining energy, even though some will be amongst them who will grow old physically. This is a natural law.

But for us communists it is also a law and it will stay a law that we will mentally remain revolutionaries until the very end, until our deaths, and also fight as such. (long-lasting applause, ovations)

The party must not evince its care for those comrades by

pampering them but by protecting and mobilising them to constant revolutionary action. The party has to truly honour and love those comrades for their actions but it must in no way allow that those who have such a brilliant past in in the party become parasites, self-important and arrogant people who demand unlawful privileges for themselves and their families. This is a dangerous thing because it creates a privileged class with petty bourgeois remnants within the party which are alien to the proletariat and its ideology.

The Fist of the Marxist-Leninist Communists Must Also Smash Left Adventurism, the Offspring of Modern Revisionism

From a Conversation with Two Leaders of the Communist Party of Ecuador
21 October, 1968

We are very glad to meet you comrades from Ecuador. Of course, we would like to have more frequent and longer talks with you, because the struggle of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Ecuador, as well as the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, has great importance for the revolution. We consider your struggle as a great assistance to the world revolution and to our Party which always feels the need to learn and profit from the experience of fraternal parties.

Marxism-Leninism, our universal doctrine, applied in the conditions of every country, is enriched with the new experience of all revolutionary parties. The experience of each Marxist-Leninist party gained in the course of its work and struggle against the common enemies, imperialism and revisionism, helps the other parties at the same time. Without this experience we would be limping along.

You comrades, with your revolutionary activity and struggle on the continent of Latin America, with a large population and with wonderful ardent people, are in permanent insurrection, in revolution, in the full meaning of the term. At the head of the people of this continent today there are fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. Their realistic Marxist-Leninist understanding of the situation of your continent fills the true Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe, Asia and Africa with boundless enthusiasm and inspiration and helps all of us to carry the revolutionary actions of every country through the end on a national, continental or international scale against our common enemies: the imperialists, with the U.S. Imperialists at the head, the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, and reactionaries of every hue.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists feel very greatly the need for contacts in order to exchange experience with all the fraternal parties, because close co-

operations strengthens us reciprocally. Although we are very far apart geographically, in our minds and our hearts we are very close to each other, and the "distance" factor does not constitute an insurmountable difficulty today.

As you may have seen for yourselves during our visits, many changes have been made in our country since the triumph of the revolution. This is due to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the party and the revolutionary spirit of our people. In order to form a more precise idea of Albania's state in the past, as the Marxist-Leninists you are, you must compare it with one of the most poverty-stricken, most backward and oppressed regions of present-day Ecuador. Just like your country today, before Liberation Albania suffered greatly under savage feudal oppression. We had no schools. The people were in want of food, clothing, and every vital necessity. Most of the plains you have seen were swamps and marshes before Liberation. Malaria, tuberculosis and many other diseases took a heavy toll of the population, especially of children. But as a result of the peoples' revolution which our party led, transformations have been carried out on such a vast scale and so rapidly that without boasting we can describe them as colossal by our Albanian standards.

However, as Marxists, taking a realistic view of the situation, we are fully aware that, along with the very great successes that have been achieved, we also have weaknesses and a great deal more remains to be done in the future, in the first place, to raise the level of the working masses still higher, especially their political and ideological level, as well as their economic level; we must work hard to make our country even stronger militarily, to raise the educational and cultural level of our people still higher, and all this only on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist road.

Our Party is working in these directions. We can say that now we have created a sounder, more powerful base, but the main thing is that everything we have done, everything we have created, we have achieved in unrelenting struggle against the difficulties of growth, encircled by rapid enemies, in such conditions the independence, freedom and sovereignty of our Homeland and socialism were in danger at every moment. We

have created these things through struggle to defend and strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party and the people, which is a special target for enemy attacks. We have worked ceaselessly to temper this unity. Our strength lies in the ever greater steeling of the party-people unity. This is of vital importance, because the dangers of intervention by means of armed force and every other possible means against our country have been and remain great and unrelenting, both from the imperialists and from the Titoite renegades and the Soviet revisionist militarists who, as the occupation of Czechoslovakia showed, excuse any action of theirs with the interest they allegedly have in the consolidation of "fraternal" states.

In the present revolutionary situations, the Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world must fight continuously to strengthen their ranks and their Marxist-Leninist unity, to link themselves closely with the masses of people and with one another, because the communist and workers' movement throughout the world is one of the fundamental factors frustrating the plans concocted against the people by both the Soviet revisionists and the US imperialists, who from day to day are strengthening their fascist dictatorships in order to dominate the world. These Marxist-Leninist parties must increase their vigilance, too.

At all times, but especially in the situations we are living through, our country consistently has enhanced and will enhance its unity and vigilance. To this end, as always, we have taken ideological, political, economic and military measures. All our people are armed in the full meaning of the word. Every Albanian city-dweller or villager, has his weapon at home. Our army itself, the army of a soldier people, is ready at any moment to strike at any enemy or coalition of enemies. The youth, too, have risen to their feet. Combat readiness does not in any way interfere with our work of socialist construction. On the contrary, it has given a greater boost to the development of the economy and culture in our country.

At these moments the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek and Italian fascists know full well that if they dare embark on any adventure against Albania, they will never

succeed, but will be dealt mortal blows instead. This we have made clear to everybody at all times. Thus, in general, the situation in our country is sound, secure and with brilliant prospects. However, we must not rest on our laurels on this account, but must work more and more every day.

It is clear to all that a militarist fascist dictatorship exists in the Soviet Union today. But, as is known, where there is oppression there is also movement, therefore, both in the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries, there is revolutionary movement that is steadily mounting. Great pressure is being exerted on the Soviet Union today by imperialism, too. On the one hand, imperialism aims to defeat it as a rival imperialist power, and on the other hand to prevent the emergence of revolutionary movements at all costs, or to put them down immediately if they do emerge, not only in the Soviet Union but also in its satellite countries.

For its part, the Soviet Union is trying to attain two objectives: first, to crush any revolutionary movement which might arise, and second, unable as it is to defeat the United States as a rival imperialist power, it is striving to retain its positions and to ensure that together with US imperialism each of them will rule in the areas which fall within its sphere of influence.

We are very glad to learn that the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Ecuador is making progress. The comrades whom you have met immediately informed me about the talks you held and the experience you exchanged. We hold special meetings to keep the Political Bureau of the CC continually informed about the very useful and fruitful exchanges between our Party and other fraternal parties. We are very happy that your Party is ceaselessly tempering itself and advancing on the Marxist-Leninist road. Likewise, we are in complete agreement with the views of your Party and are convinced that the road you are following is the right one. There is no doubt that you know better than anybody else the problems that concern you and the most correct way to solve them, always basing yourselves on our ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

Only your Party is in a position to work out your tactics

properly, based, of course, on the Marxist-Leninist strategy, because, as the heart of the proletariat and people of Ecuador, it knows better than anyone else the situation in the country and the legitimate aspirations of your people. For this reason, as long as your Party has a correct strategy based on Marxist-Leninist theory and the real practice of the country, the tactics it works out will be correct and revolutionary, too. During our National Liberation War we, too, employed varied tactics, just as you are doing.

Our parties should try to learn and profit from one another. But every party must bear in mind that some things from the experience of other parties are suitable only in the conditions of their respective countries, and many of them may not be suitable in the conditions of other countries. They must elaborate and adopt the experience of other parties when they find they need it and it suits their concrete conditions, otherwise they fall into stereotypism. As for our experience, we cannot tell you whether or not many of our tactics are appropriate for you. It is up to you to study it and choose what you want from it, but we think that you should bear in mind that Marxism-Leninism, the general laws of the proletarian revolution provide the compass which prevents us from erring on this question. Only these laws guard a genuine Marxist-Leninist party against mistakes.

We are clear about these laws and try to acquaint ourselves with them more and more each day, and that is why we have never slid into revisionism, or into Trotskyism, left adventurism, or other anti-Marxist trends.

With these theories, with the dangers and damage they cause, you are better acquainted than we. For instance, Che Guevara was killed. Such a thing is liable to happen, because a revolutionary may get killed. Che Guevara, however, was a victim of his own non-Marxist-Leninist views.

Who was Che Guevara? When we speak of Che Guevara, we also mean somebody else who poses as a Marxist, in comparison to whom, in our opinion, Che Guevara was a man of fewer words. He was a rebel, a revolutionary, but not a Marxist-Leninist as they try to present him. I may be mistaken—you Latin-Americans are better acquainted with Che Guevara, but I

think that he was a leftist fighter. His is a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leftism, combined with some ideas that were progressive, but also anarchist which, in the final analysis, lead to adventurism.

The views of Che Guevara and anyone else who poses as a Marxist and claims "paternity" of these ideas have never been or had anything to do with Marxism-Leninism. Che Guevara also had some "exclairicies" in his adoption of certain Marxist-Leninist principles, but they still did not become a full philosophical world-outlook which could impel him to genuinely revolutionary actions.

We cannot say that Che Guevara and his comrades were cowards. No, by no means! On the contrary, they were brave people. There are also bourgeois who are brave men. But the only truly great heroes and really brave proletarian revolutionaries are those who proceed from the Marxist-Leninist philosophical principles and put all their physical and mental energies at the service of the world proletariat for the liberation of the peoples from the yolk of the imperialists, feudal lords and others.

We have defended the Cuban revolution because it was against US imperialism. As Marxist-Leninists let us study it a bit and the ideas which guided it in this struggle. The Cuban revolution did not begin on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and was not carried out on the basis of the laws of the proletarian revolution of a Marxist-Leninist party. After the liberation of the country, Castro did not set out on the Marxist-Leninist course, either, but on the contrary, continued on the course of his liberal ideas. It is a fact, which nobody can deny, that the participants in this revolution took up arms and went to the mountains, but it is an undeniable fact also that they did not fight as Marxist-Leninists. They were liberation fighters against the Batista clique and triumphed over it precisely because that clique was a weak link of capitalism. Batista was an obedient flunky of imperialism, who rode roughshod over the Cuban people. The Cuban people, however, fought and triumphed over this clique and over American imperialism at the same time...

In our opinion, the theory that the revolution is carried out

by a few "heroes" constitutes a danger to Marxism-Leninism, especially in the Latin-American countries. Your South-American continent has great revolutionary traditions, but, as we said above, it also has some other traditions which may seem revolutionary but which, in fact, are not genuinely on the road of the revolution. Any putsch carried out there is called a revolution! But a putsch can never be a revolution, because one overthrown clique is replaced by another, in a word, things remain as they were. In addition to all the nuclei of anti-Marxist trends which still exist in the ranks of the old parties that have placed themselves in the service of the counterrevolution, there is now another trend which we call left adventurism.

This trend, and that other offspring of the bourgeoisie, modern revisionism, constitute great dangers to the people, including those of the Latin-American countries. Carefully disguised, modern revisionism is a great deceiver of the peoples and revolutionaries. In different countries it puts on different disguises. In Latin America, Castroism, disguised as Marxism-Leninism, is leading people, even revolutionaries, into left adventurism. This trend appears to be in contradiction with modern revisionism. Those who are ideologically immature think thus, but it is not so. The Castroites are not opposed to the modern revisionists. On the contrary, they are in their service. The separate courses each of them follows lead them to the same point.

The question whenever the Soviet revisionists fail to prevent the masses of the working class and the people from carrying out the revolution, this trend steps in and, by means of a putsch, destroys what the revisionists are unable to destroy by means of evolution. The Soviet revisionists and all the traitor cliques which led the revisionist parties preach evolution, coexistence and all those other anti-Marxist theories we know. From the terms it employs, left adventurism seems more revolutionary, because it advocates armed struggle! But what does it mean by armed struggle? Clearly—putsches. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that only by proceeding with prudent and sure steps, only by basing ourselves firmly on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, only by making the masses conscious

can victory be ensured in the preparation and launching of the armed uprising, and only in this way will we never fall into adventurism.

The authors of the theory that the "starter motor" sets the "big motor" in motion pose as if they are for the armed struggle, but in fact they are opposed to it and work to discredit it. The example and tragic end of Che Guevara, the following and prorogation of this theory also by other self-styled Marxists, who are opposed to the great struggles by the masses of people, are publicly known facts which refute their claims: We must guard against the people lest they betray us, lest they hand us over to the police; we must set up "wild" isolated detachments, so that the enemy does not get wind of them and does not retaliate with terror against the population! They publicize these and many other confusing theories, which you know only too well. What sort of Marxism-Leninism is this which advocates attacking the enemy, fighting it with these "wild" detachments, etc. without having a Marxist-Leninist party to lead the fight? There is nothing Marxist-Leninist about it. Such anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theories can bring nothing but defeat for Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, as Che Guevara's undertaking in Bolivia did.

This trend brings the theses of the armed uprising into disrepute. What great damage it causes the revolution! With the killing of Guevara, the masses of common people, contaminated by the influences of these anarchist views, will think: "Now there is no one else to lead us, to liberate us!" Or perhaps a group of people with another Guevara will be set up again to take to the mountains to make the "revolution," and the masses, who expect a great deal from these individuals and are burning to fight the bourgeoisie, may be deceived into following them. And what will happen? Something that is clear to us. Since these people are not the vanguard of the working class, since they are not guided by the enlightening principles of Marxism-Leninism, they will encounter misunderstanding among the broad masses and sooner or later they will fail, but at the same time the genuine struggle will be discredited, because the masses will regard armed struggle with distrust. We must prepare the masses politically and ideologically, and convince them through their own practical

experience. That is why we say that this inhibiting, reactionary theory about the revolution that is being spread in Latin America is the offspring of modern revisionism and must be unmasked by the Marxist-Leninists.

Certain leaders of some Latin-American state put in the odd word in a veiled "opposition" to the Soviet Union, but we cannot infer from this that they are really opposed to it. Those words are only pressure and blackmail for the purpose of gaining some advantage, on the one hand, of deceiving the naive, on the other. If the advocates of these theories were to stop serving the Soviets in their imperialist-revisionist expansion, the latter would cut off all aid to them. We know the Soviets only too well. However, this will not occur, because they serve the Soviets admirably. This is why the Soviet revisionists continue to give them aid and keep them alive.

It is the duty of all the Marxist-Leninists to expose this anti-Marxist trend, the advocates of which style themselves Marxist-Leninists and use Marxist terminology only as a disguise without which they would be lost. We must tear this disguise from them and this can be done only through organized struggle on the Marxist-Leninist course, as you comrades from Ecuador and others are doing.

We were very pleased over the way you have gone about strengthening the Party and the correct views you hold on armed struggle. If we Marxists do not thoroughly understand that the party must be strong as steel and this can be brought about only on the Marxist-Leninist road, we can achieve no victory. Our people fought in the past, too, just like your people, but did not win. Very good and able individuals have emerged from the bosom of our people, persons with clear illuminist views and great revolutionary determination, who fought with rifle and pen against the Turks, and later, against other invaders. But they shed their blood and toiled in vain. The bourgeoisie and the feudal lords exploited the victories of the people and these outstanding individuals to foster their own interests, while the people remained as oppressed as before. They came about because there was not even a progressive party, let alone a Marxist-Leninist party, to lead our people forward. Only after the founding of the Communist Party were the

Albanian people able to realize their age-old aspirations; it was only under its leadership that their sweat and blood were not shed in vain. Hence, it is the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party which ensures the victory of the people, and not the actions of a guerrilla "centre," as some people preach.

We rejoice that you comrades of the Communist Party of Ecuador have purged your Party of elements alien to a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. We are very pleased to see that you are clear about how the party should be strengthened and expanded, with what class elements its ranks should be filled, how it should be extended to the countryside, and in the first place, how it should implant itself more deeply in the ranks of the working class. People are not born communists, but they are born pure, and during their life and in the course of the daily struggle they learn, are educated and become communists who will sacrifice even their lives for their ideals. It is very good that you have opened courses and schools for Marxist-Leninist education. This is what we did, too, during the National Liberation War. The learning and assimilation of Marxism-Leninism are essential for and the salvation of every communist and every Marxist-Leninist party.

Even today, this is the course we follow. We have put lessons, work in production, and physical and military training for the defense of the Homeland in the centre of our activity for the education of the youth...

We assure you, dear comrades, that our Party, closely united with the people, has striven and will strive with might and main and with the greatest loyalty to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and will work tirelessly to strengthen proletarian internationalism. The Party will do everything to ensure that its efforts and the efforts of the people are understood and to create conditions, not only for the consolidation of our socialist Homeland, but also for the strengthening of the bonds of friendship with all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, so that our Party, too, makes its modest contribution, devoting all its energies, to our common cause, the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

We are very moved by the high appraisal you make of the

modest work of our Party. As Marxism-Leninists, we understand very well everything you, dear comrades, said about our Party and its experience. We thank you for all these things and tell you that they are a great encouragement to us, because we know they come from the clear and realistic judgment of Marxist-Leninist comrades. Of course, as Marxist-Leninists, we assure you that this does not make us conceited. On the contrary, it increases our sense of responsibility to make ourselves worthy of at least one per cent of what you say. Therefore, we must fight even harder, must perform our duty even more honourably, to ensure that every action of ours not only does not harm the great cause of socialism in the world, the cause of world revolution, or even that of an individual Marxist-Leninist party or group, but, on the contrary, serves as an encouragement and example for everybody, so that Marxist-Leninist parties grow in number and strength, because, as a saying of the Albanian people goes, just one or two flowers do not mean summer. For the socialist revolution to triumph everywhere more flowers are and will be needed. This is how we understand our internationalist duty.

For us, too, this meeting with you will remain unforgettable, because you told us about the situation in Latin America. We feel ourselves a hundred times stronger when we see that yours is a true Marxist-Leninist Party, with a clear line and perspective. There is no doubt that such a party will certainly triumph. You say that when our Party was founded it had about 200 members. But this did not prevent us in the slightest from winning the masses, leading them, fighting and, together with them, defeating the internal and external enemies, triumphing and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What great strength we gain to step up our struggle, when we see that your Party in Ecuador is a party with a brilliant future, since it upholds the banner of Marxism-Leninism!

You say you have made mistakes, that you have not seen some things as you ought to. What party has not made mistakes? Our Party, too, had made mistakes in the course of its revolutionary activity, but not in its general line. The important thing is that we have corrected our mistakes immediately, as soon as we have detected them.

What you say about strengthening the work of the party with the organization of the youth and the women is extremely important to the revolution. I have noticed, and you have said this yourselves in your talks with our comrades, that you are very interested in the question of students. This is very good, but you must keep in mind that students are part of the youth, not the whole of it. Likewise, you attach importance to the problems of the countryside and problems of the working class. If you attach importance to the countryside and the working class, you cannot fail to be interested in the problems of youth and women in the countryside, as well. The question now is that you must concretize these issues better. We shall be very happy if our modest experience is of any help to you.

I want to add this, too: our Party was small, our working class at the time when the Party was founded was exceptionally small. Nevertheless, thanks to the great work carried out by the Party, the youth, in the first place, embraced its ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The Party was quick to organize them, and they threw themselves into the war and played an extremely great role in it; they fought as they did, enlightened by the ideology of the working class.

As for the women, right from the start the slogan of the Party was that the armed struggle could not be waged and carried through to victory without them. The Party stressed that, in the first place, the women themselves must understand that, while fighting for the liberation of the Homeland, they would be fighting for the emancipation of women, too. At that time the Party said: If the women do not understand the great idea of the Party about their participation in the war, there will be no genuine liberation war. We attached major importance to this question, for without its solution the women would have become a hindrance to the war, because they had only to say to their husbands or sons, "where are you going?", "why are you leaving us?", "they will kill us!", "don't go to war!", "let us mind our own business!", "what good is the war to us?" etc., and things would have taken another direction.

The Party did its work so thoroughly that the women became ardent propagandist of the line of the Party within their families. "Take the rifle," they would urge their husbands and

sons, "and throw yourselves into the fight for the liberation of the Homeland!" You understand, comrades, what courage this stand on the part of the woman gave the husband or son who seized the rifle and joined the partisans.

Whenever we entered the homes of our people, in city or village, the women gave us every possible help, they linked themselves closely with our war, with the line of the Party. Many of their husbands or sons were fighting in the mountains, and, when we went to their homes for shelter and food, they treated us as their sons, as their closest relatives. See the importance of women and their activity! It was in these conditions that the womens' organization was set up in our country. Of course, the same process will develop in your country, too. In the beginning we came up against many difficulties, everything was not achieved at once, as you see it today. We know what difficulties there are in the capitalist countries, but they can all be overcome when the line is correct and the party determined.

You, my dear comrades, have helped us greatly in another direction too, in further enhancing our confidence in the future victories of the common struggle. We assure you that we will honourably accomplish our tasks as soldiers of the revolution, as loyal soldiers of Marxism-Leninism. We would like you, dear comrades of Communist Party (M-L) of Ecuador, to consider our Party as yours in everything. We are ready to give you whatever assistance you consider useful, because as internationalists we are duty bound to do so. If we do not do this, we cannot call ourselves internationalists, cannot be Marxists. We have spared and will spare nothing to give you every possible assistance, as our comrades and brothers, because your internationalist assistance to us is also great.

