

ENVER HOXHA

SELECTED WORKS

III

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**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

# ENVER HOXHA

**SELECTED WORKS**

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LABOUR OF ALBANIA



**ENVER HOXHA**

THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES  
AT THE CC OF THE PLA

# ENVER HOXHA

VOLUME

III

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## FOREWORD

*The third volume of the «Selected Works» of Comrade Enver Hoxha in English includes materials from the period 1960-1965.*

*Basing himself firmly on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, as well as on the experience gained by the PLA, during this period Comrade Enver Hoxha elaborated a series of theses of theoretical and practical value which have to do with the consolidation and further development of the gains of socialism in Albania. At the same time these theses constitute a resolute defence of Marxism-Leninism on the international plane.*

*Internally, 1960 marks the dividing line between two stages of the construction of socialism in Albania: the successful conclusion of the construction of the economic base of socialism and the commencement of the new historical stage — the complete construction of socialist society. In the works included in this volume, Comrade Enver Hoxha sums up the revolutionary experience of the PLA and the results achieved in the first stage, but he devotes his main attention to the elaboration and carrying out of the fundamental tasks of the new stage. The orientations for the development of the country in this stage were given by the 4th Congress of the PLA in February 1961, at which, along with continuing the revolutionary perfecting of socialist relations of production, the task for the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism was laid down.*

*In this period, the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, which the PLA has always applied in all the stages of the revolution and the socialist construction of the country, was materialized more thoroughly in practice.*

*The problems of the revolutionary ideological and moral education of the working people occupy a special place in the materials of this volume. The raising of the revolutionary consciousness of the people was dictated, first of all, by the new stage of development of our society in the course of the complete construction of socialist society, but also by the need to cope with the imperialist and revisionist ideological pressure against our country, which in the 60's took the form of a real aggression. The experience of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union had confirmed that socialism, triumphant in one or the other country, was in danger, not only from the armed imperialist intervention from abroad, but also from the internal peaceful counter-revolution. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist tempering of people, their formation as communists, was to play a major role in destroying the soil for this counter-revolution and forestalling the danger of the restoration of capitalism.*

*On the external plane, the years 1960-1965 have gone down in history as the years when the Party of Labour of Albania, besides its struggle against world imperialism, headed by American imperialism, came into head-on confrontation with Khrushchevite revisionism, and rose with all its strength in open struggle against it, a struggle which became more and more pronounced and more intense as time went on.*

*The materials in this volume are clear evidence of this courageous and principled struggle of the PLA to expose the counter-revolutionary, chauvinist policy and ideology of the Khrushchevite leadership of the Soviet Union, and the anti-Marxist views and practices of modern revision-*

*ism, this agency of the bourgeoisie in the communist and workers' movement. The PLA centred its struggle on the defence of the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory about the hegemonic role of the working class and the leadership of its party in the construction of socialist and communist society, about the ways of transition to socialism, about the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, about classes and the class struggle, about Leninist peaceful coexistence, etc., opposing its revolutionary views to the anti-Marxist theses of the 20th Congress and the program approved by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, which constitute the «code» of modern revisionism.*

*At the Meetings of Bucharest and Moscow in 1960, amongst other things, the PLA defended the Leninist principles and norms which govern relations between communist parties. From these positions it resolutely opposed the anti-Marxist methods which Khrushchev used for the condemnation of the CP of China. There the PLA stood beside the CP of China, believing that it was a communist party. Later, time showed that this was not so, and that the Chinese leadership fought Khrushchev from positions and for aims quite contrary to Marxism-Leninism, by which the policy and struggle of the PLA were guided.*

*In the conditions when the Khrushchevite revisionists had begun their frontal attack on Marxism-Leninism, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, contrary to the vacillations and the desires of the Chinese leadership to pursue the opportunist policy of «sitting on the fence», launched the slogan of finally breaking with the revisionists in all fields, regardless of the difficulties and obstacles that would arise.*

*Many of the materials in this volume bring out the grave internal crisis which had affected the Khrushchevite revisionists and which reached its culmination in 1964. This*

*crisis was the result of the principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and all genuine communists against the Khrushchevite revisionists and the exposure and discrediting they suffered in the eyes of the peoples of the world. It was also the result of the contradictions and the struggle for power in the ranks of the Soviet leadership. To save themselves from the crisis and further discredit, the revisionist chiefs were obliged to remove from the political stage their chief and the architect of the revisionist course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, Khrushchev. The PLA described the inglorious end of Khrushchev as a heavy blow to the revisionist staff and a victory for Marxism-Leninism, while warning at the same time that with his fall, Khrushchevite revisionism had by no means come to an end. At no time did it nurture illusions, as the Chinese leaders did, about the «new» leadership and the «radical change» which had allegedly occurred in the Soviet Union.*

*This volume also includes some articles from the respective period drawn from the book «Reflections on China», volume 1, which reflect the efforts of the PLA to help the CP of China. Opinions critical of what was occurring in China are expressed in them. The PLA could not make these opinions public at that time, but through party channels, in a comradely way and at the proper time, it expressed them to the Chinese leadership, in the hope that it would put itself on the right road.*

*Like every historical work, the materials included in this volume bear the brand of their time, therefore it is necessary that the reader should keep in mind the time in which they were written.*

*In volume 3, as in the preceding volumes, some of the materials are published in an abridged form.*

## **ALWAYS FOLLOW A CORRECT LINE**

*From the contribution to the discussion at the meeting  
of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA*

**June 22, 1960**

The question we are going to discuss today has to do with the Bucharest Meeting<sup>1</sup>. As decided, we sent to Rumania a party delegation, headed by Comrade Hysni Kapo,

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**1** In a letter dated June 2, 1960 the CC of the CPSU proposed to the CC of the PLA that a meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp be held at the end of that month «to exchange opinions on the questions of the current international situation and define a common line for the future». In another letter dated June 7, the CC of the CPSU proposed to the CC of the PLA that the meeting should be postponed and its date agreed on at a preliminary meeting, due to be held in Bucharest, of the representatives of the sister parties of the socialist camp, who would attend the proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party. Accepting this proposal, the CC of the PLA appointed Comrade Hysni Kapo, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA, to head the delegation of the PLA to the 3rd Congress of the RWP, and authorized him to exchange opinions with the representatives of the other sister parties on the date of the meeting.

However, the delegation of the PLA in Bucharest found itself faced with an international meeting prepared by the Soviet leaders with anti-Marxist methods and aims.

to participate in the proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party. We had foreseen that on this occasion the first secretaries, or some of them, would go at the head of the delegations of the parties, but for many reasons, which we know, we judged that I should not go. In addition to its participation in the proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, our delegation was also authorized to participate in the Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, according to the agreement reached, in order to fix the place and date of a meeting of all the parties, at which they will discuss, among other things, the disagreements existing between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

There is no doubt that these disagreements must be resolved as quickly as possible and in the Marxist-Leninist way, in the first place, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and in case they are not resolved between them, then theses should be provided for a discussion among the parties, where the representatives of the communist and workers' parties will have their say, and the disagreements will be resolved in the correct way.

However, the Soviet leaders in Bucharest are making efforts to talk about these disagreements right now. In the radiogram he sent us, Comrade Hysni says that since the Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties has been postponed, they propose to hold a meeting with the representatives of all the parties who are there, at which to raise the disagreements the Soviet Union has with China, of course in the direction the Soviet Union thinks. According to Khrushchev, at this meeting decisions could be taken, too, and all the parties should express their views, express their solidarity with the Soviet Union and with the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of

1957,<sup>2</sup> which Khrushchev says, «the Chinese comrades are not upholding»! All this is being done by talking with and working on the delegations one after another, with the end in view that the delegation of the Communist Party of China will be told whether it will remain in the socialist camp or not. They say that this Meeting is not to isolate China, but is being held in order to «inform ourselves, to adopt a common stand».

I think that the decision we have taken<sup>3</sup> is correct. We must listen, not only to what the Soviet comrades say, but also to what the Chinese say, and then have our say in the discussion. Therefore the question arises: What stand will our delegation maintain at this meeting rigged up by the Soviet representatives headed by Khrushchev?

We have been subject to a number of provocations there, against which Hysni has stood firm, but he needs further assistance and instruction, for he finds himself faced with a series of difficulties and with the most diverse pressures and provocations.