You also help us with your experience, and if you notice that we may be going wrong in some direction, please criticize us, shake us up with your open criticism, and rest assured that we consider and treat your comrades' criticism as the most sacred thing. Our people say that he that criticizes loves you, he that does not love you pats you on the back so that you may continue on the wrong road.

Our Marxist-Leninist dialectics teaches us that not everything goes straight, that people's heads are not all cut into one pattern, that the energies of each individual are not equal, some go straight, others do not. In these conditions, the implementation of the norms of the Party, Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism set people right, keeps the party pure and carries the revolution forward.

These are the relations we want, this is the sincere proletarian love we want to have for one another, and the more we do for one another, for the revolution, the more modest we must be. Therefore, the modesty of communists must be exemplary, like that of proletarians; the efforts and thoughts of communists must be like those of proletarians, the feelings of their souls and hearts must be like those of proletarians. Only thus can our revolution march forward.

We are sorry, dear comrades, that you will be leaving, but rest assured that our hearts are united with yours.

We know that you are very busy. Even greater and more difficult tasks await you in the future, nevertheless, we would be very happy if you could come more frequently and stay longer in our country, regardless of the fact that this cannot be done in every instance according to our wishes.

May your great wish be fulfilled, may the day come when we can visit you in your country.

Letter to the Ninth Conference of the Chinese Communist Party

29 April, 1969

Dear Comrades:

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, of the Albanian Communists and the whole Albanian people, who followed with indescribable enthusiasm and great attention the proceedings of the Ninth National Congress of the fraternal Communist Party of China, to express to you the most cordial revolutionary congratulations on the full success of the Ninth National Congress of your glorious Party and on the historic decisions it adopted.

The Ninth Congress marks a brilliant page in the long history of the great Communist Party of China, which is full of heroic and legendary struggles. It affirmed the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of Chairman Mao and the decisive victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It firmly held and raised higher the red banner of revolution and socialism. It further strengthened and tempered the Party, its unity of thought and action on the basis of the invincible thought of the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-Tung.

The programmatic documents, Chairman Mao's speeches, the political report by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, and the new Party Constitution, which were unanimously approved at the congress, have opened brilliant prospects for the Chinese Communist Party and the 700 million Chinese people to achieve greater new victories throughout the country, to carry the revolution through to the end, to advance at a faster speed in the building of socialism and communism in China

We are exceptionally glad that the historic Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China unanimously elected, in an ardent revolutionary atmosphere, the Party leadership with Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, the founder and great leader of the Communist Party of China, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist and the strategist of genius of revolution, as its leader, and with his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao as its deputy leader. We

heartily greet the new Central Committee elected by the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. This Central Committee is made up of revolutionaries tested in fierce class battles and in the flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and boundlessly faithful to Chairman Mao Tse-Tung and to his invincible thought.

The Albanian Communists and people, who are with the Chinese Communist and people, and all other Marxist-Leninist and revolutionaries in the world, see in the decisions of the Ninth National Congress of your glorious Party the great guarantee that the Communist Party of China will always hold high the inflexible banner of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism and proletarian internationalism, will further consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and will make great People's China a still more powerful fortress and prop of the liberation struggle of the peoples and of the world revolution.

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, a congress of proletarian victory over the traitorous, revisionist and counter-revolutionary line of the renegades, traitor and scab Liu Shao-Chi, marks a new stage not only in the carrying out of socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, but also in the fight for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism, of socialism over capitalism and of revolution over counter-revolution in the world. This is why the hearts and minds of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries of the whole world were directed in these days towards your great congress, this is why their hearts are filled with joy at this great historic event. The solemn declaration of the congress that "the Communist Party of China, nurtured by the great leader Chairman Mao, always upholds proletarian internationalism and firmly supports the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations of the whole world" inspires all the Communist and revolutionary peoples and gives them strength and courage to broaden and push forward incessantly their struggle against imperialism led by US, against modern revisionism led by Soviet revisionism, and against all the reactionaries, in order to create a new world without capitalism, without imperialism, without oppressors and exploiters.

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China dealt a fresh crushing blow to the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists, to these renegades to the great Lenin-Stalin cause, who have transformed themselves into social-imperialists and social-fascists and who are in a close counter-revolutionary alliance with the US imperialists, the most ferocious enemies of the peoples. The imperialist-revisionist aggressive plans against great socialist China and the freedom loving peoples of the world will fail ignominiously, and the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists will be completely and definitely smashed. There is no force on earth that can stop the victorious march of revolution. There is no force on earth that can save the imperialists and the revisionists from their thorough defeat. The revolutionary cause of the peoples will surely triumph.

The Albanian Communists and people who are bound by an unbreakable friendship with the Chinese Communists and people, immeasurably rejoice at the great victory of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China and they regard it as their own victory. Our hearts throb as one. We are inseparable brothers and comrades-in-arms. Our unity is steel-like. The Ninth National Congress of your heroic Party will certainly strengthen still more the great friendship and solidarity between our two Parties and countries, it will further enhance our two Parties and countries, it will further enhance our common struggle for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism and of the liberation of the peoples.

The Albanian Party of Labour and the entire Albanian people wholeheartedly wish that the Communist Party of China and the great Chinese people, armed with all-conquering Mao Tse-Tung thought and under the wise and far-sighted Marxist-Leninist leadership of Mao Tse-Tung, will achieve new and ever greater successes and victories on the bright road of socialism established by the Ninth National Congress.

Long live the great and glorious Communist Party of China!

May Chairman Mao, great leader, great Marxist-Leninist and the closest friend of the Albanian people, live as long as the mountains!

Letter to the Communist Party of China

May the unbreakable friendship and militant unity between our two Parties and peoples last forever and grow with each passing day!

Enver Hoxha

First Secretary of the Central Committee Of the Albanian Party of Labour

April 29th, 1969, Tirana

The Demagogy of the Soviet Revisionists Cannot Conceal Their Traitorous Countenance

10 January, 1969

Demagogy has always been the favorite weapon of all traitors. That is very typical of the modern revisionists, especially of the Soviet revisionist leadership. This clique of renegades, while always advancing on the same road of treachery, has made use, according to circumstances, of various masks to conceal its real countenance.

The Alleged Return to Stalin's Correct Policy—the Basest Hypocrisy and the Most Desperate Maneuver of the Soviet Revisionists

Khrushchevite revisionism in the Soviet Union has undergone several stages, in compliance with which its forms, methods and tactics of struggle and action to carry out in practice its anti-Marxist and traitorous course and to camouflage it, have also changed.

The first stage was that of the building up, maintenance and establishment of the betrayal, accompanied with a great and scandalous noise and with a sham "optimism" to distract the minds of the people. It was characterized by the frantic campaign of attacks on J. Stalin, to discredit the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the Bolshevik Party, under the fraudulent pretext of the "fight against the personality cult and its consequences."

But what was the line of the Bolshevik Party, the line of Stalin, against which the Khrushchevite revisionists hurled themselves so furiously, what were its consequences for the development of the Soviet Union and the international communist and revolutionary movement?

In the ideological field the line pursued by the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin was the line of the consistent defence and the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in a merciless fight against the enemies and distorters of Leninism in the Soviet Union and outside it—against the Trotskyists, Bukharinists, social-democrats, Titoites etc., the line of the fight against the pressure

and influences of bourgeois ideology and culture, for the implanting and development of socialist ideology and culture, the line of high proletarian partizanship in all spheres of spiritual life, for the communist education of the working people.

In the political-social field it was the line of the unceasing strengthening of the proletarian party and of its leading role in the whole national life, of the strengthening and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the alliance of the working class and peasantry, of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the unity of the entire Soviet people around the Party and the power of the Soviets, through a fierce class struggle against the overthrown exploiting classes and their remnants outside the party and inside its ranks, the line of constant strengthening of the country's defensive power in order to stand up to any possible imperialist aggression.

In the economic field it was the line of the building of socialism with one's own efforts and at fast rates, in conditions of complete capitalist encirclement, and in a life and death struggle against the tide of petty-bourgeois spontaneity, the line of socialist industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture, of the constant improvement of socialist relations of production, of the impetuous development of socialist production and of the uninterrupted growth of the well-being of the working people.

In the field of international relations it was the line of resolute opposition to imperialism, to its policy of war and aggression, as well as of the exploitation of contradictions in the imperialist camp for its weakening and the strengthening of the positions of socialism, the internationalist line of the powerful and unreserved support for the world revolutionary and liberation movement, the line of fraternal relations of mutual support and aid towards the socialist countries and the fraternal communist and workers' parties, the line of unceasing strengthening of the militant unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, in the common struggle for the victory of the cause of socialism throughout the world.

As a result of the implementation of the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin, the socialist transformations throughout the country were successfully carried out within a short period of time, the backwardness inherited from the Czarist regime was liquidated, and the Soviet Union was transformed into a powerful socialist State with modern industry, with a large-scale collectivized agriculture, with a most advanced technology and science, with a tremendous economic and military potential. The great historic victory over fascism in the years of the Second World War was achieved and the role and importance of the Soviet country in international life grew considerably. The consolidation and growth of the influence of the communist movement in the world, the creation and consolidation of the socialist camp after the Second World War, the general weakening of the positions of international imperialism and the great successes in the development of the world proletarian revolution are due, to a considerable extent, to the internationalist revolutionary line consistently implemented by J.V. Stalin.

The Khrushchevite modern revisionists, who after having taken over the leadership of the party and the state, relied on the great results of the Stalin epoch and used them to spread and consolidate their revisionist and treacherous course, frontally attacked all the Marxist-Leninist principles which guided Stalin's policy and underlay the tremendous strength of the Soviet Union, which they usurped and appropriated.

In the ideological field the revisionists replaced the ideas and the consistent Marxist-Leninist line of Stalin on all fundamental questions with the ideas and the anti-Marxist line of modern revisionism. Opportunists and various Trotskyist, Bukharinist and Zinovievist enemies, nationalists, and others, in the Soviet Union were proclaimed as "victims of Stalin" and were placed on the pedestal of "martyrs" and "heroes." The renegade Tito clique in Yugoslavia was rehabilitated and Titoism was proclaimed as a variant of "creative Marxism-Leninism" and of "socialism." In various socialist countries condemned traitors were rehabilitated and revisionist cliques attached to Khrushchev's chariot were brought to power. They launched the slogan of unity

with the social-democrats on a national and international scale "in the joint struggle for socialism," and the way was paved for the complete ideological, political and organisational rapprochement and merger of the communist parties with the social-democratic parties. The principle of proletarian partizanship was discarded and, under the slogan of liberalisation and "freedom of creative thought," the revival of all sorts of decadent and anti-socialist trends in the fields of culture, literature and arts was encouraged.

In the political field Khrushchev and his group besmirched and discarded the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice about the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, calling it a "Stalinist distortion" and proclaiming the whole historic period of Stalin's leadership a "dark, anti-democratic period, a period of violations of socialist legality, of terror and murders, of prisons and concentration camps." The road was thus opened for the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for its replacement with the bureaucratic and counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the new "socialist" aristocracy which was born and was developing, all this being covered with the deceptive slogans of "democratisation" and of "restoration of freedom and socialist justice" allegedly "lost and now regained."

In the economic field the Khrushchevites declared as erroneous and incorrect the Stalin line and methods of development and management of the socialist economy in all branches, especially in that of agriculture, rejected Stalin's directives on further improvement and development of socialist relations of production in the historic period of the transition from socialism to communism, and, under the pretext of overcoming the economic "stagnation" and difficulties allegedly created as a result of the Stalin "dogmatic" line, undertook a series of "reforms" which paved the way to the gradual degeneration of the socialist economic order and to the uncontrolled operation of the economic laws of capitalism.

In the field of international relations the Khrushchevite revisionists proclaimed as "erroneous," "rigid" and "dogmatic" the Stalin foreign policy line, the line of the blow for blow fight against imperialism and of determined internationalist support for

the revolutionary and liberation struggle. They replaced it with the "peaceful coexistence" policy as the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. They trumpeted peaceful coexistence in all directions as a "great discovery," as an "invaluable contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism," and as the "beginning of a new epoch in international relations." Everything—the cause of revolution, of the liberation of the peoples, of the independence and sovereignty of the socialist countries, was subjected to the needs of "peaceful coexistence" and of "peace at any price" with imperialism, especially with U.S. imperialism. This was in fact the line of capitulation to imperialism, of renouncing the struggle against it, of rapprochement and collaboration with it.

The anti-Stalin campaign served the Khrushchevite renegades to pass over to the second stage—to that of the efforts for the strengthening and stabilisation of the betrayal in the economy, policy and ideology, at home and in foreign relations. This is the stage of the codification of the viewpoints of Khrushchevite revisionism and of the large-scale implementation of its policy.

N. Khrushchev and his group completely liquidated the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, they transformed it into a weapon of the revisionist counter-revolution, they replaced the Leninist norms of party building with revisionist norms and, finally, they proclaimed it a "party of the whole people." They liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and it was proclaimed as a past stage, under the pretext of the transformation of the Soviet State into a "state of the whole people," which is nothing else but a "democratic" mask hiding the counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the new bourgeois class represented by the revisionist renegades. The process of restoration of capitalism in the economy began on a large scale. The proclamation of "profit" as the fundamental criterion and incentive of economic development, the decentralisation of some vital links of the management of the economy, the encouragement of tendencies towards private property, the transformation of socialist property into a means of exploitation of the working people and of ensuring large profits on the party of the leading section of the bureaucratic

bourgeoisie, the opening of the doors to the free penetration of foreign capital and, as a consequence of all this, the ever more powerful operation of the laws of capitalist economy, anarchy in production and competition between enterprises, the considerable revival of the black market, profiteering, abuses, graft, etc.—such are some of the fundamental features of the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet economy. Alongside this, the anti-Marxist course of the Khrushchevite revisionists flung open wide the doors to the irresistible penetration of the decadent bourgeois ideology and culture, to the mortal degeneration of the people, and in the first place of the rising generation, to the spreading of the "western way of life."

In the field of international relations this stage was characterized by the complete establishment of the counter-revolutionary alliance of the Soviet leadership with U.S. imperialism for sharing the domination of the world, at the expense of the freedom and independence of the peoples of the vital interests of the socialist countries, of the cause of revolution and socialism. The selling out of the interests of the liberation struggle of the Congolese people, the bargainings with U.S. and West-German imperialism to the detriment of the national interests of the German Democratic Republic, the treachery towards the Cuban people in the days of the Caribbean crisis, the joint plots with the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries against the People's Republic of China, the signing of the ill-famed Soviet-U.S.-British treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, the sabotage of the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors, and of the just struggle of the Arab people against the imperialist-Israel aggression, etc.—all these, and other acts, are links of the long chain of the counterrevolutionary alliance of the Soviet revisionist leadership with U.S. imperialism.

In this period, when Khrushchevite revisionism was still on the rise and had somewhat strong positions, it did not hesitate in many cases to take off its mask, to openly express its viewpoints, trying to place them on a "Marxist-Leninist" theoretical foundation and to justify them with the "new conditions." It was precisely in this period that the entire

revisionist chorus, under the absolute direction of the conductor's baton—Khrushchev's,—was loudly singing of peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, the peaceful road, of the State and party of the whole people, of the world without weapons, without armies and without wars, when they were openly saying that imperialism and its chiefs have become sensible and peace-loving, that the fate of the peoples will be decided by U.N. resolution, that the Soviet-U.S. alliance was the greatest guarantee of world peace, etc., etc.

All this counter-revolutionary line and the anti-Marxist-Leninist viewpoints of the Khrushchevite revisionists were consecrated in the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, especially in the program of the CPSU adopted at this congress, which, due to the dominating position of the Soviet leadership in the revisionist camp, became the main code of the trend of international modern revisionism.

At this ill-famed congress were repeated openly and publicly now the monstrous attacks and calumnies against Stalin. This showed, in the first place, that the feelings of sympathy towards J. Stalin had remained alive among the Soviet people and this greatly worried the Khrushchevite leading clique; in the second place, that this clique was obstinately advancing on its anti-Marxist road, and in the third place, that it needed the "bogy of Stalinism" in order to defeat the ever more resolute resistance which was rising in the international communist movement against its treacherous line.

But the logic of treachery is such that the more deeply they submerge in the bog, the more it suffocates them. Revisionism was born as a retrogressive trend to save capitalism from its general crisis. But in this role it, itself entered a deep and general crisis from which nothing can save it. The situation for the head of revisionism, for the Soviet ruling clique has become especially grave.

The struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, and life itself, which is the best judge of every policy, rejected the line and theories of the Soviet revisionist leadership, exposed their anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary essence. Difficult days

have come for the Khrushchevite revisionists. Khrushchevite revisionism has entered the third stage, which is the stage of its decline, of its deep and general crisis, the stage when treachery develops but yields bitter fruits and brings defeats to the revisionists.

The efforts of the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership to impose its revisionist course and its chauvinist dictate on the whole international communist movement failed ignominiously. At a rapid rate the great and irresistible process of differentiation in the communist movement in various countries and on a world scale has developed. The principled and determined attitude of the Communist Party of China and of the Party of Labor of Albania in defence of the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, and their consistent fight against the treachery of Soviet revisionism played the main role in this important historic process. Within a few years tens of new Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations were created which raised high the banner of the struggle against modern revisionism and have taken in their hands the cause of revolution. This is a heavy and irreparable defeat with lethal consequence to the revisionist renegades in all countries.

The ever deeper engagement of the Khrushchevite revisionists on the criminal road of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, of counter-revolutionary alliances with imperialism, of subversion and division of the world communist and revolutionary movement, their successive defeats in their domestic and foreign policies, accompanied with serious economic and political difficulties—all this has thrown the Soviet revisionist leadership into a deep, irreconcilable, and ever fiercer contradiction with the Soviet people and with the revolutionary peoples of the whole world.

The contradictions of the Soviet revisionist leadership with the other revisionist groupings have greatly sharpened and these in compliance with the special interests of their national bourgeoisie whose representatives they are, are demanding faster rates of degeneration of the socialist order into an order of bourgeois democracy and greater independence and freedom of action from Moscow. The dominating positions of the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union in the revisionist camp

are weakening and being smashed with every passing day. The clearest testimony to this is the "rebellion" of the Czechoslovak and other revisionists against the dictate of the Soviet leadership and the repeated discrediting failures of the latter in its efforts to organise an international meeting of the revisionist communist and workers parties.

The positions of the revisionist cliques in power, especially the Soviet clique, have been shattered to their foundations. No longer are they in a position to conceal the deep splits and the struggle for power which is taking place ever more fiercely in their fold. The failure and inglorious overthrow of the inspirer and head of the Soviet modern revisionism, N. Khrushchev, were the most obvious expression of the deep crisis and of revisionist instability.

Khrushchev's successors were obliged to change tactics. They discarded into oblivion the noisy slogan and preachings of N. Khrushchev and decided to pass from words to deeds. If the "merit" of the working out of the general line of modern revisionism belongs to N. Khrushchev, to his successors, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, belongs the "merit" of the full implementation of this counter-revolutionary line.

But the "cautious" tactics of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique were incapable of lifting Khrushchevite revisionism from the swamps into which it has submerged. The iron laws of history irresistibly blaze their trail, deepening from day to day the crisis and difficulties of the revisionist renegades.

In face of the irreparable defeats, both at home and abroad, in face of the resistance and revolutionary struggle being waged against them from outside and inside by the Soviet people and revolutionaries, by the Party of Labor of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries throughout the world, the Khrushchevite revisionists are striving to save their domination by establishing a military fascist dictatorship. This they need to quell the revolt of the working masses, of the Soviet people, and every activity of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, to curb the discrediting actions of the impatient liberal revisionists at home, to hold under control the

revisionist cliques of the other countries, and to re-establish the Soviet dictate on their revisionist partners.

This policy found its most flagrant expression in the aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites against the Czechoslovak people. This aggression entirely tore off the mask of the Kremlin clique. The methods used, beginning with the pressures, blackmail, the Judas kisses in Cerna and Tisu, and Bratislava, and ending with the surprise attack, in the darkness of the night, without any ground whatsoever, be it even as a matter of form, that could justify the brutal intervention with arms, gives this interference its true meaning—an imperialist, fascist aggression.

The strengthening of the aggressive, imperialist, fascist tendencies of the domestic and foreign policies of the revisionist Soviet Union, which is an expression not of strength, but of the weakness of the Khrushchevite leadership, demands its ideological foundation. The ideological servants of revisionism are now meeting this need. For this purpose, there have been published of late in the Soviet press a series of so-called theoretical articles, full of pseudo-revolutionary demagoguery, which are aimed at creating a smokescreen so that the people should not see what is in reality hidden behind it. It is a question of dressing the revisionist treachery with new cloaks at these very critical moments which the Khrushchevite leadership of the Soviet Union is living. Above all, they are striving to justify the complete passage of the Soviet revisionist clique to the fascist dictatorship and methods and to conceal it by the alleged return to Stalin and to his Marxist-Leninist line.

To attack Stalin with the most rabid savagery for his correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist policy in all the fields, as the Khrushchevite revisionist renegades did, and now, faced with their full defeat in all directions; to try to hide behind Stalin's name, claiming, at times directly and at times indirectly, that the Khrushchevite revisionists are allegedly returning to the correct Stalin policy, is out-and-out deception, the most shameless hypocrisy, the basest and most desperate demagoguery on the part of the Soviet revisionists.

It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists squarely to expose this deceptive attempt of the Soviet revisionists and to wrest this dangerous weapon from their hands.

The Establishment of the Fascist Military Dictatorship Under the Disguise of Safeguarding the Idea of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

One of the demagogical manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionist clique to justify its transition to the fascist dictatorship, is the noise which it is making in these recent times allegedly in defence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the dictatorship of the proletariat, although, as is known, it is precisely the Soviet leading clique itself that has destroyed the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and has slung the dirtiest mud at it, presenting it as a "savage, barbarous, inhuman dictatorship which has done nothing but commit crimes against the working class and the laboring people."

They who come out today with the banner of the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat are precisely those that have proclaimed it as liquidated in the Soviet Union under the pretext of the transformation of the Soviet State into a "State of the entire people." The Soviet revisionists are now striving to create the illusion that the so-called "State of the entire people" is allegedly "the direct continuation of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat." This illusion can deceive only the naïve, because there is nothing and there can be nothing, in common between the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and "the state of the entire people." The latter, in reality, is the complete negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its transformation into something entirely opposite—into a counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

"The continuation between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the entire people," the scribblers of the Moscow Pravda write,— "is clearly seen in the preservation of the leading role of the working class." But how does the working class play this role when the socialist state and the communist party, as the revisionists claim, have lost their proletarian class

character and have become a "state and party of the entire people"? It is obvious that we are faced here with a very clumsy and banal deception. In reality, the working class in the Soviet Union has not been in power for a long time. It is now a class which is being oppressed and exploited, being corrupted and exposed to degeneration. It is transformed from a leading force into a mere productive force, from a political force into an economic appendage. In fact, it is the new bourgeois class that is ruling and leading now in the Soviet Union, the class that has established its savage dictatorship over the Soviet working class and the Soviet people.

The Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists, who are today playing with slogans of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are precisely those that have defended and propagandized, with a great noise, the revisionist theses which advocate the supra-class character of the present day capitalist state, and its use as a means for transition to socialism, who deny the necessity of smashing the bourgeois state machine as an indispensable condition for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, who deny the leading role of the communist party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat without which the latter cannot exist, etc.

The falsity of the whole demagogical noise of the Soviet revisionists, allegedly in defence of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is quite obvious also in the fact that, as previously, indeed with a still greater intensity, they continue to attack the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China for their firm loyalty towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as at the time of the frantic campaign against Stalin and his work, they furiously attack the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and Albania calling it a "bureaucratic-military regime, strangler of freedom and socialist democracy," etc. They especially attack the Marxist-Leninist thesis of our parties pensable till the victory of communism on a world scale, because during this period the class struggle continues at home and in the international arena. There continues the struggle between the two roads—socialist and capitalist, a thesis which has been fully confirmed by revolutionary practice. The most convincing proof of the

correctness of this thesis is the very fact of the revisionist counter-revolution and of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union nearly 40 years after the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution.

It most clearly follows from all this that in the activity of the Khrushchevites we are by no means faced with a denial of the previous revisionist theses and with a return to the Marxist-Leninist positions on the dictatorship of the proletariat, but with a deceptive attempt to mask with "revolutionary" slogans what is happening in reality in the Soviet Union—the full transition to the methods of fascist military dictatorship. The dressing up of fascism with "socialist" and "revolutionary" phraseology is by no means new. These tactics were used by Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy, in their time.

The coercive measures, the calls for the strengthening of the ideological struggle, of discipline, unity, etc., are measures serving the consolidation of the fascist dictatorship of the Khrushchevite revisionist clique. In reality, the coercive measures are actions of the fascist dictatorship for the suppression of all revolutionary activity of the Soviet people and of the genuine Bolsheviks. The intensification of the fight against all truly revolutionary thought. The discipline demanded by the Soviet leaders is the discipline of the "black hundreds," to bridle away every one who rises against the revisionist treachery. The unity about which the Khrushchevite revisionists speak, is a unity on revisionist foundations, around the revisionist party and for the counter-revolutionary purposes of the revisionists.

The Soviet leadership is trying to create the impression that its measures are mainly directed against the liberal extremists who, of late, especially after the events in Czechoslovakia and Poland, have become still more active. Although the Soviet revisionist leaders and the extremist liberal elements are essentially advancing on the same anti-Marxist and treacherous road, the activity of these elements is undesirable for the revisionist leadership. It fears another counter-revolution within counter-revolution, it does not wish to suffer the fate of N. Khrushchev or of the Novotny clique. But what worries the Soviet leadership most is the fact that the frenzied and unwise activity of

these elements openly disclose the trickery of the revisionists, causes their demagoguery to fall, openly reveals treachery, and this cannot help opening the eyes to the Soviet people, it cannot help intensifying their resistance and struggle to sweep away with the great broom of revolution both the liberal revisionists and the "conservatives," both the ultras and the "moderates."

Therefore, it is precisely against this revolution that all the measures, and the fascist dictatorship of the Soviet revisionist leadership, are directed. But however hard it may try to strangle this revolution through repressive measures and deception, the revolution is irrevocable. The Soviet people will not tolerate the revisionists' treachery for long. In the end they will have the final say.

Complete Degeneration of the CPSU Under the Call For the Defense of the Party Principles

In order to realise their counterrevolutionary aims, all the class enemies have always directed their main attack against the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party which is the brain and heart of the working class. This is how the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, too, began their treachery. And now, it is precisely they who have transformed the great Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin into a revisionist, counterrevolutionary, and anti-communist party, who have paved the way to the revisionist and bourgeois degeneration of many communist and workers' parties of other countries, precisely they are today coming out allegedly in defence of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the party and are "criticizing" those that are violating these principles. Seeking justification for their fascist aggression in Czechoslovakia they accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists in particular of having "launched a frantic campaign against the healthy cadres of the party, who make up its fund of gold," of having "risen against the leading role of the communist party," of having "advocated the multiplicity of political parties," of having "sought to make the party a cultural-illuminist or ideo-preaching" organisation, of having "stood for the so-called equal partnership of all the social organisations within the communist party," of having "attacked the Leninist norms of inner party life," etc.

On the lips of the Soviet revisionist renegades such accusations resound as all-out hypocrisy, with an unprecedented cynicism, for it is precisely they themselves and their allies who, as before, are still advocating, defending and committing these crimes in their own parties.

The Party of Labor of Albania has long since, and more than once, pointed out the complete betrayal of the Soviet revisionist leaders of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the proletarian party. But in order to expose the deep-going demagoguery of the revisionists that they are allegedly returning to the positions of the defense of these teachings, to the implementation of the Leninist norms of the party, it is necessary that we should once more dwell on some well known facts.

If the Dubcek counterrevolutionaries attacked and purged the Soviet agency—the Novotny counter-revolutionaries whom the Soviet leadership call "the Party's fund of gold," the Khrushchevite counter-revolutionary clique of the Soviet Union in its own country attacked and purged the real revolutionary cadres who were remaining true to the Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party and to the ideals of socialism. Under the slogan of the "fight against Stalin's personality cult," or under the pretext of rotation, the Khrushchevite revisionists rode roughshod over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Seventy per cent of the members of the members of the Central Committee elected at the 19th Congress of the CPSU in 1952 were no longer figuring on the list of the Central Committee members elected at the 22nd Congress in 1961. Sixty per cent of the CC members in 1956 were no longer figuring on the list of the CC members that were elected at the 23rd Congress in 1966. A still greater purge has been carried out in the lower party organs. For instance, during 1963 alone, more than 50 per cent of the members of the party central and regional committees in the Republics of the Soviet Union were relieved of their functions, while in the city and district party committees three quarters of their members were replaced with others. The purge of the revolutionary cadres has been carried out on a large scale also in the State organs, and especially in those of the army and State security.

As to the question of the leading role of the communist

party, of the denial of which the Soviet leadership accuses the Czechoslovak revisionists, this role has long since been liquidated in the Soviet Union itself. Of what leading role of the working class revolutionary party in the Soviet Union can we speak when the Khrushchevite revisionists have discarded the Marxist-Leninist line and the proletarian class character of the CPSU? They have forced upon it a treacherous revisionist line in the service of the new Soviet bourgeoisie and of world imperialism, headed by the United States, and have transformed it into a "party of the entire people"! The "party of the entire people" slogan is essentially a denial of the class character in general, because there are not and there can never be nonclass and above-class parties. But denial of its proletarian class character, is a label to conceal its transformation from a revolutionary proletarian Marxist-Leninist party into a counterrevolutionary bourgeois revisionist party.

Of what norms can the Soviet revisionists speak when they have long since buried these norms in their own party, when they have transformed them from Marxist-Leninist norms into revisionist norms which serve their counterrevolutionary aims and line. The Soviet revisionists speak of democratic centralism; they speak of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, but in reality they are hypocritical; they speak of conscious party discipline, but in reality it is a fascist discipline; they speak of proletarian morality, but in reality it is a bourgeois morality; they speak of freedom of thought, but every free expression of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thought leads one to jail, to committal to mental hospital or concentration camp. Irrespective of the disguises, the present day norms in the CPSU are anti-Leninist, bourgeois, reactionary, fascist norms.

It was precisely the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU that paved the way, not only for the degeneration of this party itself, but also for the degeneration of a number of other communist and workers parties in socialist and capitalist countries. It was precisely this counterrevolutionary course that inspired and encouraged the spreading of all sorts of anti-Marxist viewpoints of the revisionists in various countries about the transition to socialism under the leadership of anti-proletarian parties, which indeed do not even call themselves socialist, about

unity with the social-democratic renegades through the complete organisational merger with them into a so-called united working class party, about the liquidation of the communist parties and their merging into fronts led by the bourgeoisie, etc. As a result of this revisionist line, the communist parties in many capitalist countries in reality no longer exist as such; they have been transformed into a new variant of the old discredited social-democracy, they have abandoned all revolutionary ideals and are collaborating with the bourgeoisie for the defence of the capitalist order. While in the former socialist countries they have been transformed from working class parties for the building of socialism into parties of the new bourgeoisie for the complete restoration of capitalism.

Pluralism, the many party system, against which the Soviet revisionists are making a noise today, exists not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in many other revisionist countries, and signs are appearing everywhere of the revival and political and organisational activation of other parties to obtain leading and ruling positions in the "socialist state," which is ever more assuming the features of a bourgeois state. These viewpoints are being noisily defended and propagandized also by many other revisionists in capitalist countries, especially in Italy and France, who are bringing pressure to bear upon their colleagues in the former socialist countries to advance as quickly as possible on this road, to adapt "socialist democracy" as far as possible to bourgeois democracy.

Why then does the Soviet leadership precisely now show itself so worried about the question of the leading role of the party and come out forcefully against pluralism? They do this not only to find additional justification for the legalisation of their aggression in Czechoslovakia. There are other deep reasons. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique is very much worried about the defence of its dominating position from the great dangers threatening it both inside and outside the party. There is not and there can be no unity in the Soviet revisionist party. Revisionism is certain division. In the Soviet Union as well as in any other revisionist country, there exists the factional struggle for power between the revisionist groups and trends, as is clearly confirmed by N.

Khrushchev's overthrow and the other changes in Soviet leadership. This disintegration process will irrevocably deepen. The course of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union cannot but lead to the revival of the various bourgeois and nationalist groups. This prepares the objective conditions for the birth, sooner or later, also of the bourgeois many party system. The Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist clique, with a view to preserving its dominating position, is trying and will try with all its might without hesitating to use even means of violence, to curb this process. For this purpose, it is trying and it will try, to exploit the tradition of the existence of a single party and of the fight of the Bolsheviks against the factionists and deviators. The Soviet leading clique is opposed to the disintegration of the single party also because of the position of the Soviet Union as a great multinational State, for this would lead to an internal national division, consequently also to the undermining of the role of the revisionist Soviet Union on the international arena as a great imperialist power.

But above all, the Khrushchevite revisionists are striving to exploit the Bolshevik single party tradition, with which the Soviet communists and the Soviet people have been moulded, to keep them attached to the CPSU in which there remains nothing communist. They are striving to exploit this tradition in order to prevent the organisation of the Soviet revolutionaries and the creation of a new Marxist-Leninist Party in the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that not all the communists and the working class in the Soviet Union see that the present-day Communist Party of the Soviet Union has nothing in common with the Bolshevik Party of Lenin-Stalin, bolshevism is always alive in the Soviet Union and the Soviet Bolshevik revolutionaries will not be defeated in the face of the tragedy which the land of the Soviets is living, but they will restore the great traditions of October Revolution, of the heroic times of Lenin and Stalin. And the only road to this is the recreation of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist revolutionary party, that must take in its hands the banner of the struggle for the overthrow of the revisionist clique and the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to turn the Soviet Union back to the road of communism.

The Revisionists Against Revisionism

Revisionism, as a bourgeois-ideological, anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary trend, has been so badly discredited that even the chiefs of revisionism themselves, especially those of the Soviet Union, are using the term "revisionist" to criticize their most irresistible and liberal allies. Here and there they let out even the words that revisionism is today the main danger, and the fight against it—the primary duty. They need this, both to justify their aggression in Czechoslovakia and for home consumption. The tactics of the Soviet revisionists are tactics of the thief who calls: "catch the thief." They accuse others of all that they have done or are doing themselves.

Modern revisionism was born about the time of the Second World War. Its first representatives were Browder in America and Tito in Europe. But due to the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties, headed by the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin, neither Browderism nor Titoism could flourish very widely; they were isolated and fully exposed. Modern revisionism was transformed into a major international trend only after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and due to this ill-famed congress. After this congress Khrushchevite revisionism was developed and raised to a whole system of political, ideological and economic bourgeois viewpoints. But while they now take "anti-revisionist" poses, the Soviet revisionists persist in the entirely revisionist line of the 20th and 22nd congresses. This shows that all their present-day fuss against "revisionism" is a great bluff.

The Soviet leaders accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of having "discarded loyalty towards principles under the banner of the fight against dogmatism. They advocate the liquidation of the revolutionary convictions, of the foundations of socialist ideology," etc. But is it not the Soviet revisionists themselves who up to today have proclaimed that "dogmatism" (meaning Marxism-Leninism) was the main danger; and is it not they themselves who, under the banner of the fight against dogmatism, betrayed Marxism-Leninism, widely spread revisionism, and furiously attacked the Stalin revolutionary line, the Party of Labor of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties? Is it not the Soviet revisionist leaders who, while

they throw fireworks against "revisionism," are furiously continuing the fight against the parties which really stand on Marxist-Leninist positions, especially against the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China, which have waged and continue to wage a consistent, principled and inflexible struggle against revisionism? This is another proof exposing the "anti-revisionist" demagoguery of the Soviet leadership.

When the Czechoslovak revisionists, for the realisation of their counterrevolutionary aims, made extensive use of the false slogans of "freedom," "democracy," "liberalisation," "humanism," these slogans, according to the Soviet leadership, were a mask "to cover counterrevolutionary activity," but when these slogans are used by that leadership itself, which is just as much counterrevolutionary as the Czechoslovak leadership, these slogans are allegedly revolutionary! Freedom and democracy on the lips of the revisionists, whether Khrushchevite, Titoite, Novotnist or Dubcekist, mean freedom and democracy for the revisionists, for the traitors and counterrevolutionaries; liberalisation means destruction and liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat; humanism means replacement of the class struggle with Christian pacifism and love for all the class enemies.

When the Czechoslovak revisionists speak of "grave errors in the past," "distortions of democracy and violations of legality" and use them to blacken and undermine the gains of socialism, this, according to the Soviet leaders, is "diabolic tactics" of the enemies of socialism. But did the Khrushchevite clique not pursue precisely these "diabolical tactics" in the Soviet Union? The attacks and calumnies made by the Khrushchevites against the heroic past of the Soviet Union outdid even those of the most rabid imperialist enemies of the Soviet Union. Nobody has discredited the Soviet Union more than the Khrushchevite clique. The "secret" report of the 20th Congress is a document which is known to everybody and Khrushchev's successors have never, in the slightest, put this document in doubt. Their manoeuvres in publishing some writing or in producing some film showing the great historic role of J. Stalin during the great patriotic war, cannot conceal their out-and-out treachery towards the ideas and the activity of Stalin. They are only a testimony to

the fact that Stalin is always alive in the minds and the hearts of the Soviet men and women, and are aimed at throwing dust in the eyes, and at quelling the resistance of the Soviet people towards the Khrushchevite clique which has buried the glorious historic period of the Stalin leadership.

Just as demagogical on the lips of the Soviet revisionist renegades, are their slogans about the necessity of intensifying the struggle against the bourgeois ideology and its efforts for the "erosion of socialist ideology," "against a multiplicity" of socialist ideologies and of socialism as a social order. Today they accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of having had opened the doors to the flood of western ideology, of making efforts to liquidate the foundations of socialist ideology, of advocating a new model of socialism which is not based on Marxism-Leninism, etc. By rising against these "sins" of the Czechoslovak revisionists, the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* discovered America for the second time, as it were, pointing out that "there is not and there can be no socialism without the leading role of the Communist Party, armed with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism," that "there can be no other form of socialism since the birth and development of scientific socialism, no 'other' socialist ideology which is not based on Marxism-Leninism can exist in our times." (see *Pravda* of September 19 and 22, 1968).

Of what fight against bourgeois ideology can the Soviet revisionists speak while revisionism is nothing else by a manifestation of the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, while egoism and individualism, the running after money and other material benefits are thriving in the Soviet Union, while careerseeking and bureaucratism, technocratism, economism and intellectualism are developing, while villas, motor-cars and beautiful women have become the supreme ideal of men, while literature and art attack socialism, everything revolutionary, and advocate pacifism and bourgeois humanism, the empty and dissolute living of people thinking only of themselves, while hundreds of thousands of western tourists that visit the Soviet Union every year, spread the bourgeois ideology and way of life there, while western films cover the screens of the Soviet cinema halls, while the American orchestras and jazz bands and those of

the other capitalist countries have become the favorite orchestras of the youth, and while parades of western fashions are in vogue in the Soviet Union? If until yesterday the various manifestations of bourgeois ideology could be called remnants of the past, today bourgeois ideology has become a component part of the capitalist superstructure which rests on the state capitalist foundation which has now been established in the Soviet Union.

As to the criticism against the "multiplicity" of socialist ideologies and of socialist orders," it is the Soviet leaders themselves that have wiped out in theory and practice any distinction between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology, between the socialist order and the capitalist one. It is precisely the Soviet revisionists who have declared, and continue to declare, that many countries newly liberated from the colonial rule of imperialism and in which the bourgeoisie and landlords and their reactionary ideology are dominating, have embarked on the road of socialism or are building socialism. Does this not indicate that the Soviet leaders themselves are advocating the possibility of transition to socialism without the leadership of the working class, of its revolutionary party, and of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, in other words, the possibility of transition to socialism under the leadership of non-proletarian classes and parties, that there exist, thus, several kinds of socialism and several kinds of socialist ideology?

Or let us take the case of Yugoslavia. In "criticizing" the Yugoslav Titoites, who supported the Dubcek clique and spoke against the Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists thought of pointing out that the program of the Communist League of Yugoslavia is the complete embodiment of the ideology of revisionism. But how does this comply with the other statements of the Soviet leaders who, after having kissed and embraced the Tito clique, proclaimed and continue even today to call Yugoslavia a socialist country? What is this socialism which is allegedly being built in Yugoslavia on the basis of revisionist ideology, which is nothing else but a variant of the bourgeois ideology? Does the Soviet leadership itself not admit by this that socialism can allegedly be built also on the basis of revisionism, that is of anti-Marxism, of bourgeois ideology?