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**2** At this Meeting of communist and workers' parties, held in November 1957 in Moscow, the Khrushchev group tried to legalize the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU as the general line of the international communist movement, but encountered the opposition of the delegation of the PLA (headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha), and others, who defended the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Confronted with the logic of scientific argument, the revisionists were forced to retreat. In the Declaration of the Meeting, however, along with its generally revolutionary content, there remained the incorrect formulation about the 20th Congress of the CPSU as a congress that had allegedly opened a new stage in the international communist movement.

On other questions included in the Declaration, too, the PLA had its reservations, which were expressed in its press and through its propaganda.

**3** Concerning participation in the Meeting of the representatives of the parties of the socialist camp in Bucharest to fix the place and date for a future broader meeting of the communist and workers' parties.

As always, we must pursue a correct line, for we have a great responsibility to our people. We are a Marxist-Leninist party, and it is up to us to maintain a Marxist-Leninist stand, whatever may occur. Life has shown that we have never wavered; therefore not even a cannon can shift us now from the correct line our Party is pursuing. Life has shown that we were not mistaken in our opinions and attitudes towards the Yugoslav revisionists; we have been proven correct. If Khrushchev and Co. have adopted a different stand, not fighting the Yugoslav revisionists, that is their affair. That is the way they see it, but we, too, have the right to tell them our opinion. We have supported the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of 1957, not only on the Yugoslav question, but also on other questions, such as the unity of the socialist camp, peaceful coexistence, etc. But, on the other hand, concerning many questions included in it, we have had our reservations which we have expressed to the Soviets, or we have adopted a stand in the press and propaganda of the Party. We are for peaceful coexistence, but in the way Lenin conceived it, not to extend it to the field of ideology, for this is extremely dangerous. As far as disarmament is concerned, life has confirmed that imperialism is not disarming; on the contrary, it is arming more and more. Then how can we disarm? On the contrary, we must be vigilant. And so we are, and we have done well. On the basis of the line our Party has pursued, the people and all the communists are ready to rise against any danger of aggression. There are some things on which we can tell the Soviets that they are not in order. We can tell them, for example, that we do not agree with their not exposing the Yugoslav revisionists through to the end. Likewise, if we have any criticism of the others, we shall tell them openly and in a comradely spirit, in a Marxist way. Therefore we must prepare ourselves for these things and go to the Meeting of the representatives

of the communist and workers' parties to have our say. In these matters everybody should take a clear and firm Marxist-Leninist stand, and provocations by anyone must not be permitted.

Now, if you like, we may read the radiogram from Comrade Hysni.

*After reading the radiogram sent by Comrade Hysni Kapo, Comrade Enver Hoxha again took the floor.*

As soon as Comrade Gogo [Nushi]<sup>4</sup> arrived in Moscow, he was summoned by Brezhnev. After asking him, «How are you?» and «How are you getting on?» he told him about their theses concerning the Chinese. Likewise, when Comrade Mehmet [Shehu]<sup>5</sup> went to Moscow, Kosygin<sup>6</sup> saw him and spoke to him for an hour and a half about these questions. Comrade Mehmet replied: «If these things are so, why have they been left to get worse, since it has been possible to solve them in a Marxist-Leninist way between the two parties first of all, and then, if necessary, they could have been raised with the other parties?» Mehmet told him: «Our Party will maintain a correct, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand, and will not fall into sentimental and opportunist positions.»

In his letter Comrade Hysni tells us that Todor Zhivkov<sup>7</sup> tried a provocation. He said to him: «What is Albania up to? Only Albania does not agree!» Comrade Hysni

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<sup>4</sup> Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and President of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania. He stopped at Moscow on his way home from Peking, where he had gone at the head of a delegation of the TUA to participate in the meeting of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions. He died on April 9, 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA.

<sup>6</sup> At that time Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

<sup>7</sup> First Secretary of the CC of the CP of Bulgaria, notorious as a lackey of the Moscow revisionists.

retorted: «What do you imply by this?» Then Zhivkov said: «I was joking.» Hysni pointed out to him that he must have something in his head to say: «Only Albania does not agree.» He again answered: «I was joking.»

The Bulgarians have published in an illustrated brochure a map of the Balkans in which Albania is presented as a part of Yugoslavia. Concerning this question I told Behar<sup>8</sup> to summon the Bulgarian ambassador and ask him what was the meaning of this and demand that this brochure be immediately withdrawn from circulation.

With regard to the questions we discussed here, I think we should instruct Comrade Hysni. I have prepared the letter, which I am going to read slowly because it is important.

*After the reading and approval of the letter<sup>9</sup>, Comrade Enver Hoxha continued:*

I want to stress that our strength consists in the unity of thought and deed of our leadership and the entire Party, which is of exceptional importance. Our unity is based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism: therefore we must make it ever stronger. We have advanced consistently on this road, striving for strict implementation, to the letter, of the decisions we adopt here jointly, in the Political Bureau, and when the need arises we consult one another again. But on those occasions, when one of us finds himself in difficulty and alone and without the possibility of consulting anyone, he should act, as we did during the war when, without comrades, one had to decide on his own whether or not all the forces should be thrown into the attack, or how to defend and implement the line of the Party.

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<sup>8</sup> Behar Shtylla, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRA.

<sup>9</sup> See the letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Bucharest, published in this volume p. 7.

## **LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN BUCHAREST**

**June 22, 1960**

Dear Comrade Hysni,

We received your telegrams and letter and studied them in the Political Bureau. We are unanimously of the opinion that the situation is very grave and is not developing in a proper party way. The development of events, the fanning and extension of the conflict between the Soviet Union and China, in the way it is being done, our Political Bureau considers very wrong, very harmful and very dangerous. Therefore it can by no means reconcile itself to the methods and forms that are being used to resolve this conflict which is so costly to our socialist camp and to international communism. Our Political Bureau stands firm, as always, on the Marxist-Leninist line that the disagreements between the Soviet Union and China should never have been left to get worse, that the conflict must not be allowed to deepen, but must be solved in a Marxist-Leninist way and with Marxist-Leninist methods.

The Political Bureau thinks that the disagreements, which exist between the Soviet Union and China, have not been made known to the communist and workers' parties according to the Leninist rules, but in a fortuitous way, through open and indirect polemics in the press and by word of mouth. This is not the correct method of solving such a conflict if it is desired, as Marxism-Leninism requires, that the other parties, too, should intervene and assist

with their experience and weight. This assistance has not been sought until recently. However, according to the telegrams you sent us, even now the Soviet side is aiming to avoid this correct manner of resolving it. Hence, we come to the conclusion that all efforts to clear up these questions between the two biggest parties of the socialist camp in a proper and objective manner, in the Marxist-Leninist way, have not been made. And it seems to us that the solution of the question by a meeting, in which the other communist and workers' parties of our camp should participate, is not being taken as seriously as it should be, since the two parties that have disagreements have not *officially* presented their theses and views on these disagreements to the other sister parties.

The Political Bureau considers that our Party has just as great a responsibility as all the other parties, both for strengthening the unity of the socialist camp in a Marxist-Leninist way, and for preserving the purity of the Party and Marxism-Leninism. Therefore we must make no mistakes, we must not get the Party into an impasse and into ideological and political confusion. We have not done this, and we shall never do it. When it is a question of defending our principles, we take no account of whether this one or that one may like it. Our Party has always maintained a correct Marxist-Leninist stand, and it will always be characterized by principled Marxist-Leninist courage.

Now what stand should be maintained towards the events taking place there? You are clear about the line of our Party and there is no need to dwell on it. But since passions have burst out, and not in proper party forms, you must be very careful. Your response must be cautious and carefully weighed. Always think of the interests of the Party and Marxism-Leninism. But this does not mean that you should not give a proper reply, there and then, to whomsoever it may be. For example, is it not ridiculous and im-

permissible that a certain Magyaros<sup>1</sup> should come «to convince» us, Albanians, of the «correctness» of the line of the Soviet Union and the «faults» of China?! Let Magyaros go elsewhere to peddle his wares, and not to us. We do not need Magyaros to come and «enlighten» us about those principles and truths for which our Party has fought and is ready to fight always. Or, for example, make sure that Andropov<sup>2</sup> thoroughly understands that we disapprove of the Soviet representatives approaching our comrades, members of the delegation to the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, and saying to them in tones of amazement: «What, has your leadership not informed you of these things?!» Remind Andropov that Mikoyan<sup>3</sup> wanted to talk about these questions<sup>4</sup> only to Comrade Enver, and it was he (Enver) who, on his own initiative, took along Comrade Mehmet. Mikoyan begged Comrade Enver to keep all he told him absolutely secret, and when this is the case, our leadership keeps its word, for it is not in the habit of gossiping about such things. But tell Andropov that we see two dangerous tendencies in the Soviet comrades who talked with the comrades of our delegation: first, they underestimate the danger of revisionism, a thing with which we can

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**1** A. Magyaros was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

**2** At that time chief of the Foreign Department for the East European countries at the CC of the CPSU. Later he became a member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU.