Expressing dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Tito clique towards the Czechoslovak events, the Soviet propaganda accuses the Titoites of being "inspirers and supporters of the Czechoslovak counterrevolutionaries." But the Soviet leaders themselves who, in an entirely arbitrary way, rehabilitated the Tito clique as an "innocent victim," introduced it into the communist movement, proclaimed it as "a "fighter for socialism" and maintain close ties with it, are they not themselves inspirers and supporters of the inspirers and supporters of the counterrevolutionaries? Thus, they themselves are as much counterrevolutionaries as the Tito clique. After the 1956 Hungarian events, also, the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union undertook a campaign of criticisms against the Yugoslav revisionists, but only as a matter of form, for it had collaborated with them behind the scenes to bring counter-revolutionary Kadar to power, and as soon as the tension relaxed somewhat the honeymoon started again. This is what will surely happen this time, too. Indeed the tone of the anti-Yugoslav propaganda in the Soviet Union has already greatly diminished. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique can deceive nobody by its sham criticism of the Tito clique. They are two revisionist cliques which, despite the contradictions they have about the questions of the roads of development of revisionism and of relations between the revisionist countries and parties, belong to a single revolutionary trend—modern revisionism.

The Soviet revisionists have allegedly discovered in Czechoslovakia a "new," "unknown" form of counterrevolution. The sin of those who condemned the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia as aggression, they say, is allegedly the "deep incomprehension of the essence of this new historical phenomenon," as people have been so far accustomed to "imagine counterrevolution only in its armed form, through violence."

Summing up the experience of the revisionist tragedy that happened in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries where the revisionist cliques are in power, the Marxist-Leninists have long since drawn the conclusion that the danger to the destinies of socialism does not stem only from external imperialist aggression nor only from the armed counterrevolution of the

exploiting classes and their survivals, but also from peaceful bourgeois revisionist degeneration, which is the result of the influence of bourgeois ideology from inside and of the pressure of imperialism from outside.

The first example of peaceful counterrevolution was provided by the Titoites, then this road was pursued by the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union and by the cliques of the other socialist countries of Europe in succession. The attempt of the Soviet revisionists to present peaceful counterrevolution as a "new historic phenomenon" which occurred only during the Czechoslovak events, is in reality an attempt, on the one hand, to justify their aggression against the Czechoslovak people and, on the other hand, to camouflage the peaceful counterrevolution which they themselves have carried out in the Soviet Union.

Although the ideologists of the Soviet revisionists speak a great deal of peaceful counterrevolution, they only skirt around this phenomenon. They present it in a very simple way, as something directly instigated and organised by the remnants of the exploiting classes and by the agencies of imperialism. In reality, peaceful counterrevolution is a counterrevolution which is carried out from above, by the degenerated and bureaucratized cadres of the very class and party which are in power. And this process of degeneration has its own deep internal and external social-economic causes, in the same way as it has also its own historic and ideologic sources. The Soviet revisionists do not and cannot make any analysis whatsoever of the causes and sources, because this would mean for them to make an autopsy of themselves. The autopsy of the birth of revisionism has been and will be made ever more fully only by the Marxist-Leninists, by the Bolshevik revolutionaries, who will throw out the revisionist carrion and will purge the whole atmosphere of its bad smell.

With their own words, the Khrushchevite revisionists expose themselves, because if they admit the danger of peaceful counterrevolution even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, how can they proclaim that "the victory of socialism is complete and final," how can they say what was said in the program of the CPSU approved by the 22nd Congress that "in the countries of people's democracy the social-economic possibilities

for the restoration of capitalism have been removed"? One or the other: Either the thesis of peaceful counterrevolution is a bluff or the other thesis that all danger to the destinies of socialism has been removed, is a deception, an attempt to legalize the revisionist treachery, to lull the vigilance and revolutionary action of the communists and the working people.

In contrast with what they have previously advocated, that allegedly with the liquidation of exploiting classes the class struggle also comes to an end and its place is occupied by the political and social-economic unity of society, at present the Soviet revisionists are not opposed to admitting the class struggle after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such and to oppose also "abstract national unity." There is no end to demagogy. They speak of class struggle, but only in other countries, while they do not utter a single word about the class struggle in the Soviet Union, as if harmony and everlasting peace were reigning there. But what about the struggle which the Khrushchevite revisionists themselves undertook after the death of J.V. Stalin in the Soviet Union; is it not an open expression of the struggle of the class enemies who opened the road to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, to its transformation from a socialist proletarian state into a new bourgeois and imperialist state? This class struggle, but from the positions of the new bourgeoisie and its interests, is being waged most savagely by the Soviet revisionist leadership against the healthy revolutionary forces both at home and in the international arena, resorting to all the means of the military fascist dictatorship.

Life, facts, the very experience of revisionist treachery show that the class struggle continues, not only after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such, not only after the victory of socialism, but indeed, for some time, even after the victory of communism on a world scale, as long as the influences of bourgeois ideology continue to exist. Therefore, the complete victory of socialism and communism can be achieved and be guaranteed only when, in addition to other things, there has been achieved the full victory of socialist ideology over bourgeois ideology in every individual country and on a world scale. And, as long as this struggle continues, the existence of the dictatorship of

the proletariat is indispensable, as the main weapon of the class struggle of the proletariat for the destruction of all the class enemies and for the building of socialism and communism.

The whole demagoguery of the alleged fight against revisionism and of the alleged return to the Leninist-Stalinist positions is needed by the Soviet revisionist leadership to conceal its complete transformation into a social-fascist clique.

But the Soviet leaders, due to their very position as a revisionist clique, cannot go very far in the so-called "fight against revisionism," for such a thing is fraught with extremely dangerous consequences unexpected and undesirable for them. Therefore, at the same time they are furiously continuing their fight against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the parties remaining faithful to it, especially against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. This most clearly shows the falsity of their demagogical fuss about the "fight against revisionism."

Precisely to conceal its bluff, the Soviet leadership is striving to create the illusion that it allegedly stands on the Leninist positions of the struggle on two fronts, that it is allegedly fighting against the rightists, the revisionists, as well as against the "leftists," "dogmatists," "adventurers," etc. This dangerous manoeuvre must be fully exposed, and the real social-fascist features of the Soviet leading clique should be nakedly revealed.

Social-Imperialism Disguised as Proletarian Internationalism

Social-fascism in the home policy has social-imperialism as its direct continuation in foreign policy; and while they seek to camouflage fascism with "socialist" phraseology, the Soviet leaders strive to conceal their imperialism with the slogan of "proletarian internationalism."

It is known that the Khrushchevite revisionists started their treachery with capitulation and concessions to imperialism and with renouncing the fight against it; while the liquidation of the foundations of socialism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, its transformation from a socialist state into a capitalist state of the new type, created the economic, social and

class premises for its transformation into a great imperialist power in the international arena, and for the counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism. The Soviet Union has become an imperialist power which seeks to have its zones of influence, which is striving to enslave and exploit the peoples of other countries, which, in alliance with U.S. imperialism, is striving for the establishment of the world domination of the two great powers.

But if, until recently, Soviet imperialism was trying to preserve and extend its zone of influence, to dictate its will to others through "peaceful means"—through economic penetration and subjugation, through political and ideological influence and pressure, through military and economic alliances, etc., now it has passed over to open fascist methods, to the use of armed violence, to direct military aggression even against its own allies. Precisely this is the new feature in the evolution of Soviet imperialism. The most typical example in this direction is the Soviet fascist military aggression in Czechoslovakia.

By what they did in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists quite evidently showed that now for them there do exist neither friendship, alliances and treaties, freedom and independence, nor sovereignty of peoples. The only "principle" existing for them is the right of the more powerful to make the law everywhere, while all other principles are violated, trampled under foot, placed under the heel, through arms and bloodshed.

To justify this cynical and fascist policy, the Soviet revisionists are now seeking to convince none other than their own allies from the revisionist camp that the independence, self-determination, sovereignty of the parties and peoples of various countries have no value whatsoever, that they must submit to the interests of the so-called socialist community, in other words, to the interests of the chauvinist great power of the Soviet Union, that for the sake of these interests this power can violate these principles when, where, and in what way, it likes.

The demagoguery of the Soviet aggressors, that by attacking and occupying Czechoslovakia with arms they carried out their internationalist duty towards the Czechoslovak people and

towards the cause of socialism and the world revolutionary movement, inasmuch as they allegedly saved the victories of socialism in Czechoslovakia from the danger of counterrevolution, can hoodwink nobody. How can they defend the gains of socialism in another country who have destroyed socialism in their own country, how can they avoid the danger of counterrevolution who themselves are the head of counterrevolution? We showed above that all those things of which they accused the Czechoslovak revisionists in order to justify their aggression, the Soviet revisionists have done and are doing themselves. Therefore all the "arguments" of the Soviet revisionist leadership are empty and false. Their actions have no political, ideological, moral or legal foundation whatsoever.

Fully defeated also, was the "legal" argument of the Soviet revisionists to justify their aggression in Czechoslovakia. The "famous" letter of some Czechoslovak personalities allegedly addressed to the Soviets and to some other Warsaw Treaty countries "to ask for their aid in suppressing counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia" was absolutely proved to be a fraud. Nobody came out to confirm being the author of that letter. The Soviet troops were not invited either by the Czechoslovak Government, or by the President of the Republic, by the parliament or the Central Committee of the Party. Even Hitler in his time acted with some tact: at least he obtained by force the signature of the President Hacha, when he occupied Czechoslovakia.

As to the Czechoslovak people and the healthy socialist forces in Czechoslovakia, they had no reason to address themselves for aid to the Soviet revisionist renegades and their allies, for the defence of the gains of socialism from the Czechoslovak revisionist renegades, for both the Soviet revisionist clique and the Novotny or Dubcek revisionist cliques, are advancing, all of them, on the same anti-Marxist and anti-socialist road. And life showed, and confirms through numerous facts with every passing day, that despite the capitulation of the Dubcek clique, the Czechoslovak people met the armies of the Soviet revisionists as occupiers and, in various forms, they resisted and are resisting occupation. They are ever more clearly realizing that the actions of the Dubcek clique which overthrew the Novotny

clique, were a counterrevolution within the counterrevolution, just as the Soviet military intervention was the suppression through the force of arms of the internal Czechoslovak counterrevolution by the Soviet external counterrevolution.

As an important instrument of the implementation of its imperialist policy, the Soviet leading clique is using the Warsaw Treaty military alliance. This treaty, which has changed its nature from top to bottom, from a treaty of peace into a means of war, from a defensive treaty into a weapon of aggression, is being used by the Soviet leading clique also against the very participants in this treaty. In reality, with the exception of Rumania, all the other member countries of this ill-famed treaty are under the control of the armed forces of Soviet revisionism. The so-called "socialist family" or "socialist community" resembles a concentration camp, a prison of peoples, Soviet troops are stationed everywhere and they make the law in these countries. In these conditions, the freedom, independence, equality and sovereignty of the peoples, have been turned into empty slogans which are used to deceive and lull the peoples.

But the appetite of Soviet imperialism goes beyond the limits of the zone which is directly under its influence. It is openly threatening the other Balkan countries, especially the People's Republic of Albania; it is committing open military provocations against the People's Republic of China, and, in close collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese militarists, with the Indian, Indonesian, and other reactionaries, it is preparing the big anti-China plot. The Soviet revisionist rulers, in alliance and vying with the U.S. imperialists, are extending the zone of action of their military fleet, they have led their warships to the Mediterranean to threaten the People's Republic of Albania as well as to extend their imperialist grip at the expense of the Arab people and of the peoples of other countries.

This typical imperialist policy of the Soviet revisionists cannot be concealed. It cannot help meeting with the determined opposition and resistance of all the peoples who cherish the ideals of freedom, independence, sovereignty, revolution and socialism. This policy is ever more exposing and isolating the Soviet leading clique before the peoples of the whole world.

And not only that. In implementing its imperialist aggressive course it has had great difficulties also with its own allies. The Soviet leadership, in order to keep control of the other revisionist cliques, is openly passing over to the use of force, as was known by the Czechoslovak events, which are a very serious warning of what awaits the other cliques if they dare advance on the road of "polycentrism," autonomy, etc. But instead of strengthening the dominating positions of the Soviet revisionist leading clique, this will lead to a further division of the revisionist front and will still more undermine the positions of Soviet revisionism. This was very clearly seen in the reaction of the revisionist cliques of other countries which, in a joint chorus, rose up against the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and condemned it as aggression, taking the Dubcek clique under protection. The additional difficulties created for the Soviet leadership in convening an international meeting of the revisionist parties, which was against postponed, is further evidence of this.

The recent events, especially those in Czechoslovakia, are a catastrophic defeat for the whole of modern revisionism, which most obviously indicates its complete degeneration, especially of the head of modern revisionism—the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union, into a social-fascist and social-imperialist clique. Nobody should allow himself to be deceived by the manoeuvres to conceal this degeneration with demagogy, with the slogans of "internationalism." It is the duty of all the real Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries to expose and smash this dangerous manoeuvre. In the first place, the Soviet people themselves must rise with determination against this imperialist aggressive course and should not allow the Khrushchevite renegade clique in power to use Soviet men and women, the Soviet armed forces, for the realisation of its imperialist and oppressive aims. One should not forget for a single moment the great teaching of Marx that the people of a country that oppresses other peoples are not and can never be free.

Stalin Belongs to the Marxist-Leninists, He Belongs to Proletarian Revolution

Analysis of the facts shows that there can be no question

of any moderation of the revisionist positions of the Soviet renegade leadership. All its efforts to create the impression that it is allegedly returning to the old Stalinist positions are a big bluff. There should be no illusion whatsoever that the events in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, and the activation of the liberal extremists in the Soviet Union have opened the eyes of the Soviet counter-revolutionary clique and brought them down to earth. All this has only caused it to change its tactics, to adopt still more demagogical tactics to establish and consolidate the full fascist military dictatorship of revisionist capital and to disguise it.

The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique places great hopes in achieving this success inside the Soviet Union, where there is brutal oppression, a terrible censorship, where the communists and people have been educated merely to repeat and not to do a thorough-going study of the content of the formulas and slogans, and where, finally, the cult of megalomania of the "great and powerful socialist state" continues to develop. It hopes to achieve this also by speaking in a low voice about a "return to the Stalin epoch," to satisfy and deceive thereby the apolitical, the sentimental and the naïve.

It is a duty of all the Marxist-Leninists, in the first place of the Soviet Bolshevik revolutionaries themselves, to expose right to the end this diabolical manoeuvre of the Khrushchevite ruling clique, to reject any illusion with regard to this clique, to intensify the fight against it, to thoroughly expose its real social-fascist and social-imperialist countenance. Faced with the fact of the transformation of the Soviet State into a fascist-type military dictatorship, the Soviet revolutionaries must rise up, organise themselves and throw themselves into struggle and revolution. Their historic responsibility is today greater than ever. There is no doubt that this will be a difficult struggle which will require self-denial and heavy sacrifices. But the Leninist-Stalinist Bolsheviks have never been frightened. We express our deep conviction that they will one day perform with honor their great duty towards their own people and international communism. And the sooner they do this, the better it will be.

The demagogy of the Soviet leading clique for an alleged return to the revolutionary positions of the Stalin epoch, must be

exposed also outside the Soviet Union, where it could be established and used by the other revisionist cliques. But, on the other hand, it is obvious that these tactics will sharpen the contradictions in the camp of the revisionists, will lead to the division of the revisionist parties into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet groups. Indeed, right now the Novotnyists in Czechoslovakia, the Vermeerschists and Thorezists in France, are being called "tough," "Stalinist," because they are supporters of the Soviet revisionists, their agents. The Soviet leading clique is giving and will give to these elements, its whole support so as to establish through them, its control and shattered rule over the other revisionist parties. This cannot avoid meeting the resistance of the other revisionist elements, which will further deepen the division in the revisionist camp.

The duty of the Marxist-Leninists in these countries is to mercilessly unmask the pseudo-revolutionary phraseology of the pro-Soviet agency, to prevent the creation of any illusion whatever in this direction, to exploit the deepening of the contradictions in the fold of the revisionists and to intensify the fight against all the revisionist renegades for their complete destruction.

As to the countries which are ruled by the Soviet revisionists, and where they make the law through the military forces they have stationed there, this manoeuvre can hardly serve because the strengthening of the imperialist-fascist aggressive character of the policy being pursued by the Soviet leading clique cannot help arousing the ever more resolute indignation and protest of the peoples of these countries. Indeed, even the revisionist Quislings who are necessarily obeying the Soviet clique, for their ruling positions have been built on sand, do not want them to undertake a manoeuvre of an alleged return to the Stalin epoch, be it even as a bluff, because, on the one hand, this would attach them still more closely to the Soviet chariot, from which they want to be as independent as possible, and on the other hand, such a manoeuvre would undermine their foundations, inasmuch as they came to power precisely under the banner of the fight against Stalinism. Therefore, here too, divisions will be further sharpened and deepened, inside the revisionist parties as well as between the ruling revisionist cliques and the Soviet

leadership. The submission of the revisionist Quislings to the Soviet fascist military dictatorship is temporary. There will be fierce disputes and blows between them up to armed clashes.

All these things create favorable conditions for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and the Communists of these countries, to expose the local revisionist Quislings as well as the Soviet occupiers, to drive the occupation armies out of the country, and to overthrow the revisionist renegade cliques in power. The only correct road for the attainment of those aims is the creation everywhere of Marxist-Leninist parties, and the organisation of armed revolutionary struggle.

The Party of Labor of Albania, which has always consistently abided by the Marxist-Leninist line and principles, and has waged and is waging a resolute fight against modern revisionism headed by the Soviet renegade leadership, will mercilessly unmask the present dangerous, pragmatist tactics of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique for an alleged return to the revolutionary positions of Stalin. It has not and it will never allow the name and the great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary activity of Joseph Stalin to be besmirched by the Khrushchevite revisionists, or to be used by them as a camouflage to conceal their revisionist treachery. Stalin belongs to the Marxist-Leninists, to the proletarian revolution.

The Theory and Practice of the Revolution

7 July, 1977

Preface: A lengthy editorial published on July 7, 1977 in *Zëri i Popullit*, the official organ of the ruling Albanian Party of Labour, expressed indirect criticism of the basic policy orientation of China.

Entitled "The Theory and Practice of Revolution" the editorial, written by Enver Hoxha in third person but not signed, implied — without mentioning China by name — strong criticism of the Maoist thesis of the division of the world into three groups of countries — super-powers, developed countries and developing (or "third-world") countries — and furthermore castigated China's policy of seeking allies in its struggle against the world influence of the Soviet Union as being a deviation from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the class struggle.

At the 7th Party Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha stated during the analysis of the current international situation and the occurring revolutionary processes:

"The world is in a phase where the cause of the revolution and the national liberation of the peoples is not only an ideal and a perspective but as well a problem which has to be solved."

This thesis of principle importance is based on the Leninist analysis of imperialism, on the identification of the nature of the present historic epoch provided by Lenin, it is inspired by the historic mission of the proletariat to liberate itself and whole humanity from every kind of exploitation and oppression of humans by humans, from the capitalist system. This thesis is based on a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the great contradictions of our time. The thesis of the 7th Party Congress of the PLA is a reaffirmation of the Marxist-Leninist strategy of the revolution under the current circumstances.

I.

In his brilliant works about imperialism V. I. Lenin arrived at the conclusion that imperialism is a perishing and dying capitalism, the last stadium of capitalism and the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. In the analysis of the specific characteristics of imperialism he wrote:

"... all this makes the state of development of capitalism which has been reached up to now into the era of the proletarian socialist revolution, ... This era has begun" and "Part of this agenda of the present epoch is the multilateral immediate preparation of the proletariat for the conquest of political power in order to effect those economic and political measures which form the core of the socialist revolution." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, volume 24, p. 420, German edition)

In defining the present epoch Lenin based himself on class criteria. He emphasised that it is important to consider

"which class stands in the centre of this or that epoch and defines its essential content, the main direction of its development, the most important characteristics of the historic situation in the specific epoch, etc." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, volume 21, p. 134, German edition)

Defining the fundamental content of the new historic epoch as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, Lenin remained consistently loyal to the teachings of Marx about the historic mission of the proletariat as the new social force which will carry out the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist society of oppression and exploitation and build the new society, the classless communist society.

"The Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels and their appeal: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" was published in order to announce that the basic contradiction of human society was now the basic contradiction between labour and capital and that the proletariat was chosen to solve this contradiction through revolution. By his analysis of imperialism Lenin showed that the contradictions of the capitalist society had sharpened to the utmost and that the world had entered the epoch of the proletarian revolution and the triumph of socialism.

The Great Socialist October Revolution confirmed this brilliant conclusion by Marx and Lenin in practice. Even after Lenin's death the communist world movement resolutely adhered to his teachings about the present epoch, it adhered to his revolutionary strategy. The triumph of the socialist revolution in several further countries proved that the Leninist thesis of the present epoch as epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism mirrors the basic laws of the development of today's human society. The downfall of the colonial system, the achievement of political independence by the overwhelming majority of the countries of Asia, Africa and more are a further affirmation of the Leninist theory of the our epoch and the revolution. The fact that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution were betrayed in the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries does not alter the Leninist thesis on the character of the present epoch in the least, because this is nothing but a turn and twist on the way to the inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism on the global scale.