**3** At that time member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU, First Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

**4** At the beginning of February 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who was in Moscow at the head of the delegation of the PLA to take part in the Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe on the questions of the development of agriculture, met Mikoyan at the latter's request. Mikoyan spoke at this meeting for nearly five hours about the ideological and political disagreements between the CPSU and the CP of China.

never agree, and, second, the tendency to present the leadership of our Party as guilty in the eyes of our comrades, for allegedly not informing them. Tell Andropov that they must stop these anti-Marxist tactics immediately, and make clear to him that the unity of our leadership is like steel, just as the unity of our leadership with the entire Party of Labour is also like steel, and whoever tries, in one way or another, to make such attempts, may be sure that he will receive blows from us. Tell Andropov also, that it is neither proper nor necessary for the Soviet comrades to inform our comrades, because our leadership, which knows how to defend Marxism-Leninism, also knows when and about what it should inform its members.

Say these things to Andropov without heat, but you will understand why they must be said. They are acting in an irregular way and not in a party way, and it is the occasion to bar the way to these actions. Also say to Andropov, «I am very sorry that you brought Magyaros with you, not as the host, but to convince me of the correctness of the line of the Soviet Union and the wrong way of China. Only good manners, since I was his guest, prevented me from being as 'blunt' with him as he deserved.»

Or, when the opportunity presents itself, as when Andropov said to you that, «thinking that you are firmly against the Yugoslavs, the Communist Party of China wanted to win you over, but it was wrong...», etc., reply: «Our Party of Labour and its leadership can not be misled by anyone and become a partisan of wrong lines. Our Party has been tempered in struggle and does not step on rotten planks. It has stood and will always stand on the road of Marxist-Leninist principles.»

Before we come to the essence of the problem, there are also some other questions you should bear in mind, because they might help you. There are some crooked developments taking place, as you wrote in your letter to us.

Provocations and behind-the-scenes manoeuvres are being hatched up there. Therefore stand firm and show them that there is unity, determination, and courage in our leadership.

On the basis of the decisions of the Political Bureau you will act as follows:

I. — Call Andropov and tell him, on behalf of the leadership of the Party (always on behalf of the Party, on behalf of the leadership): «I communicated to my leadership what you told me. Our leadership has had knowledge in a general way about these disagreements and has considered them very grave, very harmful to our common cause, and again expresses its opinion that they must be resolved, and re-solved in a correct way, according to Marxist-Leninist organizational rules. Our leadership has expressed the opinion that these ideological and political disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China should be solved in a Marxist-Leninist way through joint discussions between the two parties. If they cannot be solved in this way, then the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the camp of socialism should be called on to discuss the issues and express their views. The stands maintained at this meeting could be put before a broader meeting of the communist and workers' parties like that of Moscow in 1957.

«Now it has been decided to hold this meeting. The leadership of our Party considers this a correct decision, agrees with, is preparing to express its opinion on the issues, and is awaiting the fixing of the date.» Tell them: «I [Hysni] am authorized to discuss the setting of the date. Our leadership has decided and has communicated, also, that our delegation to the coming meeting will be headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

«The meeting which is proposed to be held now in Bucharest with all the representatives of the fraternal com-

unist and workers' parties, who have come to the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, over the disagreements between the CPSU and the CP of China, is considered by our leadership as premature and very harmful. Our Party also considers a camouflaged or open campaign in the press about these very delicate questions very harmful. Let the coming meeting judge who is right and who is wrong. Our Party will make full use of all its strength and whatever modest experience it has to help resolve these grave disagreements in a principled Marxist-Leninist way. Our Party assumes all its responsibilities, it will fight honestly and courageously, as always, to defend its correct Marxist-Leninist line, to defend Marxism-Leninism, to defend the camp of socialism and its unity. The Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party have been, are, and will remain very dear to our Party. But it is undeniable and indisputable that, both to you, and also to us and to our whole camp, great China is very dear, too. Therefore our leadership thinks and reaffirms that the mistakes, wherever they may be, should be considered in a realistic way at a meeting, and that every effort, everything possible must be done through Marxist-Leninist ways and methods, to correct them for the good of socialism and communism. This was the official opinion of our leadership when they sent me to Bucharest, and it remains so now after I have informed them of what you communicated to me.»

Also tell Andropov: «I [Hysni] am authorized only to represent the Party of Labour of Albania at the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party and talk with the representatives of the other parties of the camp of socialism about fixing the date for the forthcoming meeting. In case the meeting proposed by you and the Rumanian Workers' Party is to be held now, immediately, in Bucharest, as I pointed out previously, our leadership considers it premature, nevertheless I am authorized to take part in it.

«I have been officially authorized to communicate these things to you so that you will transmit them to your leadership. Our Party says everything it has to say openly and without hesitation, in a Leninist way.»

II. — At the meeting that may be held, keep cool. Measure your words. Make no pronouncement about the disagreements which exist between the Soviet Union and China. Your statement should be brief and concise.

In essence you will declare on behalf of our Party:

1. — Our Party of Labour has approved and implemented the decisions of the Moscow Meeting [1957].

2. — Emphasize the correct, consistent, and principled policy of our Party, its boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the great love of our Party and people for the parties and peoples of the countries of the socialist camp, for all other fraternal communist and workers' parties of the world, for the unity of our camp which must in no way be endangered, but must be strengthened and tempered in the Marxist-Leninist way.

3. — Express the regret of our Party over the disagreements that have arisen between the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China, and express the conviction that they will be solved in the Marxist-Leninist way at the meeting of the communist and workers' parties which will be held later.

4. — Express the determination of our Party that it will fight shoulder to shoulder with the socialist countries, always being vigilant and mercilessly exposing imperialism and its agents, the revisionists, through to the end.

These things should be the essence of your statement.

We believe that everything will go well. We are on the right road; therefore follow the situation with the coolness and revolutionary courage which characterize you.

Keep us informed about everything.

Splendid news: Yesterday good rain fell everywhere.  
All the comrades send you their best regards.

I embrace you,

*Enver*

P.S. To any attempt or suggestion on the part of the Soviets about my coming to Bucharest, you must answer, «He is not coming.»

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## **WE SHOULD NOT SUBMIT TO ANY PRESSURE**

*From the contribution to the discussion at the meeting  
of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA*

**June 24, 1960**

We have received a series of radiograms from Comrade Hysni concerning the Bucharest Meeting. These radiograms kept coming until late into the night, or more exactly, until three hours past midnight. I didn't think it necessary to convene the Political Bureau again after midnight, but on the basis of its directives I transmitted the relevant answers to Comrade Hysni.

*After reading the radiograms sent by Comrade Hysni and the answers to them, Comrade Enver Hoxha went on:*

It is clear that Hysni is in a very difficult position in Bucharest. The agreement was to the effect that the delegations of the communist and workers' parties taking part in the proceedings of the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party would come together in Bucharest only to fix the date and place of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the world. But, in fact, Comrade Hysni is faced with an impromptu international meeting, rigged up by the Khrushchev group.

If this meeting issues a communique which doesn't run counter to the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of the communist and workers' parties of 1957, I think that Hysni

should sign it. However, it could happen that the communique will have other nuances, because it comes from an out-of-order meeting, at which the representatives of the communist and workers' parties have been handed a 65-page report from the Soviet leadership in which the Communist Party of China is condemned. The report of the Soviet delegation against the Communist Party of China will have great world-wide repercussions, like Khrushchev's «secret» report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU on the so-called cult of Stalin.<sup>1</sup>

Even if we accept a communique without any allusions, we should still consider that it is not in order because it is the result of an impromptu meeting contrary to Marxist-Leninist organizational norms. Therefore the stand of our Party that this meeting should be opposed is correct.

These are a few preliminary ideas, however, with respect to the communique, Hysni has been told not to make statements on his own until he receives new directives. If he is handed a communique with allusions against China, he should state categorically: «I will not sign this communique without consulting the leadership of the Party I represent.» And if there is no such allusion, Hysni should rise and tell the meeting, «I am authorized by the Party of Labour of Albania to declare that I agree with this communique, but I must add that this communique is a result of a meeting that is not in order. And since we have not come prepared for such a meeting, we cannot make pronouncements regarding the matters that are raised against the CP of China.»