The Albanian Party of Labour has always consistently upheld these Marxist-Leninist conclusions. Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

"On a daily base the main features of our epoch are sharpened and appear more and more clearly as the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the struggle of two opposed social systems, as the epoch of the proletarian and national liberation revolutions, the downfall of imperialism and the liquidation of the colonial system, as the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a global scale." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Party Congress of the PLA)

The Marxist-Leninists always based the definition of the present epoch and the revolutionary strategy on the analysis of the great social contradictions which characterise this epoch. Which contradictions are these?

After the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin and Stalin were speaking about four contradictions:

- the contradiction between the two opposed systems — the socialist and the capitalist system

- the contradiction between capital and labour in the capitalist countries
- the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations on the one hand and imperialism on the other hand
- the contradiction between the imperialist powers

Exactly these contradictions build the objective foundation of the development of today's revolutionary movement, which in their collectivity form the great process of the world revolution in our epoch. The complete current situation world wide proves that since Lenin's times the contradictions have neither been moderated nor disappeared but on the contrary, haven been further sharpened and have come to the surface like never before. Therefore the knowledge and acknowledgement of these contradictions is the basis for defining a correct revolutionary strategy. The denial of these contradictions, concealing them, ignoring one or another of these contradictions, distorting their true meaning — like the revisionists and the various opportunists do — leads to confusion and disorder within the revolutionary movement and serves as foundation to construct and preach a distorted, pseudo-revolutionary strategy and tactic.

II.

Today there is much talk about the division of the world into the so-called "First", "Second" and "Third World", about a "non-aligned" world, about a world of "developing countries", "of the South and the North" etc. Each advocate of these divisions portrays his "theory" as the most correct strategy which allegedly match the real circumstances and the current international situation. But it is like Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasised at the 7th Party Congress:

"... all of these terms which refer to the different political powers working in the world today conceal — and don't reveal — the class character of these political powers, the basic contradictions of our epoch, the predominant key problem on the national and international scale today, the grim struggle which is waged between the bourgeois-revisionist world on the

one hand and socialism, the world proletariat and its natural allies on the other hand." (E. Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA)

If Marxist-Leninists speak about the world and the different countries and name them, they judge based on the principle of dialectical and historical materialism. They judge above all according to the existing socio-economic order in the different countries, according to the proletarian class criterion.

Exactly from this point of view V. I. Lenin wrote in the year 1921, so when only one socialist country, Soviet Russia, was existing in the world:

"Today (there are) two worlds in the world: the old — capitalism which has come to a dead end and will never back down and the new growing world which is yet very weak but which will become strong and big because it is invincible."(Lenin, Collected Works, volume 33, p. 132, German edition)

J. V. Stalin also stressed in his famous scripture "Two Camps" already in 1919 :

"The world has definitely and irrevocably split into two camps: the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism... The struggle between these two camps constitutes the hub of present-day affairs, determines the whole substance of the present home and foreign policies of the leaders of the old and the new worlds." (Stalin, Collected Works, volume 4, p. 205, German edition)

Our Party holds the opinion that we must talk about the socialist world today, too, like Lenin and Stalin did, that the Leninist criterion is always true, like Leninism itself is alive and true. The argument of the theoreticians of the "Three Worlds", the "non-aligned world" etc., who eliminated the existence of socialism in their schemata by referring to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries, to the dissolution of the socialist camp, is completely unfounded. This stands in absolute contrast to the Leninist teachings and the class criterion.

The revisionist betrayal, the return of the Soviet Union

and a number of former socialist countries to capitalism, the spreading of modern revisionism widely in the international communist and workers' movement and the splitting of this movement were a heavy blow to the cause of revolution and socialism. But this by no means implies that socialism was liquidated as a system and that the criterion of the division of the world into two opposing systems must be changed, that the contradiction between capitalism and socialism no longer exists today. Socialism exists and proceeds in the genuine socialist countries which are loyal to Marxism-Leninism, like the Socialist People's Republic of Albania is. The socialist system which opposes itself to the capitalist system, exists objectively just like the contradiction and the struggle for life and death between it and capitalism exists.

By ignoring socialism as a social system, the so-called "Theory of Three Worlds" ignores the greatest historic victory of the international proletariat, ignores the fundamental contradiction of the time, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. It is clear that such a theory, which ignores socialism, is anti-Leninist, it leads to the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countries where socialism is being built, while calling on the world proletariat not to fight, not to rise in socialist revolution. And this is not surprising: the renunciation of the proletarian class criteria in the evaluation of the situation leads to conclusions which are contrary to the interests of the revolution and the proletariat.

As the great and consistent Marxist he was, Lenin frequently analysed the capitalist world and the balance of power within it in his works. He did this, however, in the service of the revolution, in order to determine the tasks which lay ahead of the proletariat, the tasks of the communist parties, the tasks of the first socialist state the proletariat towards the world revolution and in order to show who were the really allies of the revolution and who were its enemies.

Lenin gives us an excellent example in this regard in his theses and reports at the II Congress of the Communist International in the year 1920:

"Now we have to 'prove' by the practice of the revolutionary parties", emphasises Lenin, "that they have enough consciousness, organisation, contact with the exploited masses, determination and the ability to exploit this crisis for a successful, for a victorious revolution. We came together at this congress of the Communist International mainly in order to prepare such evidence."(Lenin, Collected Works, volume 31, p. 215, German edition)

The so-called "Theory of the Three World", however, does not pose a single task for the revolution; on the contrary, it "forgets" to do so. In the schemata of the "Three Worlds" the basic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie does not exist. What is also striking about this division of the world is the non-class view of what it calls "Third World", the disregarding of classes and class struggle, the global treatment of countries which this theory counts to this world, the regimes which rule there and the different political powers which exist there. This way the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and the reactionary and pro-imperialist powers in their countries.

It is common knowledge that a fierce struggle of the freedom-loving peoples for freedom, independence and national sovereignty is led against the old and new colonialism in the countries exploited by imperialism, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is a just revolutionary and liberation struggle which enjoys the unreserved support of the Marxist-Leninists, the genuine socialist countries, the world proletariat and all progressive forces.

This struggle is and inevitably has to be directed against multiple enemies:

- against the imperialist exploiters, first and foremost against the two superpowers as the greatest exploiters and world police, the most dangerous enemies of all peoples of the world
- against the national reactionary bourgeoisie which is connected by thousands of strings with the foreign imperialism, with this or that superpower, with the

international monopolies and which is the enemy of freedom and national independence

- against the strong remains of feudalism upon which the foreign imperialists base themselves on and which allies itself with the reactionary bourgeoisie against the people's revolution
- against the reactionary and fascist regimes, the agents and defenders of the rule of these three enemies

Therefore it is absurd to claim one only had to struggle against external enemies without at the same time fighting and challenging the inner enemies, the allies and accomplices of imperialism, all those factors which hinder this struggle. Until now there was never a liberation struggle, there was never a national-democratic and anti-imperialist revolution which did not have inner enemies, reactionaries and traitors, bought and anti-national elements. One cannot — like the so-called theory of the "Three Worlds" does — equal all strata of the bourgeoisie without any exception, including the comprador bourgeoisie, with anti-imperialist forces, with the foundation and the factors which further the struggle against imperialism.

To follow this theory means to distract the revolutionary movement from the right way, to desert the revolution halfway, to separate it from the proletarian revolutions in the other countries, to the drive the struggle of the peoples and the proletariat of these countries into an anti-Marxist and revisionist way.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the national question always has to be examined subject to the question of the revolution. From this point of view the Marxist-Leninists support each movement which is actually aimed against imperialism and serves the common cause of the proletarian world revolution.

"We as communists", emphasises Lenin, "(have to and will) only support the bourgeois liberation movements in the colonial countries when these movements are really revolutionary, when their representatives do not prevent us from educating and organising the peasantry and the broad masses of the exploited in the revolutionary spirit. But if these conditions are not given then

the communists in these countries have to fight the reformist bourgeoisie to which the heroes of the Second International belong. (Lenin, Collected Works, volume 31, p. 230, German edition)

The preachers of the thesis of the "Third World" label even more as liberation movement, as the "main force in the struggle against imperialism", even the horse-trade of the King of Saudi-Arabia or of the Shah of Iran with the petroleum monopolies of the USA, their weapon transactions in the amount of billions and billions of dollars with the Pentagon. According to this logic the oil sheiks, who let the money from their oil flow into Wall Street and the banks of the USA, are fighters against imperialism and advocates of the people's struggle against the imperialist rule. So this means that the US-imperialists, who sell their weapons to the reactionary and oppressive regimes of these sheiks, give these weapons the "patriotic" forces who struggle to drive the imperialists away from the "golden sands" of Arabia and Persia.

The facts prove that today, too, the anti-imperialist and democratic liberating revolution can only be consistent and brought to an end if it is lead by the proletariat with its party at the spearhead in alliance with the broad masses and the peasantry and the other anti-imperialist and patriotic forces.

Already in 1905 Lenin demonstrated in his book "Two Tactics" in detail that under the conditions of imperialism the characteristic of the bourgeois-democratic revolution consist in the fact that the force which is most interested in furthering the revolution is not the bourgeoisie, which is inconsistent and tends to ally itself with the feudal reactionary forces against the revolutionary impetus of the masses, but the proletariat which views the bourgeois-democratic revolution as an interim stage of the transition to the socialist revolution. The same applies for the current national liberation movements. J. V. Stalin emphasised that after the October Revolution

"The era of liberating revolutions in the colonies, the era of the awakening of the proletariat in those countries, the era of its hegemony, has begun." (Stalin, Collected Works,

volume 10, p. 212, German edition)

These Leninist teachings achieve a special value and a special meaning under the current given conditions. Today the two tendencies which Lenin pointed out have deepened and operate with great force in the world:

- on the one hand the tendency of the capitalist monopolies which break the national borders and internationalise the economic and political life
- on the other hand the tendency of the different countries to intensify the struggle for national independence

This way, in regard to the first tendency, the connections of the national bourgeoisie with the foreign imperialist capital are not only maintained in many countries liberated from the yoke of colonialism but further increased and extended by a multitude of neo-colonialist forms like the multinational companies, the different economic and financial integrations, etc., etc. This bourgeoisie, which holds the key position in the economic and political life of the country and grows steadily, is a pro-imperialist power and an enemy of the revolutionary and liberation movement. With regard to the other tendency, namely the increase of the national independence towards imperialism in the former colonial countries, it is above all connected to the growth of the proletariat in these countries. This means that more favourable conditions arise for the extensive and consistent realisation of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution, for its leadership by the proletariat and thus its transition to a higher phase, to the struggle for socialism.

The Marxist-Leninists do not confuse the burning efforts and wishes of the peoples and the proletariat of the countries of the so-called "Third World" for liberation, revolution and socialism with the aims and the policies of the comprador and oppressive bourgeoisie of these countries. They know that there are sound progressive currents in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, within the peoples, who will further their revolutionary struggle determined until victory. But speaking about the so-called "Third World" as main force against imperialism and as main force of the revolution - like the

followers of the theory of the "Three Worlds" do without making any difference between the genuine anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and the ruling pro-imperialist, reactionary and fascist forces in a number of developing countries — means to openly abandon the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and to preach typical opportunistic views which cause confusion and disorder among the revolutionary forces. Basically the peoples of these countries, according to the "Theory of the Three Worlds", are not allowed to fight, let's say, the bloodthirsty fascist dictatorships of Geisel in Brazil and Pinochet in Chile, Suharto in Indonesia, the Shah of Iran and the King of Jordania, etc., because they all belong to the "revolutionary driving force, which turns the wheel of world history". On the contrary, according to this theory the peoples and revolutionaries had to ally with the reactionary forces and regimes in the "Third World" and support them, in other words, abandon the revolution.

US-imperialism, the other capitalist states and Soviet social-imperialism have bound the ruling classes of the countries of the so-called "Third World" to themselves with thousands of strings. Of course these classes, which are dependant on the foreign monopolies and want to prolong their reign over the broad mass of their people, try to create the impression that they have formed a democratic block of independent states with the aim to put pressure upon US-imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialists and thus allegedly prevent interference in the interior affairs of their states.

Lenin pointed out towards the communist parties the necessity "to constantly expose and denounce every fraud the imperialist powers systematically commit by allegedly creating politically independent states, which are in fact dependent on them economical, financially and in questions of military to the broadest mass of working people of all countries, but especially of the backward countries." (Lenin, Collected Works, volume 31, p. 138, German edition) ***The Party of Labour of Albania loyally adheres to these immortal teachings of Lenin.*** "In the evaluation of the policies of the different governments and states" Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasised at the 7th Party Congress of the PLA, "the Marxists also base themselves on the standpoint of class, on

the attitude which these governments and these countries display towards imperialism and socialism, towards their own people and the reaction.

Based on these teachings the revolutionary movement and the proletariat build their strategy and tactic, find their true allies in the struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the reaction and unite with them. The term "Third World", "non-aligned world" or "developing countries" create the illusion among the broad masses who fight for national and social liberation that a hideout was discovered which protects us from the threat of the superpowers. They conceal the reactionary state of most of these countries which are in this or that way politically, ideologically or economical identical, bound to the superpowers as well as to their former colonial metropolises and are dependant on both." (E. Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA)

The modern theories about the so-called "Third World", the so-called "non-aligned world", etc. aim at damming the revolution and defending capitalism which is not to be hindered while exercising its hegemony but is to practice a few more acceptable forms of ruling the peoples. The so-called "Third World" and the "non-aligned world" are as like as two peas in a pot, irrespective of their different names; they let themselves be guided by the same policy and ideology, one group entwines itself with the other so that it is difficult to spot which countries belong to the "Third World" and what differs them from the "non-aligned" and which states belong to the "non-aligned" and what differs them from the states of the "Third World". There are efforts to create yet another group, namely of the so-called "developing countries", where the countries of the "Third World" as well as the "non-aligned" are lumped together. The authors of this theory conceal the class contradictions as well, preach the given status quo in order not to hurt imperialism, social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers by any means, provided they hand out alms for the construction of the economy of the "developing countries". According to them the superpowers have to make some "sacrifices", to cough up something for the hungry so that they can somehow manage to live and don't get rebellious. That way, they claim, a compromise will be found, a "new international

order" will be created in which everyone, rich or poor, exploiter or exploited will live "without war", "without armament", "in harmony", "in class peace", in coexistence á la Khrushchev. Exactly because these three "inventions" have the same content and the same aims we can notice that there is full harmony among the "leaderships" [English in the original text] of the "non-aligned countries", the "Third World" and the "World of the developing countries". Together they deceive the masses, the proletariat and the peoples by their theories and sermons in order to lead them away from revolutionary struggle.

The theory of the "Three Worlds" does not only disregard the contradiction between the two opposite social systems — socialism and capitalism — as well as the great contradiction between wage labour and capital but also does not analyse the other great contradiction, namely the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and world imperialism which they reduce solely to the contradiction to the two superpowers, indeed even mainly to one of them. This "theory" totally ignores the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations on the one hand and the other imperialist powers. And not only this, the followers of the theory of the "Three Worlds" call for an alliance of the "Third World" with these imperialist countries and with US-imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism.

One of the arguments which is given in order to justify the division of the world into three worlds consists of the claim that today the imperialist camp, which existed after World War II and in which American imperialism ruled, has allegedly collapsed and as a result of the uneven development of the different imperialisms ceased to exist. The supporters of this theory claim that today one could no more speak of a single imperialist world, because first of all the Western imperialist powers allegedly rose against the American ruler and secondly an always increasing fierce rivalry between the two imperialist superpowers, USA and Soviet Union, exists.

Since the stage of imperialism the inter-imperialist contradictions exist as a result of the uneven development of the different capitalist countries, they exist, deepen continuously and depending on the circumstances and conditions inter-imperialist

alliances, blocks and groups form and dissolve again — this is the ABC of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin proved in detail that this typical characteristic of imperialism, which gives testimony of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism, approaching decay more and more every day, is an objective law. But does this mean that the imperialist world as social system has ceased to exist as result of these contradictions and is divided into several worlds, that the socio-economic nature of this or that imperialism has changed? By no means. The current factors do not give evidence about a collapse of the imperialist world but about one single imperialist world system which is characterised by the existence of the two great imperialist blocks today: one the one hand the Western imperialist block with US-imperialism at its head with its inter-imperialist instruments like organisms as NATO, EEC, etc., and on the other hand the block of the East under the leadership of Soviet social-imperialism with the Warsaw Pact and Comecon as its instruments of expansionist, hegemonic and war policies.

In the schema of the "Three World" imperialist, capitalist and revisionist countries belong to the so-called "Second World", countries which do not feature significant differences in regard to the social order of the two superpowers and are also not different to various countries classified as belonging to the "Third World". Indeed, the countries of this "world" show certain contradictions to both superpowers but these are contradictions of inter-imperialist character like the contradictions between the two superpowers are, too. In the first instance they are contradictions between such imperialisms like the West German, Japanese, British, French, Canadian, etc. and one or the other superpower as well as between themselves in regard to markets, spheres of influence, regions for capital export and the exploitation of the wealth of others.

Of course these contradictions weaken the imperialist world system and are in the interest of the struggle of the proletariat and the peoples. But it is anti-Marxist to equal the contradictions between the different imperialist powers and both superpowers with the struggle of the working masses and the peoples against imperialism and for its destruction.

It can happen by no means that the countries of the so-

called "Second World", in other words, the ruling monopolist bourgeoisie there, become allies of the oppressed peoples and nations in the struggle against the two superpowers and world imperialism. History after World War II shows clearly that these countries supported and still support the aggressive policies and actions of US-imperialism like in Korea and in Vietnam, in the Middle East and in Africa, etc. They are ardent defenders of neo-colonialism and the old order of inequality in international economic relations. The allies of Soviet social-imperialism in the "Second World" participated together with it in the occupation of Czechoslovakia and are eager advocates of its expansionist policy in the different regions of the earth. The countries of the so-called "Second World" are the economic and military main support of the aggressive and expansionist alliances of the two superpowers.

The supporters of the theory of the three worlds claim that it gives great possibilities for exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions. The contradictions in the rows of the enemy have to be exploited, but in which way and to what aim? Generally they always have to be exploited for the sake of the revolution, the sake of the peoples and their freedom, for the sake of socialism. Generally the exploitation of the contradictions between the enemies have to lead to the growth and the intensification of the revolutionary and liberation movement and not to its weakening and its downturn, they have to lead to an always more and more active mobilisation of the revolutionary powers in the struggle against the enemies, especially against their main enemies without letting even a single illusion about their character emerge among the peoples.

To make the inter-imperialist contradictions absolute, to underestimate the basic contradiction, namely the contradiction between the revolution and the counter-revolution, to make only the exploitation of contradictions within the camp of the enemy the centre of the strategy while forgetting the most important point — the strengthening of the revolutionary spirit and the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the peoples -, to leave the preparation for the revolution aside, all this is in absolute contrasts to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It is anti-Marxist to preach unity with the allegedly

weaker imperialism for the struggle against the stronger one under the pretext of exploiting contradictions, to side with the national bourgeoisie in order to resist the bourgeoisie of another country. Lenin stressed that the tactic of the exploiting of contradictions between the enemies should be used to raise and not to reduce the general level of proletarian class consciousness, the revolutionary spirit, the confidence of the masses in struggle and victory.

The Party of Labour of Albania has consistently adhered to these immortal teachings and always consistently adheres to them.

"In these moments of the great crisis of imperialism and modern revisionism", Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "we have to exploit the great contradiction between the enemies correctly for our sake, for the sake of the socialist states and the peoples rising for the revolution, have to unmask the enemies constantly and must not be content with the so-called concessions and cooperations the imperialists and revisionists make perforce until they have left the danger behind them to take revenge afterwards. Therefore we have to keep the iron steadily in the fire and forge it constantly." (E. Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA)

By portraying the so-called "Second World", to which most capitalist and neo-colonialist countries belong and which presents the main pillar of the two superpowers, as ally of the "Third World" in the alleged struggle against US-imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism the anti-revolutionary and pseudo-imperialist character of the theory of the "Three Worlds" becomes evident.

It is an anti-revolutionary "theory" because class truce is preached to the European, Japanese, Canadian and other proletariat which has to struggle against the ruling monopoly of the bourgeoisie and exploitative order in the countries of the "Second World", and also the collaboration with the bourgeoisie, meaning an abandonment of the revolution because allegedly this is in the interests of the defence of national independence and of the struggle especially against Soviet social-imperialism.

Furthermore it is a pseudo-anti-imperialist theory because

it justifies and supports the neo-colonialist and exploitative policies of the imperialist powers of the "Second World" and calls upon the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America not to resist this policy, allegedly for the sake of the struggle against the superpowers. This way, the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the so-called "Third World" as well as of the so-called "Second World" is actually weakened and sabotaged.