The Chinese comrades have requested that the meeting be postponed, but the representatives of the other com-

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<sup>1</sup> In this report J. V. Stalin and his great revolutionary work were attacked. The purpose of this attack was to justify the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party and to replace it with a revisionist line.

minist and workers' parties do not agree. This is not right and puts the Chinese comrades in a difficult situation. A fraternal party of a socialist country asks for time to prepare for the meeting, but this is not granted. It is clear that this is being done with a purpose.

Hysni should state that our Party of Labour disagrees with the procedure proposed for the Bucharest Meeting of the communist and workers' parties, that it agrees that what should be decided now is only the date and place of the forthcoming meeting of the communist and workers' parties, on which we have reached agreement in principle; and only after we have received explanatory materials from the other side, the Communist Party of China, shall we be prepared to express our opinion at the forthcoming meeting.

Many things may happen, but we should not submit to any pressure. We should always implement our correct Marxist-Leninist line.

## LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN BUCHAREST

June 25, 1960

Dear Hysni,

We received your evening radiograms and I am writing these few lines to you now in the morning to say only that you have given our «friend» a good reply. Don't bat an eyelid when someone provokes you, but keep cool and give him a firm reply. There is dirty work afoot, but right always triumphs. If they continue provocations, don't accept any responsibility for the situation but put it all back on them.<sup>1</sup>

I embrace you,

*Enver*

*Works, vol. 19*

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<sup>1</sup> In the evening of the same day, Comrade Enver Hoxha sent this radiogram to Comrade Hysni Kapo: «Tomorrow you should speak in line with the instructions of the Political Bureau you have received by letter. At the end of your speech, or at the appropriate moment, you should declare: 'On behalf of our Party I declare that the Party of Labour is in complete disagreement with the spirit of this meeting and the methods employed for the solution of this problem so important to the international communist movement. Our Party is of the opinion that these matters should be handled carefully, with cool heads and in a comradely spirit, according to Leninist norms.' After this statement, if provocative questions or suggestions are aimed at you, take the floor again and say, 'Apart from what I have already said, I have nothing more to say at this meeting.' If you have already spoken, ask to speak again and make this statement. If you are not given the right to speak again, you should hand the text of your statement to the chairman of the meeting and demand that it be recorded in the minutes.»

## **AT THE BUCHAREST MEETING WE DID NOT ACCEPT VIOLATION OF THE LENINIST NORMS OF RELATIONS AMONG PARTIES**

*From the speech at the 17th Plenum of the CC of the PLA<sup>1</sup>*

**July 11, 1960**

I, too, wish to add something about the report delivered by Comrade Hysni [Kapo], who was appointed as head of our delegation to the 3rd Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Meeting of the representatives of the parties which was held in Bucharest. The matters I shall speak about have to do with what was put forward in the report, but I stress that they must be thoroughly understood, for they are very important.

This is how things stand: between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China there are major disagreements which have created a very grave situation for the camp of socialism and for the whole of international communism. And, because this difficult and grave situation has been created as a result of these dis-

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**1** The 17th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, which was held on July 11 and 12, 1960, heard, discussed and approved the report «On Developments at the Bucharest Meeting between the Representatives of the Fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and the Stand Maintained by the Delegation of Our Party at this Meeting», delivered by Comrade Hysni Kapo.

agreements between the two parties, it is essential that all the communist and workers' parties — both in the camp of socialism and throughout the world — strive with might and main to help resolve these ideological and political disagreements as quickly as possible, as well as possible, and as fairly as possible, by submitting them to a principled discussion, because the interests of international communism, the camp of socialism, and our future require it.

The Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA thinks that these disagreements are not over minor issues; they are not questions which can be solved in passing. Such problems can in no way be resolved lightly, because they are serious and have to do with the life and future of mankind. We say this with full consciousness, and, irrespective of the fact that we are representatives of a small nation of one and a half million inhabitants, we look at the issues as Marxists who defend the interests of the people, their Party and the camp of socialism, not only for the present but also for the future. As Marxists we have the right to express our point of view.

The views which each party will express are of great importance. Therefore, particularly in this case, they must be well threshed out in the leadership of every party; the sources of the conflict and disagreements must be studied with great care, without *parti pris*\*, without prejudice, a correct Marxist-Leninist conclusion must be arrived at, and then they must be discussed in a Marxist-Leninist way, at a meeting organized according to the rules, to see who is at fault and why; and every effort must be made to put the culprit on the right road. At the end of all these efforts, made with great patience, perhaps some capital measure may be taken, according to the need and the scale of the misdemeanour, as is the

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\* Preconceived opinion (French in the original).

Marxist-Leninist practice of our parties. Such a practice, Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is necessary not only for these great problems of an international character, but even when measures are taken in connection with a rank-and-file party member. In this case, too, every effort must be made to put the culprit (if he is really guilty) on the right road. This is the Leninist practice. This is the practice our Party has always carried out, and always will, on minor or major problems. Therefore, nobody has the right to criticize our Party on these matters of principle, on which it stands firm as a rock.

The way in which the Soviet leaders sought to present the issues at the Bucharest Meeting concerning their disagreements with the Communist Party of China, as issues on which the whole of international communism is opposed, and the way in which these questions, which are so important to the camp of socialism and the whole international communist movement, were put forward, seems to the leadership of our Party to be not at all wise or worthy of the Soviet leaders. It is not a correct Marxist-Leninist way. To raise the question immediately in this form, as was done there, and to demand from the representatives of the parties, who had gone to Bucharest for another purpose, that within a few hours they must take a stand against the Communist Party of China, means to accept the very hasty thesis of Nikita Khrushchev, that, «If you, China, are not with us, go your own way, get out of the socialist camp, you are no longer our comrade!» Had our delegate accepted this, he would have committed a grave, impermissible error, one that would have been a stain on our Party. I am not speaking now about the other parties; here in the Central Committee we are judging the stand our Political Bureau has taken. We think that it would have been impermissible for it to have adopted any other stand without judging the matter well and carefully, without having concrete data

from both sides. The Political Bureau could never give the present and future generations of our Party and people cause to say, «How did our Party err so gravely at this historic moment?!»

Let us make it clear, comrades, I am not speaking about the conflict between us and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The problem is how the Soviet leaders acted in the solution of such a great, such a serious question, which has to do with the existence of the camp of socialism. We are asking the Central Committee to judge whether we acted correctly or not.

Comrades, we are Marxists. Our Party is no longer a party one or two years old, but a party which will complete 20 years next year. It has not spent all this time in a feather bed, but in bloody and irreconcilable struggle with Italian fascism, German nazism, the Ballists<sup>2</sup>, the British, the Americans, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, and all sorts of other external and internal enemies. Thus, we have learned Marxism in books, in struggle, and in life. Therefore we are now neither young nor immature. Our Party is not a party of children which is unable to understand Marxism either in theory or in its application in practice. Our Party has always striven to proceed correctly; therefore, on its course mistakes of principle have not been made, for it has applied Marxism correctly in all circumstances.

Thus, as Marxists, we are not convinced that these disagreements of such a serious nature between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China have arisen within one or two months. Marxist dialectics does not accept this; they have deep roots.

Let us criticize anybody who violates Marxism-Leninism in a Marxist-Leninist way and take the proper measures to

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<sup>2</sup> Members of the self-styled «Balli Kombëtar» traitor organization during the National Liberation War.

correct him. This is the only correct stand, and this concerns all the communist and workers' parties throughout the world, particularly our Party and people, who consistently defend Marxism-Leninism. Gomulka<sup>3</sup> and Co., who are now posing as friends of the Soviet Union, have consigned friendship with the Soviet Union to the flames. It is known that in Poland the Church and reaction were permitted to rise against the Soviet Army. There they expelled Soviet marshals who commanded the Red Army, which liberated Poland and Europe from fascism, and now they want to instruct us Albanians. The representative of the Rumanian Workers' Party, Magyaros, is put up to «convince» the leadership of our Party on the «correctness» of the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We have said this through the representative of our Party to Nikita Khrushchev, too. Our comrades, who were fighting in the mountains, carried the «History of the Communist Party (B) of the Soviet Union» next to their hearts, while the Rumanian legions of that time were martyring the Soviet people. The efforts of Magyaros, together with the representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to «convince» the representative of the Party of Labour of Albania of the «correctness» of the line of the CPSU — this we do not accept; these things do not go down with us. We love the Soviet Union not to please Magyaros or Andropov. We have loved the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin, and we always will. But when we see that such things are being done, it is a grave mistake to fail to adopt a correct stand, because then one mistake leads to another. Marxism-

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**3** Former First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party. Condemned in 1949 for anti-party and anti-state activity, in October 1956 he was rehabilitated by the revisionists and installed as head of that party. Time was to prove that he remained a case-hardened revisionist.

Leninism and dialectics teach us that if you once make a mistake and do not want to understand that you are wrong, that mistake grows bigger, like a rolling snowball. But we shall never allow such a thing.

How could we take part in this unjust activity? From the Chinese comrades we had heard nothing about these matters until recently. Mikoyan informed us only in February of this year. Our plane had barely landed in Moscow, when immediately one of the functionaries of the Central Committee came and told us that Mikoyan wanted to see me the next morning to discuss some important questions. «Agreed,» I told him, «but I shall take Comrade Mehmet [Shehu] with me, too.» He replied, «They told me only you,» but I said that Mehmet had to come, too.

We went, and he kept us no less than five hours, and this was before the February meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties, which was to deal with problems of agriculture.

Mikoyan told us: «Comrade Albanians, I am going to inform you of many disagreements we have with the Communist Party of China, I stress, with the Communist Party of China. We had decided to tell only to the first secretaries of these things, therefore I ask Comrade Mehmet Shehu not to misunderstand us. This is not because we have no trust in him, but this is what we had decided.» «No,» Mehmet said to him, «I am leaving, indeed I made a great mistake in coming.» But Mikoyan himself did not allow him to leave. And then he told us all those things you heard from Comrade Hysni's report.

We told Mikoyan that these were not minor things, but very important problems which existed between two parties; therefore we did not understand why they had been left to get worse; we thought that they should have been solved immediately, for they were very dangerous to our camp.

He told us that he would report what we discussed to

the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU. We told him once more, on behalf of our Party, that this was a very major matter and should therefore be solved between their parties. Finally, he warned us: «This matter is highly secret, therefore do not tell even the Political Bureau.» And so we did not tell the Political Bureau, with the exception of a few comrades. You understand that we adopted such an attitude because the question seemed to us extremely delicate and we hoped that the disagreements could be resolved through internal discussions and debates.

However, at the Bucharest Meeting, Nikita Khrushchev found the stand of our Party surprising when it did not line up together with all the other parties to condemn China in those forms and for those reasons he put forward, without making a thorough judgement of these questions. Perhaps he personally has reflected on these questions, but we, too, have the right to say that we have not reflected on all those voluminous materials given to Hysni, which he had no time even to read, let alone to give his opinion on them. This was not a case of a minor question. On many other matters, not of such a serious nature, we have immediately replied to the Central Committee of the CPSU that we agree, but on such a major question as to say to China, «Get out of the camp!» it seems to us that it is not right. The Political Bureau thought that we should never act in this way. For this reason we have been told: «We deeply regret that the Party of Labour of Albania did not line up with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the problems that were raised in Bucharest are problems of the entire socialist camp.» But what about us? Isn't it bitter medicine for us not to have the right, as Marxist-Leninists, to ask Nikita Khrushchev whether he has resolved all the questions of an important international character in the same way he wished to resolve the question of China? We are completely within our rights to ask this.

Let us take the question of the Yugoslav revisionists, about which I shall have more to say later. When Nikita Khrushchev was about to go to Yugoslavia for the first time to reconcile himself to the Yugoslav revisionists, two or three days before he left, he sent a letter to the Central Committee of our Party informing us of this matter. Our Political Bureau met and judged the matter without heat. It is known that the condemnation and exposure of the Yugoslav revisionists in 1948 had been done by an international forum of the sister parties, by the Information Bureau, because it was not a simple conflict and only between two parties, but a question that concerned all the communist and workers' parties in the world. Therefore, if another course was to be followed toward the Yugoslav revisionists, the same forum which had previously decided the case, should have been convened again to make a decision or to define the form and method of examining this question, and to state at what point the change in the attitude towards the revisionists would be made. This is what we think should have been done on the basis of the Leninist norms.

The Political Bureau of our Party sent a letter<sup>4</sup> to the Central Committee of the CPSU, stating that it had no objection to the visit, since it did not depend on us whether

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<sup>4</sup> «We think,» the letter said among other things, «that there is a considerable difference between the content of your letter dated May 23, 1955 and the principal thesis of our common stand towards the Yugoslavs up to now... The procedure proposed for the approval of the abrogation of the Resolution of the Meeting of the Information Bureau of November 1949 does not seem correct to us... In our opinion, such a hasty (and precipitate) decision on a question of such major importance of principle without previously submitting it to a thorough analysis together with all the parties interested in this question, and even more so, its publication in the press and its proclamation at the Belgrade talks, would not only be premature, but would also cause serious damage to the general orientation of the movement.» (Extract from a copy of the letter in the Central Archives of the Party.)

Khrushchev should go to Belgrade or not. However, we pointed out that the Central Committee of our Party thought that another decision should be taken on this question, that the Information Bureau should be convened again and, at its plenary session, decide what was to be done. Since we were not members of the Information Bureau, we expressed the desire to be invited to that meeting as observers so that we, too, could express our view. However, this was not done, although the question concerned not just two parties, but all the communist and workers' parties. The Central Committee of our Party took a stand on this step, informing the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by means of another letter, copies of which are in the archives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of our Party.

The counter-revolution in Hungary<sup>5</sup> was carried out, a terrible business. There socialism received a blow from imperialism, combined with the Yugoslav revisionists, with Imre Nagy<sup>6</sup>, and all the anti-communist scum. What was

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**5** The counter-revolution in Hungary (October 23 — November 4, 1956) was the offspring of modern revisionism which had become widespread and struck deep roots in that country after the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

The Khrushchev group had directly assisted in the destruction of the Hungarian Workers' Party by bringing the Kadar-Nagy revisionist clique to power, and in this way creating the possibility for the outbreak of the counter-revolution. However, confronted with strong pressure from below, and especially when he saw that Hungary was slipping out of the Soviet sphere of influence, Khrushchev was obliged to allow the Soviet troops to go to the aid of the Hungarian defenders of the revolution. The counter-revolution was defeated, but its roots remained. The revisionists, with Kadar at the head, still kept their key positions in the organs of political power and in the reorganized party.

**6** Former Prime Minister of the PR of Hungary from July 1953. In 1954 he was dismissed from his post and expelled from the party for his anti-socialist and anti-communist activity. In 1956 the revisionists tried to bring him to power again. With their

the stand adopted before and after these events? This, too, was a question that concerned all international communism, particularly the camp of socialism. It was known that a little before this, efforts had been made for the outbreak of such a counter-revolution in Albania; thus, there was a danger to the existence of a Warsaw Treaty<sup>7</sup> member country, Albania, which had been continually, during all those years, threatened with the loss of its freedom and independence. But our Party knew how to strike at the internal enemies, and as a result nothing happened in our country. However we had not been informed of what was occurring in Hungary; Albania had been «forgotten». The members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU were sent by aircraft in all directions to the socialist countries to explain the question of the Hungarian counter-revolution; but in the case of Albania, which was a very sensitive spot in the socialist camp, which had been under attack for years on end by the revisionists with Tito at the head, and even though they were fully aware that a similar sort of counter-revolution was being prepared against our country — nobody came here and we were told nothing.

Have you ever heard about this? Never. We did not make an issue of these things because we thought that they

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help he became one of the main leaders of the counter-revolution, plunging Hungary into a bloodbath.

<sup>7</sup> This treaty was established in May 1955 with the participation of eight European socialist countries as a counterweight to the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to guarantee peace and security in Europe. After the betrayal by the Soviet leadership, it was transformed into an aggressive treaty of the fascist type. The aggression against the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia (August 21, 1968) by the armed forces of five members of the Warsaw Treaty proved this. The PRA, which was one of the members of this Treaty, had left it *de facto* back in 1960-1961, whereas on September 12, 1968, it declared that it had freed itself *de jure*, too, from any obligation stemming from this Treaty, by special decision of the People's Assembly of the PRA.

were mistakes by individual people and that one day they would be corrected. We did not even tell the Central Committee of our Party about them, although the Central Committee is the leadership of the Party of Labour. But in those difficult days we did not want to communicate this sorrow of the Political Bureau to all the comrades of the Central Committee; we did not want these criticisms to lead to the slightest coolness with the Soviet comrades, even unconsciously. We did not allow this. But we thought that individual people could make mistakes, both in our ranks and in theirs.