III.

A revolutionary strategy is one which puts central emphasis on the revolution.

"The strategy and tactics of Leninism", Stalin wrote, "constitute the science of leading the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat." (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism)

The Leninist strategy sees the proletarian world revolution as one single process, consisting of several great revolutionary currents of our epoch where the international proletariat is centred.

This revolutionary process takes place continuously in countries which are treading the way of genuine socialism as irreconcilable and fierce struggle between the two ways — the socialist and the capitalist way — for the achievement of the complete and final victory of the first over the second, in order to avert the danger of retrogression by counter-revolutionary violence and imperialist aggression or by the bourgeois-revisionist peaceful degeneration once and for all. The revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world follow the this struggle with lively interest and view it as a vital issue for the sake of the revolution and of socialism on a global scale. They give the socialist countries their whole support and backing against every assault of imperialism at these countries because in the socialist countries they see a strong basis and a mighty centre of the revolution, they see the practical realisation of the ideals for which they fight themselves. Lenin's ideas about the necessity and primary importance of help and support from the part of the international proletariat for the country in which the socialist revolution was victorious are immortal. However, this requires at all times that it

is a truly socialist country which applies the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism with utmost strictness and which consistently holds on to proletarian internationalism. In the case that it transforms into a capitalist country and only keep a fake "socialist" mask it must not be supported.

The revolutionaries and peoples know that the success and the struggle of the socialist countries hit and weaken imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the international reaction, that they are an immediate help and aid for the revolutionary liberation struggle of the working class and the peoples.

Lenin and Stalin always saw it as a revolutionary duty of the proletariat of a socialist country not only to make every possible effort to develop socialism in their own country but to wholeheartedly support the revolutionary liberation movement in other countries.

"Lenin", J. V. Stalin wrote, "never regarded the Republic of Soviets as an end in itself. He always looked on it as an essential link for strengthening the revolutionary movement in the countries of the West and the East, an essential link for facilitating the victory of the working people of the whole world over capitalism. Lenin knew that this was the only right conception, both from the international standpoint and from the standpoint of preserving the Republic of Soviets itself." (Stalin, On the Death of Lenin)

Exactly because of this a genuine socialist country cannot integrate itself into such groupings as the so-called "Third World" or the so-called "non-aligned countries" where all class boundaries are blurred and which solely serve the goal of diverting the peoples from the path of struggle against imperialism and from the revolution.

True and reliable allies of the socialist countries can only be the revolutionary, freedom-loving and progressive forces, the revolutionary movement of the working class and the anti-imperialist movement of oppressed peoples and nations. To preach the division into "Three Worlds", to ignore the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, to call for an alliance of the proletariat with the monopoly bourgeoisie and of the oppressed

peoples with the imperialist powers of the so-called "Second World" is neither for the betterment of the international proletariat nor of the peoples or the socialist countries, it is anti-Leninist. J. V. Stalin stressed:

"I cannot imagine that there will ever be a case when the interests of our Soviet Republic demand deviations to the right from our brother parties... I cannot imagine that the interests of our republic, which is the basis of the revolutionary proletarian movement of the whole world, would ever demand not a maximum of revolutionary verve and political activity of the Western workers but a decrease of this activity, hindering the revolutionary impetus." (Stalin, Collected Works, volume 8, p. 97, German edition)

In the metropolises of capitalism the process of the proletarian world revolution gets more and more concrete today in the always increasing class struggles of the proletariat and the other working and progressive strata against bourgeois exploitation and oppression, against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the current crisis of the capitalist world system on to the shoulders of the working class, against the revival of fascism in this or that form, etc. Among the working class, with the proletariat at its head, the conviction becomes accepted and will become more accepted each day that the only way out off the crises and other evils of capitalism, the bourgeois exploitation, the fascist violence and the imperialist wars is the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Live and the facts prove that neither the bourgeoisie nor their declared or disguised lackeys, from the social democrats to the modern revisionists, are able to hold up the surging wave of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

"The present struggle of the world proletariat", Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Party Congress of the PLA, "proves again the basic thesis of Marxism-Leninism that working class and its revolutionary struggle in the bourgeois and revisionist world can suppressed neither by violence nor by demagoguery."

The objective conditions for the revolution in the developed capitalist nations become more positive with every day.

Today in these countries the proletarian revolution is a problem whose solution has to be faced. The Marxist-Leninist parties, which have taken up the banner of the revolution that the revisionists have betrayed and dropped, have rightfully readied themselves for the task and started seriously on the work of preparing the proletariat and its allies for the future revolutionary battles aimed at the downfall of bourgeois order. This revolutionary struggle which attacks the capitalist and imperialist world order in its strongholds has the full support of the true socialist countries as well as the revolutionary and peace-loving peoples on the whole world and must necessarily have them. Today, however, the modern revisionists, the advocates of the theory of the "Three Worlds" and the theoreticians of "non-alignment", are making an effort by keeping silent about the revolution and its preparations and by upholding the status quo of the capitalist social order.

By trying to divert the attention of the proletariat from the revolution, the authors of the theory of the "Three Worlds" preach that nowadays the question of the defence of national independence opposing the danger of aggression from the part of the superpowers, especially from Soviet social-imperialism which they consider to be as arch-enemy, has taken precedence. The question of defining who — at a given time — is considered to be the arch-enemy on an international scale is of great importance for the revolutionary movement. Our party which takes into consideration the course of events and class analysis of the current situation, underlines that US-imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, both them superpowers, are today "the biggest and the main enemies of the peoples" and as such "present the same kind of danger" (E. Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA).

Soviet social-imperialism is a brutal, aggressive and expansionist imperialism which practices an exceedingly colonialist and neo-colonialist policy which is based on the power of capital and weapons. This new imperialism is struggling as a rival of US-imperialism in order to conquer strategic positions and to extend its clutches to all regions and continents. It excels as a fire extinguisher of the revolution and oppressor of the liberation

struggle of the peoples. This does not mean in the least that the other enemy of the peoples of the whole world, namely US-imperialism, is less dangerous, although the supporters of the theory of the "Three Worlds" say so. By disfiguring the truth and betraying the peoples they claim that American imperialism is no longer a warmonger, that it is allegedly weakened, that it is in decline and that it has turned into a frightened mouse — or in other words that US-imperialism is gradually becoming more peaceful. This goes so far that they justify even the American military presence in different countries like Germany, Belgium, Italy or Japan and label it as a factor of military defence. Such views are extremely dangerous to the freedom of the peoples and for the fates of the revolution. Such theses fuel illusions about the aggressive, hegemonistic and expansionist nature of US-imperialism as well as Soviet imperialism.

The proletariat and the proletarian revolution face the task of overthrowing each single imperialism and especially both imperialist superpowers. Because of its nature each imperialism is always a furious enemy of the proletarian revolution and therefore the classification of imperialisms in more or less dangerous kinds is false from the strategic viewpoint of world revolution. Practice has confirmed that both superpowers are to the same degree and at the same level the arch-enemy of socialism, the liberty and independence of the nations, it is the main force for the defence of the oppressive and exploitative systems, the immediate danger which threatens to pitch humanity into a third world war. The denial of the great truth, the underestimation of the danger of one or another superpower, or worse, the appeal to ally with one superpower against the other bears disastrous consequences and great dangers for the future of the revolution and the freedom of the peoples.

Of course it happens and can happen that one or another country is oppressed and threatened by one of the superpowers directly but this never ever means that the other superpower poses no danger for just this country and even less that the other superpower has become an enemy of this country. The principle "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" cannot be applied if it is a matter of the two imperialist superpowers: the USA and the Soviet

Union. These two superpowers are fighting with all means against the revolution and against socialism, they undertake all possible efforts to sabotage the revolution and socialism and suffocate both in blood. The two superpowers are fighting in order to expand their rule and exploitation to different peoples and countries. Experience shows that they attack brutally first in the one region and next in another in order to reach for the peoples with their bloodstained claws and that they furiously form up for attack so that they can oust each other. As soon as the people of one country succeeds at shaking off the rule of the one superpower, the other immediately approaches. The Middle East and Africa fully confirm this.

The other great current of the world revolution in our epoch is the national liberation struggle of the peoples which is directed against imperialism, neo-colonialism and the colonial remains. The Marxist-Leninists and the world proletariat are solidly united with the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and lend it all their support because they consider these struggles to be a very important and irreplaceable factor in the development of the revolutionary world process. The Party of Labour of Albania was and always is on the side of the peoples who struggle for freedom and national independence:

"We are in favour of the unity of the world proletariat and all upright anti-imperialist and progressive forces which thwart the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people who consistently adhere to this line... will... also in the future not spare any effort and will fight together with the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, together with all Marxist-Leninist parties, all revolutionaries and the world proletariat, with all progressive humans for the failure of the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and for the triumph of the case of freedom and safety of the peoples.

Our country will always be on the side of all the peoples whose freedom and independence are threatened and whose rights are injured." (Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA)

Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed this unshakable

conviction in the name of the party and the Albanian state in the speech at the people's assembly for the enactment of our new constitution:

"Most peoples of the earth", he explained, "are making great efforts and they insistently resist the colonial laws and the neo-colonial reign, the old and new rules, practices, conventions and one-sided treaties which have been put up by the bourgeoisie in order to keep up the exploitation of the peoples, the detested differences and discriminations in the international relations... the progressive peoples and the democratic states which cannot accept this state and struggle to achieve national sovereignty over their resources, which struggle to strengthen the political and economic independence and to achieve equality in the international relations have the full solidarity and support of the Albanian people and the Albanian state."

Since the time of Lenin, the Marxist-Leninists have always considered the national liberation struggle of the peoples and nations oppressed by imperialism as a strong ally and great reserve of the world revolution of the proletariat.

In the countries which have achieved political independence completely or partially, the revolution is in different stages of development and it does not face the same tasks. Among them are countries which are directly facing the proletarian revolution while in many others the tasks of the anti-imperialist, national-democratic Revolution are in order. But the revolution is in any case an ally and a reserve of the proletarian world revolution as long as it is also directed against the international bourgeoisie and imperialism.

But does this mean that such country has to stop at the national-democratic phase and that the revolutionaries must not speak about the socialist revolution, must not prepare it out of fear of skipping stages and leaving them out and because somebody might call them "Blanquists"?! Lenin already spoke about the necessity of the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution at a time when the bourgeois-democratic revolution was still only budding in these countries. Marx and Engels, while criticising Blanquism, have

called neither the revolution in 1848 nor the Paris Commune premature. Marxism-Leninism in no way mistakes the petty bourgeois impatience which leads to skipping stages with the necessity to perpetuate the revolution consistently.

Lenin stresses that the revolution in the dependent and colonial countries has to be promoted. Since the time of Lenin great changes have taken place in these countries which haven been foreseen by him in a brilliant way and in which the Leninist thesis of the revolutionary world process finds its answer. The realisation of the proletarian revolution is an universal law and the main trend of our epoch. Both must and will necessarily permeate all countries without exception, among them Indonesia and Chile, Brazil and Zaire, etc., regardless of the question by which stages the proletarian revolution will be accomplished. Disregarding this aim, preaching the preservation of the status quo and theorising about the "necessity not to skip any stages", forgetting the fight against Suharto and Pinochet, Geisel and Mobutu means being neither for the national liberation struggle nor for the national-democratic revolution.

The proletarian revolution must and will permeate Europe, too. Whoever forgets this perspective, whoever doesn't prepare for this aim but preaches instead that the revolution has shifted to Africa or Asia and that the European proletariat has to ally itself with its "reasonable and well-meaning" bourgeoisie under the pretext of defending national independence, is someone who takes an anti-Leninist stance and who is not in favour of the defence of the mother country and for the nation's freedom. Whoever "forgets" that both the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO have to be fought, and that both the Comecon and the EEC have to be rejected, is someone who allies himself with them and becomes their slave.

In the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" Marx and Engels wrote: "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 statement by Marx and Engels is topical today, too. Both the temporary defeat which the revolution suffered because

of the revisionist betrayal and the economic potential and the military oppressive power which imperialism and social-imperialism use to oppose the revolutionary movement and the ideas of communism have not been able and will never be able either to change the course of history and thus to bring the great power of Marxism-Leninism to its knees.

Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary ideology which has penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the proletariat and which has an ever increasing influence on the broad masses of the peoples seeking liberation. The influence of this theory is so strong that even the bourgeois ideologists have always been forced to reckon with it, and they have never ceased trying to find ways and means to disfigure Marxism-Leninism and to undermine the revolution.

The current anti-Leninist theories of the "Three Worlds", the "non-alignment", etc., also aim at undermining the revolution, to fight back the struggle against imperialism, especially the American one, to divide the Marxist-Leninist movement and the unity of the proletariat propagated by Marx and Lenin, to create a number of groups of anti-Marxist elements so that fight against the true Marxist-Leninist parties which are loyally stick to Marxism-Leninism and to the revolution.

All efforts to analyse the situation in an allegedly new manner which is different from that of Lenin and Stalin and to change the revolutionary strategy which has always been upheld by the Marxist-Leninist movement lead astray, making one take the anti-Marxist path and turning one's back on the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. The loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards the revolutionary strategy of the Marxist-Leninist communist movement, and the fight against all opportunist deviations which the modern revisionists of different colour propagate as well as the revolutionary mobilisation of the working class and the peoples against the bourgeoisie and imperialism as well as the serious preparation for the revolution are the only true way, indeed the only way towards victory.

Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo

30 July, 1978

Preface: Because Comrade Hysni Kapo was at that time recovering from a heart attack he wasn't able to participate in the conference of the Central Committee of the PLA, where the answer from the Party of Labour of Albania and the government of the SPR Albania to the Communist Party of China and the government of China regarding the stop of credits to the SPR Albania and of all economic relations to Albania was accepted.

This letter from Comrade Enver Hoxha was the reply to a letter which Comrade Hysni Kapo had sent to the Central Committee of the PLA and to Comrade Enver Hoxha. In this letter he condemned the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian actions of the Chinese leadership and expressed his full solidarity with the correct position of the Party of Labour and the Albanian government. In Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter the policies of the Chinese leadership as well as the events at that time in China are examined carefully. "Zëri i Popullit" decided to publish this letter to point out the actual political and ideological backgrounds of the mock trials which took place from the second half of November and lasted till the first days of January 1981 and were aimed against the so-called "Gang of Four" and a group of high-ranking military leaders from the time of the Cultural Revolution.

Comrade Hysni Kapo died in December 1979 after a serious disease. Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter, which was first published on 4th December 1980, was displayed in the Museum "Hysni Kapo" in the village of Comrade Hysni Kapo's birth, Tërbaç (district of Vlora).

Dear Comrade Hysni,

The letter you sent to me and in which you write that you are feeling better, that you are already taking walks in the garden and in the parks of the palace and that you are going to visit the beach at Durrës tomorrow made me very happy.

It is clear that everything is possible, is achievable with

enough patience and willpower.

Therefore we are liberated of the trouble which your disease caused you as well as us, your comrades, and the whole Party. You will return full of health and vitality to the party and its leadership, who always has needed and still needs your thoughts and your guidance.

The Chinese have received the answer they deserve. Our Party and its leadership have acted totally correctly in the Marxist-Leninist way. Based on facts we have exposed another great enemy, Chinese revisionism, which was hiding so long behind the mask of Marxism-Leninism...

The Communist Party of China and especially Mao Zedong, who was an idealist dreamer and utopian without general education (apart from the one about ancient China), followed the development of human history as xenophobic dilettantes. Their ideological, political and organisational principles, especially since the foundation of the Communist Party, are demonstratively pragmatical and solely focused on China's interests with the obvious aim of transforming "eternal" China into a superpower which controls the world, dictates the law, imposes its own culture and its own will upon others.

During the analysis of their [Mao and the Chinese leaders – Rjevan] actions we encountered this Chinese ideology, we saw and still see that their form of organisation and their operation scheme are focused on this ideology, which it is their aim to make "universal".

The figure of Mao Zedong has been blown up until it has reached the dimensions of a Chinese emperor. And indeed, this modern emperor operates omnipotently over his courtiers, who have created an extensive and terrible bureaucracy in which the "brilliant ideas" of the "Great Steersman" are carried out. He used the Communist Party as a stepping stone and has been doing so whenever he feels like it and as often as he thinks it is "reasonable"; depending on the "dialectical" development of the "contradictions", seen from the perspective of Taoism, he makes people drop from power, attacks the party and liquidates it, starts some "revolution" and balances the power of the courtiers. He

explains all this with allegedly revolutionary phrases which are in fact nothing but more "cultured" actions than those of Emperor Bokassa, the Shah of Iran or the King of Nepal, whom Mao liked very much, whom he welcomed and accompanied, not only because material interests, such as the hope of gaining political advantages and to make them into Chinese satellites, made him do so but also because Mao's philosophy coincided completely with their own.

Under those conditions and following those perceptions the Communist Party of China could be no Marxist-Leninist party. The philosophy which it followed was idealistic, bourgeois-reactionary because China itself, the society there, remained in spite of the bourgeois democratic revolution a closed society with an old faith and outdated mentalities, dominated by mysticism and in the core archaic, only seemingly adhering to developed philosophical and state organisational principles. We see this in the construction and the structure of the state, we see this in the economic development, in the construction of the educational and cultural system, in the structure of the army, etc. All this bears the specific Chinese stamp, from the ideology and the literature to the slogans.

The slogans originate from one source and every man and woman in China, be they small or big, has to repeat them, without deviating only for one millimetre from them. This was a struggle to lull creative thinking, this oppressed every form of democracy, this was nothing else but the cult of the "Steersman" and the reign of bureaucracy. Such an aberrant ideology has to suffer defeats in certain moments and it did suffer them. Mao Zedong preached about this, calling it "revolutions and counter-revolutions" periodically returning every seven years.

One must not label Mao Zedong as a "prophet" of the revolution but as a "prophet of the counter-revolution". He represented the type of the Anarchist in whose blood runs confusion, chaos, the undermining of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, but under the condition that this permanent anarchy was led by him or by his typical Chinese anarchist ideology. Mao Zedong is a Chinese Bakunin. The Cultural Revolution was an expression of the ideas and action of

this Chinese Bakunin.

The chaos which resulted in China which originated from this anti-Marxist, traitorous line of Mao Zedong and his courtiers, a chaos full of defeats in politics, ideology and economy was fought by the "Great Steersman" through the anarchy of the cultural revolution.

This anarchist revolution saved the Maoist absolute rule but contained the risk of undermining it, too. The "prestige" of the "Steersman" had to be saved, the anarchy was not allowed to topple the myths, therefore military measures were taken. The character of bureaucracy with the courtier Zhou Enlai-Confucius was saved and supposedly "younger" "revolutionary" elements were integrated into the scene of agitation and propaganda, for whom the "Steersman" had intended the role of painting out the anarchy as a "revolution within the revolution" by which the alleged bourgeoisie, which had infiltrated the party, was supposed to be eliminated. But in fact there was no party but only the bourgeoisie, there were clans and fractions which were fighting for power. This was the Trotskyist "permanent revolution", led by Mao Zedong-Trotsky.

The so-called "Gang of Four" acted according to Mao's advice. In him they found a foothold, therefore they lived as long as a summer flower, only that this "flower" was foul-smelling and poisonous like all the other "flowers and schools" which blossomed in China and are still blossoming.

The "Gang of Four" was a group of megalomaniac, ambitious, intrigant babblers without any principles, just like the other fractions of the bourgeoisie which were swimming in the swamp. But those latter ones controlled the "swamp", whereas the "Gang of Four" only had the "key to the haystack", they did not undertake the least organisational, governmental or economical action. They only wrote articles and organised ballet performances. They were suspicious persons like all the others. They were aimlessly hovering like Mao's thoughts while the fraction of Zhou, Deng and Ye were systematically doing their best in order to take over power. The "Gang of Four" thought they would attract the millions under "Mao's banner" by bombastic

words. But the temporarily "overthrown" Deng was able to assemble one million at the Tian'anmen Square who shouted against the "Gang of Four". Later the "Gang of Four" mobilised a million against Deng. Those were the same people who shouted for the one as well as for the other. Deng came to power, one million appeared and shouted for Deng, they were the same who had shouted against him before. This is the bitter and dark "mirror" of Mao Zedong Thought.

The bourgeois world called the "Gang of Four" radical. If you wish, you can also add the term "socialist" and call them "radical socialist". But those four were neither radical nor socialist. Formerly there was a strong bourgeois party in France which called itself radical socialist and was led by the bourgeoisie, by extraordinary politicians and literates like Herriot, Daladier and others. But this party, which suffered a total defeat, left some marks; however, the "radical" four disappeared without a trace, just like the Mao Zedong Thought died, respectively is dying.

The black reaction of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, which seized power, will lead a power struggle in order to build a fascist dictatorship. There will be a fight about world hegemony. The strategy they pursue is only logical. The alliances with American imperialism and the world reaction are logical and normal. Just as normal are the antagonisms and the outbreak of the predatory wars which will result form this fellowship of bandits.