The events of Poland<sup>8</sup> occurred. We were not informed about them, no meeting was held, and we must bear in mind that they were not simply internal questions of Poland, because we are linked with Poland by a treaty under which, if the occasion arises, our people will be required to shed blood for the Oder-Neisse border. This being the case, do the Albanian people not have the right to ask what all those priests are doing in the Polish army? Shall we fight together with such an army? We are bound by a treaty, but, despite this, we were not even consulted about these matters. Once Khrushchev told me frankly, «We do not understand what this Gomulka is talking about. Only the fascists can speak like Gomulka.» Thus, were these problems of concern to two parties only? We are making an issue of them only today, for today Nikita Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders are expressing regret that we allegedly have not properly understood their «correct» actions in Bucharest, when we say that those matters are questions between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. This stand of theirs is not logical.

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<sup>8</sup> In June 1956 international imperialism and the revisionists organized the counter-revolutionary revolt in Poznan, Poland, to overthrow the socialist order and re-establish capitalism, an aim which they achieved later through bourgeois-revisionist ideological and political degeneration.

Two or three days before the Bucharest Meeting, Korygin went to Mehmet [Shehu], who was in Moscow, and told him, among other things: «We cannot make any compromise, any concession whatever, towards the Chinese,» and he repeated this idea four times on end. This meant that everything had been decided in advance by the Soviets. If no differing opinions could be accepted, why was I needed there? To increase the number? To raise my hand? No, if you invite me, I, too, must say what I think. We are for the Moscow Declaration [1957], and we fight for its application in our country. But, comrades, in the implementation of things we have something to say, the Soviets also have their say, the Chinese or Czechoslovak comrades, too, have something to say about us, and we about them, etc. Such questions can arise in real life. Of course, it may occur that any party can make concessions or mistakes in practice. But what are we here for? To help one another to correct our selves on the right road.

But we see that in the practice of the Central Committee of the CPSU and of several other parties, there are a number of things which do not conform with the implementation of the line. They involve the question of the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism on the basis of the Moscow Declaration, and before the Moscow Declaration.

At this point I do not want to go all over again what the Yugoslav revisionists are and how they must be fought. But not everybody thinks as we do about the way in which they must be fought. However, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party can never accept criticism of our Party for its heroic Marxist-Leninist stand against the Yugoslav revisionists, who are striving to disrupt the parties and socialist countries and who seek to liquidate Albania. The Central Committee, the entire Party and the people have approved the correct stand we have maintained, and continue to maintain, towards the Yugoslav revisionists.

Many parties and communists throughout the world respect our stand.

However, our Political Bureau has not made public the disagreements concerning the application in practice by all the sister parties, without exception, of the Marxist-Leninist line towards the Yugoslav revisionists; it has known how to manoeuvre wisely, with self-control, and not hot-headedly, as Khrushchev claims. The Political Bureau has acted in such a way as to avoid any hint — not only to the people, not only to international opinion, but on many occasions, even to the Central Committee — that in the practical application of this matter there are differences between us.

The proofs have been so great that there is no doubt at all that the Yugoslav revisionists are sworn enemies of the socialist camp. They are agents of imperialism. Even the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union himself said this at the Conference of Ministers of Internal Affairs of the socialist countries of Europe, which was held in Prague two weeks ago, and everybody agreed with this conclusion.

Nikita Khrushchev has criticized our attitude towards the Yugoslav revisionists. When we went to Moscow in 1957 with the delegation of the Party and Government and spoke, among other things, about our stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists, Khrushchev became so angry that he stood up and said; «One cannot talk with you, we shall break off the talks.» We were indignant, but we preserved our aplomb, for we were in the right and were defending our people and our Party, we were defending our friendship with the Soviet Union. We did not yield to the pressure exerted on us, and because of our correct attitude Khrushchev was obliged to sit down and we continued the talks. After what had happened to us, Mehmet and I were very worried when we went to the meeting, but we did not falter. To behave in such a way towards our Party be-

cause it adopts a revolutionary stand against the Yugoslav revisionists is not in the least correct. Nevertheless, we never wavered; on the contrary, we were patient and convinced that we were right, and that time would show the correctness of the line of our Party. It was not long before it again became apparent what kind of people the Yugoslav revisionists were, as was shown by the plots they prepared at their congress.<sup>9</sup> At that time the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself took a stand, and Khrushchev himself exposed them, describing them as «bandits», a «Trojan horse», and so on.

Not only that, fifteen days before the counter-revolution took place in Hungary, Mehmet and I, at a meeting with Suslov<sup>10</sup> in Moscow, while we were talking about international affairs, told him about our impressions with regard to Hungary. We pointed out to him what was happening there, that measures should be taken, and that we should be vigilant. He asked our opinion about Imre Nagy<sup>11</sup>. When we answered that he was a crook, an anti-Marxist, Suslov immediately told us that we were wrong, claiming that Nagy was not a bad man. We told him that in our opinion he was bad, while he told us that the party there had made a mistake in expelling Nagy. Time showed what Imre Nagy was, and how correct and accurate was our opinion about him.

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<sup>9</sup> The 7th Congress of the Yugoslav revisionist party (April 22-26, 1958) adopted an out-and-out anti-Marxist, anti-socialist program which was presented as an «international manifesto». At this congress all the revisionist cliques of all countries were taken under protection.

<sup>10</sup> Member of the Presidium of the CC of CPSU.

<sup>11</sup> After the failure of the counter-revolution in Hungary, Imre Nagy was taken under protection by the Yugoslav revisionists, who granted him asylum in their embassy in Budapest. Later he was sent to Rumania, where, since he had played his part and the revisionists had no further need of him, he was brought to trial and executed.

Nikita Khrushchev had received a long letter from the traitor<sup>12</sup> Panajot Plaku, who wrote to him about his great «patriotism», the «ardent love» he had for the Soviet Union and the Party of Labour of Albania, and asked that Khrushchev, with his authority, intervene to liquidate the leadership of our Party with Enver Hoxha at the head, because we were allegedly «anti-Marxists», «Stalinists». He wrote that he had gone to Yugoslavia because a plot had been organized to kill him. As soon as Khrushchev received the letter, he said to us: «What if this Plaku returns to Albania, or we accept him in the Soviet Union?» We answered, «If he comes to Albania, we shall hang him on twenty different counts, while if he goes to the Soviet Union, you will be committing an act that will be fatal to our friendship.» At that he backed down.

But the affair goes still further. Khrushchev told us that we had not done well in executing Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega, who was pregnant. «Even the Tsar did not do such a thing,» he said. We answered calmly that we did not execute people for nothing and that we shot only those who betrayed the Homeland and the people, and after it had been proved that they had committed hostile deeds and the cup had been filled. These people had been denounced by the Party for years before, they were traitors and agents of the Yugoslav revisionists; but it was only when they attempted to flee the country that our security organs caught them, and the people's court, on the basis of the facts, sent them to the punishment they deserved. As to the claim that Liri Gega was pregnant, this is a slanderous lie.

We have never talked about these things; you are hearing them for the first time. To have failed to criticize these mistakes, as our Political Bureau has criticized them, would have been impermissible. And you would not have allowed it either, for these things do not strengthen

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**12** To the PLA and the Albanian people.

## ENVER HOXHA

friendship. What have we done, despite all these things that have happened and which have been done to us, both on the international arena and in our internal affairs? Have you seen anything in the press, or have you had the slightest suspicion of any action against the Soviet Union or the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? No.

We have told nobody about these attitudes that have been adopted towards us, but we are Marxists, and now the time has come to tell them. The word has been spread that the Albanians are hot-headed. And why are we hot-headed? Is it hot-headed to defend your Homeland and your people from the Yugoslav revisionists, from the Greek monarcho-fascists, from the Italian neo-fascists, who for more than 16 years have been attacking us and provoking us on the border? If we are described as hot-headed because we defend the vital interests of our people, we do not accept this. May we be cursed by our mothers' milk, may we be cursed by the bread with which the Party and the people nurture us, if we fail to defend the interests of our people. By acting in this way, we are also defending the interests of the Soviet Union and the entire camp of socialism at the same time.

I want to tell you about a little example which occurred the evening before last. The ambassador of the Soviet Union, Ivanov, came for a meeting and brought me some information from Khrushchev in connection with his meeting with Sophocles Venizelos<sup>13</sup>. Among other things, Venizelos spoke to Khrushchev about Albania. Venizelos told him, «We shall come to terms with Albania, but we must talk about the question of Northern Epirus,<sup>14</sup> a question that must be solved in the form of autonomy for this region.»