The analyses we conduct regarding the Chinese revisionism are generally correct, objective in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

Maoism as anti-Marxist theory is dying. It will face the same destiny as the other theories invented by world capitalism by the decaying imperialism.

The currently ruling crew in China and the others who will definitely follow as result of the internal fraction fights for power will use Maosim, doing so however by using it as an anti-historical corpse in order to ruthlessly, shamelessly build a powerful imperialist Chinese state, in unity respectively in divergence with the other imperialists and through the oppression

of peoples who long for liberation, independence and socialism and who will fight for it.

Every single foul means is good enough for the Chinese revisionists, just like they are for their American, Soviet and other imperialist friends. Our just fight will be long and difficult, at the same time we have to keep the party strong, in militant revolutionary unity, we have to steel it hourly, daily in the constant political, ideological and economical struggles, sharpen its vigilance to the utmost in order to make it beloved by the people and bound to it in flesh and spirit, through a proletarian democracy which is far away from every form of opportunism, sectarianism and sick and fatal bureaucracy. The correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party will not only today but also in the future be supported by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists worldwide, it will be supported by the world proletariat and the peoples. The daily, struggle-filled routine of our party confirms this.

The fascist-revisionist Chinese cliques will stop at nothing to antagonise the Chinese people through propaganda and other means and to deceive the world public. But they will not be able to "deceive everyone at once".

Terrible waves have befallen the Chinese people and will keep doing so, but the day will come when the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin will triumph, too. The current and future generations in China will come to understand this and say: "The Party of Labour of Albania has opened our eyes, has acted correctly, it has unmasked the Mao Zedong Thought, because it [the PLA – Rjevan] was for the proletarian revolution in China, it wanted to dispel the the devastating myths which were created in China and which hindered the happiness of this great people which wished to lived in true socialism."

Our victorious struggle continues, dear Comrade Hysni, therefore get well soon, spend a pleasant and quiet holiday so that we will feel stronger and stronger in the battles which lie ahead, as strong as steel.

I embrace you and kiss you full of yearning.

-Enver

The Marxist-Leninist Movement and the World Crisis of Capitalism

August, 1979

The international situation is becoming ever more complicated. In saying this I have in mind that the situation is not tranquil either for capitalism or for the revolutionaries. Capitalism is in a great fever, in crisis.

In my opinion, we Marxist-Leninists, the working class, the revolutionaries and ordinary progressive people in the world must take greater efforts to increase the superiority of the forces of the revolution. Why? Because capitalism, which is experiencing great disturbances at present possesses powerful means and has developed diverse modes of government, action, sabotage and disruption which hinder the advance of the revolution.

I think that our Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive elements ought to look at this situation realistically and, on the basis of the theory of Marx and Lenin, find such means and forms of struggle that will turn the situation in favour of the revolution. This requires the creation of new Marxist-Leninist parties and the strengthening of the existing ones, of course, adhering firmly to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. They alone are able to make detailed analyses of the situation in the country, the ratio of classes, the strength of the working class, its strong and weak points, as well as the forms and methods which the bourgeoisie employs to subjugate the workers and the people. Such a study will serve each party, in its specific conditions, for struggle, for action, and not for sterile discussions which do not bring the liberation of the working class or the country, but, on the contrary, bring disruption and subjugation.

Let us not forget that while capitalism and the various parties in its service are in deep crisis, they are struggling to find forms, ways and expedients to befuddle and confuse the Marxist-Leninists who stand at the head of the working class, so that they will not manage to make the class conscious of the need to take action and capitalism and its parties will be able to split it while keeping it under their rule. The clear Marxist-Leninist ideas absolutely must be combined with actions; we cannot proceed

from the idea that actions should be carried out only when the forces of the party are great, or capable of confronting the military machine of imperialism. But this should not be taken to mean that now the communists must hurl themselves into adventurous actions. Avoiding adventurism should not prevent us communists from acting in a Marxist-Leninist way.

Naturally, our actions must be well calculated. We must foresee the dangers threatening us and the possibilities of victory and always bear in mind that the revolution will have its zigzags. One thing must be clear to all, that the lofty reputation of the communist and the genuine Marxist-Leninist party cannot be earned by tailing behind the situation and remaining at the stage of sterile discussions, without becoming a real example for the working class and the other revolutionaries who want to fight against capital.

In thoughts and in actions, the place of the Marxist-Leninist parties is always in the vanguard. And if thoughts are to be combined with actions, we must not go into battle alone, but at the head of the working class and its allies. In order to go into battle together with them it is necessary to penetrate into the ranks and become one with them. It must be said, however, that in this direction unclear views, hesitation, fear and lack of perspective still exists.

Therefore, the task devolves upon us, Marxist-Leninists, to make good these shortcomings. In order to achieve this we must have a thorough understanding of the situation, know the forms, methods, ways and mechanisms which imperialism and capitalism use today to remain alive. They do not readily down the weapons with which they intimidate and oppress the peoples. Then, apart from weapons, they also use policy, diplomacy and demagoguery. We must cope with all these weapons of the enemy without underestimating them, but at the same time, without overestimating them. If we can find the weak points in the strength, thought and actions of the enemy, then we shall more easily find the course we must pursue in our struggle and the most appropriate forms and methods for this struggle.

We have to realize that present-day imperialism and

capitalism have adopted new forms of oppression and exploitation which, in essence, do not differ from the forms of the old colonialism. At present the metropolises are applying these forms, which we call neo-colonialist in all those countries which were their colonies in the past, that is, the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other countries formerly under their military occupation, in which to this day they continue to exploit the sweat and blood of the peoples.

This military occupation had the structure and superstructure of the monopoly capitalism of the metropolises, had the same method of exploitation that was used against the people of the metropolis, but in a more savage form. The colonies were the prey of capitalism which oppressed the peoples in the most merciless ways, without hindrance.

After the Second World War colonialism assumed new forms. Many countries, with the exception of the few remaining colonies, are called “free”, “sovereign”, “democratic”, or what you will. Naturally, an “independent” capitalist system has been established in those countries, but they are always dependent on the big capitalist countries.

Our Party and the Marxist-Leninists everywhere in the world must make clear to the working class and the people of their own countries that we ought to exploit the existing revolutionary situation to the full, not only by undertaking political and ideological actions, but also by striking blows when the conditions have matured and when the oppression has become intolerable, and as the people themselves say: “Each must defend himself!” We must explain clearly to people so that they understand that neo-colonialism applies the forms of domination, exploitation and oppression which it uses today not only in the countries in which colonialism and the capitalist monopolies reigned previously, that is in the colonies, but also in the metropolises themselves.

In the metropolises, the working class, students and progressive working people have been and are subject to twofold oppression: that of internal capital, on the one hand, and that of foreign monopoly capital, on the other; they live under the terrible pressure of local monopolies and multinational companies. This is

the new characteristic of capitalist society and its highest stage, imperialism, which is quite indiscriminate in regard to its oppression of peoples and the extraction of huge profits from their sweat and blood, both within the metropolises and outside them. Capital has become international, without a homeland.

Thus, the group of international monopolist makes no distinction between peoples and states, provided that the profits are great. Thus, the monopolies and the multinational companies recognize neither the freedom, independence, nor the sovereignty of the peoples, which for them are only formal. In this feverish activity they have made common cause with one another in order to share in the profits. But in capitalism the law of the jungle prevails in every direction: the great fish eat the small. This law prevails also in the division of profits.

Our Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionaries are aware that the people living in the developed capitalist countries are more favoured than those of the former colonial or neo-colonial countries. It is an indisputable fact that the people are exploited more in the neo-colonialist countries where the big joint companies invest their capital. The actions of capital on the workers in the metropolises are somewhat less burdensome than in other countries, but the aim is the same.

Of course, in the various countries of the so-called third world, or non-aligned world, there are very weak points for big and local capital, but there are weak points, also, for the working class and the revolutionary elements, because of their political and ideological backwardness. Therefore, in order to ensure its financial, commercial and military potential, big capital is strengthening the local capitalist cliques in power day by day in order to keep their peoples in subjection, darkness and ignorance and to drown in blood any attempt at uprising by the people or interference by rival foreign capital in those countries.

The time has come when the mentality of the working class in the developed countries, one of the main obstacles of the revolution is the trade-unions which have been transformed into tools of the bourgeoisie to restrain movements of the working class. The owning class and their agents, one of which is the

worker aristocracy which is bound to the various parties of social-democracy and modern revisionism, make the law in the unions.

The social democratic parties and the parties of modern revisionism are reformist parties, opposed to the revolution and for the defence of capital, for reforms of the structure and for a corrupted anti-proletarian superstructure, in order to undermine any revolutionary sentiment and action. Just like the parties of social-democracy which were exposed by Marx and Lenin long ago as lackeys of the bourgeoisie and preparers of the terrain for imperialism, the present-day revisionists are precisely those elements who come to the direct aid of ageing social-democracy against socialist society, in order to quell the uprising of the working class and the peoples, the revolution.

Therefore, the trade-unions in the capitalist countries must be considered as tools of the parties of capital and must be fought as such, but without hurting or damaging the unity of the working class. In my opinion the trade-unions in the capitalist countries will play a major role only if their dependence on parties of the bourgeoisie, whether social-democratic or revisionist, is broken and only if the influence of the worker aristocracy in them is totally eradicated. In other words, the unions will be placed in the service of the working class only if true representatives of that class, educated with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, place themselves at the head of them, mobilize them and hurl them into struggle against the state power of capital. Hence, it must be understood that this power, with all its forms, means, laws and constitution, has nothing democratic and revolutionary about it, as those in its service try to make out. They are the same forms and mechanisms of the old capitalist state, but dressed up with new elements which respond and are adopted to new situations.

Naturally, the development of the economy, the technical progress in the capitalist countries have created overproduction, which has caused the present great crisis, which has become a gangrenous wound for capitalism and imperialism. The broad working masses are impoverished and their life is becoming ever more difficult, while the profits of the capitalists are increasing, but the capitalists sense the danger and are striving continually, every day, to create economic, political and military forms and

structures which will withstand any possible opposition or revolt on the part of the oppressed.

For the time being, in the developed capitalist countries we see this revolt expressed in demonstrations, but still peaceful and limited to slogans for economic demands. Such manifestations serve capital as an expedient, in order to create among its own parties the impression that allegedly the working class and the working people of all categories have complete freedom to hold strikes and demonstrations, to make complaints and criticisms, etc. However, as I pointed out above, in reality these movements do not have the results that the working class desires and demands, irrespective of the fact that now and again, when such manifestations become widespread, the bourgeoisie is obliged to part with a few extra crumbs to placate the anger and threat of the working people.

Hence, the working class, with its Marxist-Leninist party at the head, must be capable of understanding when the suitable national moment exists to organize and proceed towards the uprising. In this direction it is precisely the Marxist-Leninists who must be the most capable, the most wide-awake, the best organizers in order to become the subjective factor of the leadership of the revolution. In no way should we proceed from the idea that the conditions are not yet ripe for the revolution, or that the revolution cannot break out in the developed capitalist countries, therefore, we have to wait for it to develop in those states or continents in which the oppression, the forms and methods of exploitation are allegedly different from those in the metropolises. The working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties of the metropolises ought to give the peoples of various countries great aid, should assist their revolutionary movements. The greatest support and aid is to make life possible for monopoly capitalism and the foreign capital which collaborates with the local capital for the oppression of the peoples in the colonial and neo-colonial countries.

The situation in many countries of the world today is like that in Albania in the time of the reign of Ahmet Zog who formed a comic opera kingdom, with beys, feudal lords and reactionaries in order to oppress, bleed and exploit the Albanian people to the

bone. Zog, of course, was penniless. He made money when sold the assets of the country to foreigners and when he granted them concessions in Albania. The Serbs and Wrangel's white guard army helped Ahmet Zog to return to Albania. Subsequently he became a lackey of the Italian imperialists who, before their military occupation of Albania, had, in fact, made it a colony of theirs, or a neo-colony, if we can use the current term. Although fascist Italy invested little capital in Albania, it seized all the key positions in the economy and the strategic points of the country and prepared its occupation.

Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries will have to work and struggle unrelentingly in order to weaken international monopoly capital, the multinational companies which oppress and exploit the peoples, and make life difficult for them so that the people attack wherever the links in the capitalist chain are weakest, that is they must rise in insurrection to seize power and carry out democratic reforms and then to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, a socialist structure and superstructure.

In various undeveloped capitalist countries today the people are rising in insurrection and revolution. We see this in Iran, Nicaragua, Central America, in the struggle of the Palestinians against the Americans and Israelis, and to a certain extent, we see it in the still disorganized resistance of the Arab countries against the superpowers, which manipulate this resistance in their own interests. We see people's movements and uprising in Africa, too. But although the peoples in those countries are rising, fighting, and making sacrifices, the elements of the bourgeoisie, united with the big capital, are still doing everything they can through numerous tricks and intrigues to quell the insurrection, or turn it into a movement in their favour, and in that case, such a movement serves merely to eliminate this or that clique from the political scene in order to bring to power another more moderate but likewise capitalist clique which operates in agreement with big monopoly capital. This happens, of course, because of the political unclarity and the lack of organization of the working class. Thus, the anger and hatred of this class, its political-economic suffering and that of the poor peasantry are

thus exploited in favour of the bourgeoisie.

Hence, we communists must analyse this situation in general and in particular, so that we understand it and then act. We analyse the situation in order to understand it, so that we know how to act, eventually in order to understand it and allow this difficult situation for the people to continue as before. We must not underestimate, the fear of war which big capital has created. It is a fact that time after time, when the crisis reaches its climax, partial wars, and perhaps even world war, could break out. Only the revolution on the Marxist-Leninist road can prevent, avert, or defeat world war. Otherwise, the major contradictions that exist between the superpowers, between multinational companies may cause it.

Therefore, since we understand this important problem in this way, we must make every effort to defeat the plans and actions which the bourgeoisie and its lackeys are making in preparation for a bloody, general war. This can be an insurrection which is led only by the working class which has the Marxist-Leninist doctrine as its guide.

The renegade of the Spanish Communist Party, Carillo, preaches transition to socialism through reforms. He says we should not charge the army of the bourgeoisie, should not even alter its ideology, but should introduce elements and cadres of the working class into its ranks and make it a defender of its order! And according to Carillo, this order in which the bourgeoisie, the priests, the police, and so on, are in power, will allegedly be socialist (!).

Hence, if we think as this traitor does, then we will not be able to undermine the attack force of the capitalist bourgeoisie. Therefore, we must not think and act as Carillo advocates, but in order to oppose the army of the capitalist bourgeoisie we must organize the people's revolutionary forces and make them politically conscious of their great role, make clear to them who are those who oppose their actions to attack the state and achieve victory. Such a thing is highly possible.

We saw that the insurgent people in Iran stood up to the heavily armed forces of the Shah and his terrible security force

SAVAK. Until that time it was unimaginable that the uprising of the people of Iran would be able to cope with an army equipped with the most sophisticated weapons and trained by the CIA and American officers. But it happened! Therefore, all Carillo's prattle that we must infiltrate the ranks of the bourgeois army allegedly to convince the officer caste and the defenders of capital in order to bring them to socialism, is unscrupulous deception.

In this direction the bourgeoisie and capitalism are talking savage measures of suppression. One of these measures is the use of terrorism. Terrorism is the preliminary preparation for fascist military coups of the bourgeoisie, which, at moments of exacerbation of the class-struggle, when it sees that it cannot resist the strength and attack of the people goes on the offensive, launches a coup d'état and the fascist military junta takes power. But in order to succeed this has to be prepared, and it is clear that this preparation is being done through the organization of gangs and gangsters, who are armed and operating, to a greater or lesser extent, in every state, disguised under various "communist" and "Marxist" labels like "Brigate Rosse", etc., precisely to intimidate and confuse the broad working masses and justify the fascist coup d'état. These gangsters operate by attacking banks, killing people, often attacking directors of big enterprises, taking wealthy people hostage and demanding colossal sums for their ransom. They do all this, first of all, to deceive, but also to terrorize the working class and the broad working masses. We notice that in these disturbances the worker aristocracy and all the social-democratic and revisionist parties do not take any active, militant action against terrorism.

Hence, terrorism is the preliminary preparation for fascism to come to power. Through the action of these gangsters, the bourgeoisie threatens the working class and gives it to understand that the existing order which capitalism has established must be protected, otherwise, with the overthrow of this capitalist state (which itself creates the conditions for the terrorists to thrive and is not afraid that they will overthrow it) the workers will lose even those very limited "rights" they have won through struggle and sacrifices, in the economic field, in social security, etc. Thus, we see that in the demonstrations which are

held in the capitalist countries, after each terrorist act, the revisionist or social-democratic chiefs and the worker aristocracy, which rules in the trade-unions, cry out against terrorism, while it continues to develop at the rapid rate.

The anti-Marxist theoreticians condemn terrorism in the forms in which it manifests itself today, but they make no distinction between acts of terrorism and the militant actions towards revolution which the working class, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, has to carry out. Being against the revolution, they are against any action, and the state power of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic and revisionist defenders call any such action, any attempt in this direction, and any military organization of the working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, a terrorist act. Indeed, the revisionists vote in favour of strengthening the police and security organs in order to combat terrorism and anarchism. This means allowing the bourgeoisie a free hand to attack any form of organization and struggle of the working class and its vanguard to liberate itself from the yoke of capitalism.

Therefore, we Marxist-Leninists and the working class must understand this question thoroughly and be able to make the distinction, because there is a great difference between Marxist-Leninists and anarchists and the terrorists. On the other hand, however, this question should not be taken to mean that in order to restrain terrorism, the working class with its vanguard and the progressive people should refrain from acting or even from fighting with arms against this state which oppresses them, as well as against all terrorist, anarchist and revisionist forms that support this state power of the bourgeoisie. If we do not understand this situation correctly, if we equate revolutionary action with terrorism and anarchism, then it will be impossible for the revolution, to advance and the working class will remain for ever at the mercy of capital, under the oppression of laws of the bourgeoisie, and, as a consequence, will tone down all its efforts to liberate itself from bondage. Hence, there are certain moments when it is necessary to delve deeper into the meaning which must be distinct from the meaning and judgement which the revisionists and the social-democracy want to give it in the interests of the monopolies and their state.

At present there are difficulties and dangers for the new Marxist-Leninist parties which emerged after the 1960s, and especially for some that were created under the influence of the Chinese cultural revolution. In some of these new “Marxist-Leninist” parties, especially in certain countries of Europe and Latin-America, their emergence on the scene, the organization and uniting of their ranks was done not by sound elements of the working class, but by isolated elements, who had the experience of the weak, anti-Marxist, reformist work of revisionist parties. On top of this, these parties were formed and developed, so to say, in complete legality, and together with others, many elements who posed as Marxist-Leninists but were not such, entered their ranks.

Some leaders of these parties took the problem very lightly, a thing which, naturally, was reflected in their work. They considered the breaking away from the revisionist parties as a very important act. In fact this really was an important act, but the course they were to follow, the forms and methods of organization of their work, especially the political and the organizational line which were adopted and applied, were to have greater importance. As was seen, on certain international problems and theoretical issues they took more or less correct stands, but still, in some aspects, their political line was developed in the same forms as the line of the revisionist parties were unable to make a proper judgement of the situations within their own countries and in the international field. This was so over major events in the international communist movement, for example, over the struggle against Soviet revisionism and, later, in the analyses which should have been made of the development of the situation in China, the factional struggle which was developing there and the Chinese cultural revolution. In many instances it was clear that they lacked Marxist-Leninist depth in their judgements and opinions, but had sufficient arrogance to consider their actions as indisputable.

In fact, right from the formation of some of these parties it was apparent that among their members there were elements who were not properly tempered with the Marxist-Leninist ideas or whose mastery of them was superficial and rather for sentimental reasons. For example, many of them made no effort to gain a

thorough understanding of the major role of the party as the vanguard detachment of the working class and of the major difficulties they would encounter in their work and struggle in the conditions of savage, oppressive and exploiting capitalist regime, a regime hostile, first of all, to Marxist-Leninists.

For these reasons, then, in some of the small parties, right from the start frictions appeared and splits occurred, no measures were taken against factionalists, because the leaders and members of the party were not properly acquainted with the Leninist-Stalinist organizational forms of the party in the dangerous and complicated conditions of their countries. Moreover, they did not foresee that reaction would have the activity of the party and its members under permanent surveillance, and would infiltrate dubious elements, their agents or wavering sympathizers into their ranks.

Performing our internationalist duty, wherever we had the possibility and contacts with some of these parties, we, the Party of Labour of Albania, stressed our experience to them and told them that in its whole line, including the problems of its organizational structure, our Party remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism, which it did not consider a dogma or a theoretical ornament, but applied it in practice with the greatest strictness and seriousness in the difficult conditions of our country, that is, in the struggle against the occupiers of the country and the local bourgeoisie which placed itself in their service.