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**13** A reactionary and chauvinist Greek politician.

**14** The Greek chauvinists call Southern Albania, which they dream of annexing, «Northern Epirus», thus describing this ancient Albanian land in this absurd way as «Greek territory».

Khrushchev replied, «You must solve these questions in a peaceful way, but I shall speak to the Albanian comrades about this view.»

I immediately told the Soviet ambassador that Khrushchev had not given the correct answer, that he should not have given Venizelos that reply, but should have told him that Albania's borders are inviolable. The Soviet ambassador said to me: «But you know the stand of the Soviet Union.» «I know this, but concretely, the answer he gave Venizelos was not correct. We do not know this Venizelos,» I told ambassador Ivanov, «but we know his father very well. If Moscow does not know him, although it ought to,<sup>15</sup> we can tell them that he put all Southern Albania to the torch, and killed thousands of Albanians. He wanted to burn Gjirokastra too; he organized bandit gangs, and it was he who long ago launched the idea of the autonomy of 'Northern Epirus'.» Thus, the idea of Venizelos junior is an old one, it is the idea of all Greek chauvinism. Therefore, to defend the integrity of their country and to oppose this idea, the Albanian people have shed their blood in the past and, if need be, will shed it in the future, too. We are for peace in the Balkans, we are for normal state relations, trade relations, but we do not accept such conditions with Greece. We can co-operate with it only on the basis of parity. We have responded to them according to the manner in which they have behaved to us until now. Tomorrow some Soviet leader may declare that Comrade Enver has said that the Soviet Union does not defend Albania. It is not so — things must come out clearly as they are said.

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**15** Eleutherios Venizelos (1864-1936), a Greek reactionary leader, representative of the interests of the Greek big bourgeoisie. Prime Minister of Greece for several years in succession. In 1919 he sent the Greek army to take part in the intervention against Soviet Russia.

We speak on the basis of facts and do not exaggerate because, in the first place, we have regard for the great collective interest. In this case, too, it is a question of the higher interest. In defining the stand we took in Bucharest, the Political Bureau has acted very correctly and cool-headedly, for it could not be permitted that all these important political and ideological questions between the two great parties should be solved in such a slick and irresponsible way.

Finally we ask: «What was done in Bucharest?» Nothing was solved, except that the forces were lined up for a fierce struggle, as if we had to do with the USA, and not with a socialist country and the fraternal party of China. We have stood loyal to the proposals of the Soviet leadership to go to the Moscow Meeting and solve these questions, but we must also have the material from the side of the Chinese comrades. China, too, must be allowed to speak and present its point of view, just as the Soviet Union has presented its case in Bucharest. Then we shall judge.

Since we have decided to hold the Moscow Meeting with a definite program, it is necessary that we, too, should have time to study the problems well. The Soviets have accepted this, so why are they acting in such a way? This is not right. This is how the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party sees the situation.

The Political Bureau has thought that our Party should in no way sully itself with such non-Marxist-Leninist organizational actions. But then for what purposes did the other parties go? Each party leadership is answerable to its own party and to its own people, as well as to international communism. Let the Central Committee of our Party judge us, and we are answerable to it, to the Party, to the people, and to international communism for our stand.

But why did the first secretaries of the parties of the socialist countries go to Bucharest, while I did not go? I

did very well in not going, for I carried out the decision of the Political Bureau to avoid compromising our Party on questions that are not Marxist-Leninist. There I would have presented the opinions of the Political Bureau, which were very well transmitted by Hysni. My not going upset the Soviet leaders because everybody else went; only Enver did not go, because there was something fishy going on. The Party will send me to Moscow in November to speak for it. Our Party will express its view when this view has been approved in the Central Committee, for this is not a simple thing.

In Bucharest the date was fixed and the commission appointed, comprised of representatives of 26 parties, to study these questions well, to put them on paper, so that the materials will be sent to the central committees of all the respective parties for study and discussion. After this, the Central Committee must be told: «Comrades, here is the material of one side, here is the material of the other side, and here, too, is the view of our Political Bureau». This is why we think we must adopt this stand. This is how we think we must discuss this question in the Central Committee, and then go to the meeting. This is the most proper way. To refuse to allow one or two months' time for a sister party to reflect, and hence, to act hastily in a way that can yield no results whatever, is not correct. I think that on this occasion the Political Bureau has adopted a Marxist-Leninist stand in defence of the interests of the socialist camp. Our stand has not been to the liking of the Soviet leaders, for on these questions we did not line up with them, as did Gomulka, Kadar<sup>16</sup> and Zhivkov. But the truth is that only the Party of Labour of Albania has acted

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**16** First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. In 1951 he was imprisoned for grave mistakes and anti-party and anti-socialist activity. In July 1954, as a result of the campaign launched by Khrushchev against the

well to defend the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and we must always be principled on these questions. Mistakes and disagreements may occur, but they must be solved in a correct way, on the basis of Leninist principles and norms.

After all that has happened, we feel regret and sorrow when we see the Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors in Belgrade remaining to the end in Sremska Mitrovitsa of Serbia and applauding the agent Rankovich, who spoke such filth against the socialist camp and in particular against Albania. He described socialist Albania as a «hell dominated by barbed wire», and our people's democracy as worse than the present regime in Italy. He took the relations between Yugoslavia and Italy as an example, as a model, because millions of Yugoslavs and Italians come and go freely every year across each other's borders. We regret this stand, and we have told this to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has taken a decision not to attack the Yugoslav revisionists either in the press or in speeches of their leaders. When shaking hands with Comrade Hysni, who had just gone to Bucharest, Todor Zhivkov was so utterly shameless as to say: «What is Albania up to? Only Albania does not agree!» «What do you imply by this?» Hysni asked him. «No, no, I was joking!» replied Zhivkov. If you are not consistent in the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, those things that happened in Bulgaria must occur. Two months ago, a Bulgarian publishing house put out a brochure containing grave errors. It is illustrated with

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so-called «cult of the individual», he was rehabilitated. At the time of the October-November events of 1956 in Hungary, the modern revisionists, mainly the Soviet ones, placed him at the head of the government and, later, even at the head of the Hungarian party.

a map of the Balkans, in which Albania is shown as a part of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Of course, the Central Committee of our Party protested about this, and although the Bulgarian leaders expressed their regret for what happened and promised they would take measures to call in all those brochures, they have been spread to all parts of the world. They present this as simply a technical mistake. But why was there no mistake made of giving a part of Bulgaria, for example, to Turkey?

In Poland six months ago, people recommended by the Foreign Ministry of the PR of Poland, at the celebration of the November 29 festival, attempted to steal state documents and to set fire to the Albanian Embassy. After having been caught red-handed, in order to cover their tracks, the thieves took the film «Skanderbeg». But the criminal was caught, and we lodged a protest over this affair. But what happened? The prosecutor demanded a sentence of 12 years of imprisonment, but the court sentenced the culprit to two months' probation.

One week ago, the former cipher clerk of the Polish Embassy in Tirana, and now an employee of the Foreign Ministry in Warsaw, went to our embassy and drew a pistol to kill our ambassador, but our men there grabbed him and handed him over to police.

What do these things mean? What is this white terror against our country? We have sent a note of protest to the Polish Government, we have recalled our ambassador, and we have told the Polish Government that if it does not assure the Albanian Government that no more such actions against the personnel of our embassy in Warsaw will occur, we shall not send our ambassador back there. We also informed all the ambassadors of the socialist countries of this event, and they were very indignant about it.

Then what do these things mean? Why do they happen? We must evaluate them, and you must tell us whether we

have been mistaken or not, whether we have acted wisely or with heat. You understand that these matters are of great importance to all of us, and that they must be solved as soon as possible in a correct way, in a comradely way. There is no other way to solve these questions. Lenin laid down the norms, let us implement them. Why two norms, why two standards of measurement or weight? Here there must be only one norm, one measure, one weight. From all this we should be clear that we are right, that our conscience is clear and nothing has changed in our unwavering stand.

We must be clear about these questions, for in this way we will never go wrong. And we must not go wrong, we must never distort the compass, and we must not allow anyone else to distort it.

It must be borne in mind that this is the beginning of a very complicated affair, but with our convictions and within our modest possibilities, we shall do our utmost to see that these matters are put in proper order in a Marxist-Leninist way. Now the steel-like unity of the Central Committee of our Party, of the Central Committee with the membership of the Party, and of the Party with our people, is required.