Thus, in the organizational field, some of these new Marxist-Leninist parties which broke away from the revisionist parties, were organized, so to say, in those same legal forms as the revisionist and social-democratic parties, so the entire political and ideological opinion of the country could not fail to exert an influence within their ranks. To this day there are members of these parties who still think they can militate in legal ways as Marxist-Leninist communists without being disturbed by capitalism and its apparatus of oppression. In these circumstances, then, it can hardly be said that there exists that sound nucleus, as strong as it could be in conditions of illegality, which is able to withstand a sudden attack which reaction is sure to make against the party.

The very dangerous consequences of this work and this practice in some of these parties, especially in Europe, became apparent after the exposure of the Communist Party of China and the ideas of Mao Zedong. Splits occurred, anti-Marxist ideas and opinions emerged, which in some cases were embraced even by their leaders. That explains why some of those small, still unconsolidated parties, which began their activity with correct aims on the Marxist-Leninist road and were for revolutionary actions, deviated. This is what happened with the Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Parties of France, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries and recently with the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), etc.

In short, some of these Marxist-Leninist parties were split because they did not have a proper understanding of their role in the revolution, because they did not organize themselves for a fierce struggle with organized and armed reaction and the revisionist and social-democratic parties, which have long experience and numerous means to combat any opponents who emerge, to fight and undermine their work, as the tools of capital they are.

Proceeding from the experience of our Party and country, as well as from the experience of the genuine communist parties of the past, I think that the Marxist-Leninist parties must not isolate themselves, that is, they must not stand remote from the broad masses of the people, and especially, from the working class. In this question, we Marxist-Leninists reason and judge proceeding from the fact that the working class in the capitalist countries, or at least the overwhelming bulk of it today, is inspired and organized by the parties of social-democracy, the employers and modern revisionism in trade-unions manipulated by them, and that the bourgeois state has set up a broad network of informers and has brought out a large number of laws in order to implant the bourgeois mentality in this working class, to corrupt it ideologically and politically and intimidate it so that it does not undertake actions that are dangerous to the capital. Therefore, if the members of the Marxist-Leninist parties want to advance, to continue on the course for which the parties were set up, they must get into those big groupings of the proletariat, go among the

ranks of the democratic progressive elements who are against the capitalist regime, against the constitution of the capitalist country and economic oppression and exploitation, and against the reactionary ideology which is presented in various forms in order to befuddle the minds of the people.

The new Marxist-Leninist parties cannot content themselves merely with the publication of a newspaper or magazine, which, naturally, have very limited circulation. These means of propaganda have their own importance, but frequently they fail to produce the desired effect among the masses, let alone penetrate and organize the work within big groupings of the masses. Both the Marxist-Leninist norms which organize, temper and make the party coherent and militant, and its penetration, organization and struggle inside the unions or other groupings of the working class, are matters of great importance for the revolution. The Marxist-Leninist parties, especially in Europe, must not remain onlookers behind the barricade on which the working class is fighting. In Latin America, many Marxist-Leninist parties newly formed after 1960 militated in illegality and not only operated correctly, in general, for their own development and education with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, but also accompanied this activity with concrete actions, with attacks through strikes and demonstrations setting their militant example. Of course, they also suffered losses during these attacks, but the party cannot be consolidated on the revolutionary road, cannot be the vanguard of the proletariat and the progressive and revolutionary elements without losses and without setting such a militant example.

Of course, legal work must be carried out, but parallel with this work the party must create its clandestine force which will direct the legal work. Precisely this force of the party is the soundest, most resolute part which will understand the situation thoroughly and correctly and will direct the activities. Some new Marxist-Leninist parties did not bear in mind this teaching of Marxism-Leninism. With their fraudulent propaganda, with allegedly leftist slogans, which in reality were reactionary slogans in the service of capital, the parties of the bourgeoisie deceived the working class and the revolutionary elements, because, as we

know, in all their activity the revisionist parties aim to achieve alliances with the bourgeoisie and its parties, contenting themselves with a few concessions granted by the bourgeoisie through reforms. These comrades have been satisfied with some successes they achieved through demonstrations in the streets and meetings and speeches in the squares. But that is not enough to teach the working class how to fight and mount the steps of the revolution one by one until the final step, that is, the decisive attack against the apparatus of capitalist oppression.

Thinking that in the countries in which they militate the situations are such as to create the possibility for their legalization, some parties which now are in illegality have been faced with the question: "How should we act?" I think that the legalization of the party is a two-edged sword: it is good if the reason for, the forms and the limitations of this legalization are understood, but it is very harmful if elements of the bourgeoisie, wavering elements, revisionist elements and agents of the reaction penetrate the ranks of the party in legality. In this way the possibility is created for people trained for sabotage to infiltrate from the legal part of the party into the part working in illegality. While for illegality to serve the party actively, its members must not merely engage in propaganda for parliamentary reforms, as the revisionist parties openly linked with reaction do, but must go among the masses, work with them and organize them in a revolutionary way, winning them away from the influence of capital and its parties. Otherwise, the desired success cannot be achieved.

It is true that that section of the party which emerge in legality will have possibilities to go among the broad masses more easily and to organize joint fronts with them against the power of the bourgeoisie, to carry on propaganda and influence them in action. But the party must influence them in actions not in the revisionist and social-democratic way, because in that case the working class will be unable to distinguish between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists and will not be incited to actions more advanced than those which social-democracy and modern revisionism have taught it. In the contrary, the creation of fronts and the expansion of the influence of that section of the party which is legal, closely linked with the other part which is in

illegality, must make the revolt of the people greater and in this way the revolutionary situations which are created will be turned to advantage. It is necessary to know how to utilize the contradictions which exist between the internal capital of the country and foreign capital, between the local bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This work will consolidate the existence of the party and its militant line, will disseminate genuine Marxism-Leninism and will expose revisionism.

It is absolutely essential that the exposures of revisionism and its parties, with their forms, methods and policies should be done, although the exposure through newspaper articles and speeches, but should be accompanied with actions so that the proletariat will clearly see the distinction between its Marxist-Leninist party and the revisionist and social-democratic parties, not just because their political and ideological objectives differ, but especially because the party of the proletariat struggles to put its objectives into practice and thus, it will strengthen its ranks with such elements by admitting them as party members. Only through such work can the Marxist-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries be sure that their ranks will be increased with convinced and disciplined people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, prepared for the revolution through violence and not through reforms.

It is essential that the members of parties that militate in the capitalist countries understand that they are in stern struggle with the bourgeoisie and its repressive apparatus, especially with its parties, including the revisionist parties. Therefore, they must be clear and always bear in mind that this struggle demands efforts and material and moral sacrifices.

If they do not understand their being members of the party and their work and struggle in its ranks in this way, then the party in which they militate can hardly be called a genuine revolutionary party, but is a revolutionary party only in words. Such a party will fall apart at the first difficult moment, indeed it is likely to do so even before such a moment is reached. Even at moments which are allegedly peaceful, but which are not and never can be peaceful, hangs together simply because it presents no moral, political or material threat to anything.

We Marxist-Leninist parties must work to create the means of propaganda and struggle ourselves, without the material aid of anyone, because there is no one who will help is seriously and without destructive political motives.

It is impermissible for us Marxist-Leninists to work with the forms and methods of work of the permanent bureaucrats of revisionist parties who engage in commercial deals instead of revolutionary work. It is our duty to teach the members of the party and the elements of the working class they mobilize around themselves to make small sacrifices, while preparing themselves for greater sacrifices, up to giving their lives on the fronts of struggle against the bourgeoisie which are being waged and will be waged in the future.

In this sense, the objective of the Marxist-Leninist parties which militate in the capitalist countries is to be parties of the barricades, parties of the capture of factories, of clashes with the forces of the order, and not parties which submit to the laws, regulations and formulas that reaction has created. This is logical and lawful, because all the creations of reaction and capital have the objective of the suppression of the revolution and the genuine parties have the duty not to obey them, but to attack them. In saying this I am not advocating operating in adventurous ways. As I stressed above, we must consider where the weak spots are, although, once again, without ideo-politically sound organizational activity they cannot be exploited.

The important moments through which the capitalist world is passing at present, the moments of the great crisis, are objectively very suitable for launching attacks on capital at its weak points. It is up to us Marxist-Leninists to understand these weaknesses thoroughly so that the struggle and the resistance are developed both in the developed capitalist countries and in the backward countries. The responsibility devolves on the Marxist-Leninist parties of the developed countries to prove themselves up to their tasks and set the example for the Marxist-Leninist parties or the revolutionary elements of the backward countries.

At present we can say that the working masses and progressive elements in the economically backward countries,

who suffer the oppression of capital, are more in the forefront, more active, more militant than those in the developed capitalist countries and although there are no Marxist-Leninist parties there, they have proved their superiority by carrying out militant activities against the internal oppression and external interference. This shows that the capitalist bourgeoisie in the metropolises has great experience in oppression and exploitation and, apparently, even though there are Marxist-Leninist parties, people have become accustomed to enduring this oppression and to being misled by the false democracy and freedom advocated by the allegedly democratic parties.

The conclusion emerges that the metropolises continue to oppress the undeveloped, neo-colonial countries and, logically, that the Marxist-Leninist parties in some oppressor countries are not reacting with the revolutionary force required to prevent this oppression. It can be seen that the necessary internationalist solidarity with the progressive peoples of continents which are in revolt against the double yoke of foreign and local capital does not exist in these countries. This is a major problem of capital importance, which must concern all Marxist-Leninists, and in the first place, the Marxist-Leninist parties in the countries ruled by capital.

Our party is aware of these problems, has them on the agenda, makes every effort and has orientated its whole policy, propaganda and agitation, as well as its own actions, towards internationalist aid for the Marxist-Leninist parties and the people's national liberation struggle. At this stage, the national liberation struggles of the peoples of the undeveloped countries have extraordinary importance, because they weaken the capitalist order, in general and facilitate the development of bourgeois democratic revolutions and their transformation into proletarian revolutions. Hence, it is up to the communist forces wherever they are, to reflect on their actions and activities and be guided by our great revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism, to assimilate it thoroughly and accurately and, through the practical actions, to incite and lead the masses in revolution.

We notice with regret that some Marxist-Leninist parties do not understand this question properly, do not operate actively,

that is, they do not accompany their propaganda, however weak, with concrete actions, which they can do only if the militant spirit exists in their ranks. Indeed, in some countries there are occasions when we do not see Marxist-Leninist groups or parties which distinguish themselves with their political actions and give fire to the demonstrations, opposition and protests which the working class makes on the urging of social-democracy or modern revisionism- Such actions would really arouse interest among the workers who would see that the actions of Marxist-Leninists come into conflict with the slogans chanted by the revisionists and social-democracy in strikes and demonstrations. Tens of thousands of workers rally in the squares of various cities, and the Marxist-Leninist parties will strengthen and assert themselves if their representatives take the courage to come out with their own microphones, addressing the masses of the people with their line in order to explain to them how they should turn the strikes and demonstrations they hold into political strikes and demonstrations, and not limited themselves to economic strikes or “peaceful” strikes.

The enemy in power is afraid of such political strikes, therefore he calls them ferocious strikes. The question here is not that we should come out with weapons or fire them, but we must stand up to the repressive organs of the order, the police, the carabinieri, the army and, at the same time, expose the evils of capitalism and the revisionist parties among the people gathers in the streets and in squares. This, for example, is a field in which Marxist-Leninists can mobilize the working masses. But there are other fields and forms of work like this, which prepare public opinion for sterner actions against the wretched existing state of affairs, so the people see more clearly the crisis of the regime, the great economic financial crisis, the great energy crisis, all of which, in the final analysis, are loaded on to the backs of the working class.

The working class cannot follow our people, our Marxist-Leninist groups or parties, if it does not see us in action, because in regard to the means of propaganda which the capitalist bourgeoisie and its parties possess, they are far more powerful the ours. Therefore, the masses of the people have to see us the

communists and men of action in concrete actions against the imposed order, against the status quo, against the flabby activity which the propaganda of the bourgeoisie creates.

The purpose of the propaganda of the bourgeoisie is to retain its electorate. By saying that voting for this or that party of the bourgeoisie will alter the situation, each bourgeois party tries to arouse vain hopes among the working class and the working masses, hence, it canvasses for votes. The only result of such propaganda is to lull the revolutionary energies of the masses to sleep, whereas we Marxist-Leninists face the task that we must involve the masses in concrete actions.

Wherever the capitalist bourgeoisie operates, it is striving with all its might to cope with the terrible economic crisis which has gripped it, and which, far from diminishing is becoming deeper, by shifting its consequences on to the shoulders of the masses. The energy-crisis, the financial crisis, the mounting prices, inflation, unemployment and terrorism which day by day is assuming alarming proportions, are arousing the distrust of the broad masses of the people towards the regimes ruling them, but at the same time, they frighten the middle strata of the people, obscure their view of the future, of the ways and means to escape from the crisis, that is, from the regime which has given birth to all these evils. Precisely here and in opposition to this situation, the burden falls on us Marxist-Leninists and our parties to fight the opposing current, to find the ways, means and forms to mobilize the masses.

On many capitalist countries the crisis is great, terrorism, which is supported by capital, is assuming major proportions. In order to emerge from the crisis and crush any possibility of insurrection and revolution by the working class and the people, the reactionary forces in these countries are preparing the terrain for an authoritarian state, for the fascist dictatorship. If the working masses, we Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples fail to understand that the fascist dictatorship comes as a result of the difficult situation which the power of the capital is experiencing and do not fight it, then,, sooner or later fascism will be established, because the crisis will continue, since capitalism will strive to protect its income at the expense of the working

masses who will become more and more impoverished. Being unarmed, because they do not understand why such a thing is occurring and do not fight against it and the other actions of the capital, these masses will accept the bondage of a fascist circle, thinking that it will be a way out of the crisis. In fact it is not a way out for the working class and the working people, because fascism represents the most ferocious dictatorship of capital, which will oppress the masses of the peoples even more than it is doing today. It is the last resort of exploiting capital.

In all the capitalist countries, separately or jointly, in the political, military and economic organism in which they have assembled, there exists a situation of terrible crisis, which has brought about consequences in the economy and in all the other sectors of the life of the country and has aroused the sentiments of the internal disintegration of the capitalist state and nationalism. Thus, in the capitalist and revisionist countries we see the development of profound contradictions, not only between states combined in blocs, but also between individual states. Even in the so-called socialist community at present there is a very great crisis, caused by the relations of dependence on the Soviet Union which is in a major economic-financial crisis itself. The other countries, satellites of the Soviet Union, likewise, are suffering the consequences of the world capitalist crisis. Thus, recently we see a great rise of prices of every sort in those countries, a rise which amounts to 50 per cent. This has already stirred the broad masses of the people to silent revolt, and in some cases, as in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland, to open clashes.

The foreign debts of these countries are colossal. They amount to billions of dollars. These states are facing bankruptcy, because they are unable to further develop their economies, or even to pay their existing debts to the Soviet Union and the other capitalist countries. Hence, there is great discontent within this bloc. Wherever ethnic unity does not exist, nationalist groupings have begun to emerge.

I have said on other occasions that modern revisionism created difficult and complicated economic, political, and ideological situations. It disrupts the political unity of the country and incites desperate nationalism. In other words, modern

revisionism incites the most reactionary, fascist nationalist elements to create those situations which are in the interest of world capital. Therefore, both in the capitalist countries and in the countries ruled by revisionists, the revolutionary situation, as an objective condition for the triumph of the revolution, has matured. The only thing lacking is the spark to kindle a revolt, organized and led, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, whether of the capitalist West or the revisionist East.

We find the most concrete example of this situation in Yugoslavia, where the national question has become as acute as it was at the time of the Second World War. The situation has not yet reached the stage where it bursts into flames, but the fire may break out due to the Titoite regime, which, contrary to its propaganda about “unity and fraternity”, is splitting the nations and nationalities more and more in Yugoslavia. The reactionary circles of the most powerful “kraljs” are operating for division, fragmentation and domination in Yugoslavia. These circles are the offspring of the anti-Marxist, capitalist-revisionist regime, which is arousing feuds, divisions and enmities among the peoples.

Our people have a wise saying: “Poverty breeds discord”, and this poverty is an outcome of capitalist regimes. The peoples in those countries are impoverished, therefore, in order to escape from poverty, the wretched absolutely must be made conscious and understand the situations, must organize themselves and strive to organize the resistance against oppression, to organize that popular striking force which gradually becomes a terrible force against the rotten capitalist regime, where the situation is ripe for revolutionary activity.

Our Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us: Every revolutionary activity must be guided by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory which the Marxist-Leninist party masters, defends and faithfully applies. The objective of every genuine revolutionary movement must be to establish the hegemony of the working class. This hegemony does not in any way imply that the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party should not link up with all those classes and strata of the population which are very interested in opposing the oppressive capitalist and revisionist order. On the contrary, the hegemony of the working class

presupposes alliance with the working peasantry, the progressive intellectuals, etc.

In the ranks of the unemployed in the capitalist-revisionist countries there is a great spiritual force of people revolted because they are short of food. In those countries there is a great force of people revolted because the prospects for a decent life have been closed to them. They cannot find jobs, and made desperate by this situation, they are easily corrupted and misled by the special intensive preparation of the regime to involve them in acts of terrorism. This is the source of the participation of young people in the terrorist “red brigades”. Many of these young people do not see any way out other than through terrorist acts. We Marxist-Leninists must show them that the isolated terrorist acts and gangsterism, in which the capitalist regime has involved them and is trying to involve them ever more deeply, do not bring any improvement of the situation for the people, the youth, or the unemployed, but, on the contrary, bring about the fascist coup of the reactionary bourgeoisie. These groups of youths are nothing but the vanguard detachments of fascism. In the face of these capitalist phenomena, we Marxist-Leninists must not sit idle. We must not permit the masses of the people, to be intimidated by the acts of terrorists, anarchists, on the contrary, we should work so that the people of this or that capitalist country are not afraid of them.

When the Marxists act against terrorism, it is likely that the class enemies will tax them with “taking part in the activity of elements who support the capitalist regime”, but the slanders of enemies must not inhibit the revolutionary activity. The Marxist-Leninists act in two parallel directions: both against the regime in power, against the bourgeois parties, whether social-democratic, socialist or revisionist, and at the same time, also, against terrorism. The revolutionaries cannot wage this struggle, simply by issuing a newspaper, but by carrying out extensive political, ideological propaganda and by acting together with the masses in order to make the truth clear to them and convince them in concrete actions, against the evils of the old society. The enemies must be attacked on all fronts in unity with the masses, otherwise, success cannot be achieved. To do this requires strong

organization, courage and many sacrifices from our Marxist-Leninist parties.

At these difficult moments, when capitalism in crisis is seeking to establish its savage dictatorship, sacrifices on the part of Marxist-Leninists, the working class and progressive elements are indispensable, but every revolutionary action requires courage, intelligence and vigorous actions. There must be no retreat in the face of this situation.

The just and heroic struggle of the Palestinian people for the liberation of their territories seized and occupied by Israel is a fine example. Despite the fact that it is not led by Marxist-Leninists we support it. We support it since it is a national liberation, anti-imperialist struggle. In assessing their struggle we must appreciate their bravery in coping with countless difficulties against extremely strong powers, armed to the teeth, such as the American imperialists and the Israeli Zionists. We must also bear in mind the fact that, at the same time, the Palestinians have to fight the reactionary Arab forces, too. They are left without a homeland, but they have the strength of their spirit and the strength of their arms, their courage and honest aims to have their homeland liberated, which keep them alive. They are fighting tooth and nail against the Israeli Zionists, fighting for their existence as a people and for their right to have their own homeland. It is useful for the Marxist-Leninist parties of the capitalist countries to bear in mind this wonderful experience for the organization of their struggle, to draw inspiration from the example of the resistance of this small people who, although displaced and scattered, have been able to rally their energies for a great purpose. They are fighting in the ways which the conditions of bourgeois domination have allowed them for the creation of a Palestinian state in opposition to the great forces of capitalism and imperialism.

Despite some activities of a terrorist character by some groups, an activity which we Marxist-Leninists do not support, the struggle of the Palestinian people, in general, is a liberation struggle and should be assisted.

The tasks which emerge for us Marxist-Leninists in these

situations are certainly very great and very difficult, because our enemies are numerous, highly organized and very powerful. These tasks become still greater and more difficult for the Marxist-Leninist parties which militate in the capitalist countries. But profound and correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that unerring guide which leads and directs us in every step of our life and ideological line, as well as in the organizational field, the effective co-ordination of illegal with legal activity, the selection of reliable allies and alliances, etc. will make our struggle and the overcoming of difficulties easier and will lead us to victory over the bourgeois-revisionist enemies.