We must come out of this Plenum strong as steel, as we have always been, and now even more so, for we are defending Marxism-Leninism. We must resolutely defend our Homeland and our Party, for in this way we defend the people and their future. This is the only correct road.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Through its special letter of August 9, 1960, the CC of the PLA informed all party basic organizations on the proceedings of the June 1960 Bucharest Meeting and the disagreements that had emerged there between the CPSU and the CP of China (see Enver Hoxha, «Selected Works», vol. 2, p. 786, Tirana 1975).

**REAL UNITY IS ACHIEVED AND STRENGTHENED  
ONLY ON THE BASIS OF MARXIST-LENINIST  
PRINCIPLES**

*From the letter to the CC of the CPSU  
and the CC of the CP of China<sup>1</sup>*

**August 27, 1960**

As is known, at the Bucharest Meeting of representatives of the communist and workers' parties, which was held in June this year, concerning the disagreements that have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, in conformity with the directives of the Central Committee of our Party, maintained a different stand from that of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the majority of the delegations of the parties participating in that meeting.

The Party of Labour of Albania has the most profound respect for all the communist and workers' parties of the world and expresses its great regret that, for the first time in its revolutionary history, it was obliged to take such a stand as it took at the Bucharest Meeting, which is in

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<sup>1</sup> A copy of this letter was also sent to the parties of other former socialist countries.

opposition to the stand of the majority of the delegations of the communist and workers' parties. Our Party, like any other Marxist party, has the right to express its opinion according to its conscience and to adopt the stand which it deems correct.

At the Bucharest Meeting the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union distributed to the delegations of other parties a written document, which stated that the Communist Party of China has violated the 1957 Moscow Declaration. At that meeting... we found ourselves faced with a truly international meeting specially organized to criticize the Communist Party of China for «violation» of the Moscow Declaration, on the basis of the material presented by the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was handed to the delegation of our Party only 10 hours before the meeting.

As we know, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that not only when the mistakes of a party, which has millions of members in its ranks and a long period of activity, are being examined, but even when the mistakes of a single communist are examined, we must be very careful, very cautious, we must thoroughly analyse all the causes of the mistakes this communist has made, we must strive to convince him of his mistakes, take his case to the party basic organization or to the appropriate forum of the party, where the case should be examined with the greatest objectivity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, aiming at the attainment of a single end: the improvement of this communist and putting him on the right road. If we make such great efforts in order to analyse the mistakes of one communist and save him from these mistakes, then it is self-evident what great efforts should have been made before «exchanging opinions about the mistakes of a party» at an international communist meeting, such as the Bucharest Meeting. Regrettably, however, this was not done.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist principle that, in order to express its opinion about the ideological and political mistakes of another Marxist party, it must first be convinced with facts about the existence of these mistakes, and this conviction must be established by analysing them in the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, without passion and on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist method, all the relevant arguments concerning this question, that is, both the arguments presented by the side making the criticism and the arguments presented by the side which is being criticized. After this Marxist-Leninist analysis has been made by the plenum of the Central Committee of our Party, then and only then, shall we be in a position to express our objective opinion about the mistakes of another party. We think that this is the fairest method of examining the ideological mistakes of a fraternal party. The Central Committee of our Party will use this method to reach its final conclusions about the «mistakes» which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union attributes to the Communist Party of China, and will express its own opinion on this at the coming meeting of the communist and workers' parties in November this year. We think that to act otherwise, to act as was done at the Bucharest Meeting, would mean to condemn a fraternal party without thorough and dispassionate analysis of all the facts in order to arrive at a conclusion as to whether the said party has made mistakes or not. In these cases haste is harmful.

For these reasons, at the Bucharest Meeting the delegation of our Party declared that these disagreements had arisen between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and that efforts for their solution should have been made through discussions between the two parties and, if no solution were achieved,

then the case should have been brought before all the other fraternal parties to hear their opinions; that the Bucharest Meeting was premature and not in conformity with the Leninist norms; that in regard to the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania would express its view at the coming meeting of the communist and workers' parties in November.

Of course, the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China are of great principled, ideological and political importance, and the solution to these disagreements is of vital importance to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Not only are all the Marxist parties, including the Party of Labour of Albania, interested today in the solution of these disagreements, but, moreover, they are duty-bound to make their contribution to the solution of these disagreements, in as much as these disagreements have now gone beyond the bounds of relations with the Communist Party of China and have assumed an international character.

After the Bucharest Meeting, some communist and workers' parties of the countries of the socialist camp, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have sent the Central Committee of our Party copies of the letters which they have addressed to the Communist Party of China. These letters contain assertions which convince us even more strongly that our stand at the Bucharest Meeting was completely correct and Marxist-Leninist. In our view, these assertions prove that the Bucharest Meeting was not confined simply to the «exchange» of opinions about the «mistakes of the Communist Party of China», and that the Communist Party of China has been condemned *de facto* by the parties which sent us these letters.

In addition, it is stressed in these letters that at the

Bucharest Meeting the «complete unity of all the communist and workers' parties» in the criticism they made of the «mistakes» of the Communist Party of China was confirmed. Such an assertion implies that the Party of Labour of Albania, too, has aligned itself with the majority of the other communist and workers' parties in regard to the «mistakes» attributed to the Communist Party of China. If this refers to the approval of the communique of the Bucharest Meeting, we agree that there was unity of all the parties, for the communique was approved by our Party, too. But if this refers to the «unity of all the parties» concerning the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, this does not correspond to the truth, at least as far as our Party is concerned, because the Party of Labour of Albania did not associate itself with the majority of the other parties, and it will express its view about these disagreements at the coming meeting of the communist and workers' parties in November this year, as it has many times declared. To affirm that there was «complete unity of all the parties» at the Bucharest Meeting in the criticism of the «mistakes» of the Communist Party of China means to distort the facts and the truth.

Today, the Central Committee of our Party is even more convinced than it was at the Bucharest Meeting that not only has that meeting not eliminated the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but it has made these disagreements even deeper, reaching disquieting proportions.

The solution to the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, as we said, is of vital importance to the unity of the camp of socialism and to the unity of the international communist movement. Therefore we think that every effort must be made to solve these disagreements on

the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. It is a fact that the enemies of Marxism-Leninism — imperialism and revisionism — have already begun to exploit the existence of these disagreements to attack Marxism-Leninism and to discredit and split the camp of socialism and the international communist movement.

The Central Committee of our Party thinks that there is nothing more important to the life of all the communist and workers' parties of the world today, to the preservation and strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, than the solution of these disagreements on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism...

Our Party will always be vigilant against the war-mongering plans and actions of imperialism and against modern revisionism, which, as defined in the Moscow Declaration, is the main danger to the international communist movement.

For the Central Committee  
of the Party of Labour of Albania

*Enver Hoxha*

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## **RADIOGRAM TO COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK<sup>1</sup>**

**September 29, 1960**

Dear Mehmet,

1) We are carefully following the speeches of everybody and can describe them with Shakespeare's words: «Much ado about nothing.» In fact, the ado is great, especially when the «self-ado», if we may adopt this term, is deafening. Long live the echoes and the variety shows, because that is all that will come out of it, and we are of the same mind as you, that it turned out as we had predicted. Of course, in the end, as a conclusion, it will be said that the meeting was positive and, as «Rrapo Lelo»<sup>2</sup> has already expressed it at lunch, «we did well to come».

2) These close negotiations with the Belgrade arch-revisionist are shameful. Their continuous and open talks are certainly cooking up new disastrous actions...

«Rrapo Lelo's» admirers and lick-spittles consider this terrible capitulation a great success. I think that as to those who you think are worried about this situation, but who haven't the courage to speak up about it, you should tact-

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<sup>1</sup> Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, had gone to New York to take part in the proceedings of the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the UNO.

<sup>2</sup> An ironic reference to Khrushchev. Rrapo Lelo, a kulak from the Mallakasta region, enemy of the people

fully let them know our views on these manoeuvres. Why should we keep our correct views so much to ourselves? Maybe one of them will tell «Rrapo Lelo» our views, but so what! «Rrapo» will understand that we do not talk with him about these questions, so let him jump up and down if he likes.

3) In regard to Gomulka's speech, we have arrived at the same conclusions as you. In no way can we accept his proposals. The status quo in favour of the imperialists can never be accepted. You stick to the stand we decided, while as for Gomulka's proposals, not only do not accept them, but say that we shall denounce them at the plenary meeting of the communist and workers' parties in Moscow, if they are included in the resolution.

4) ...

5) ...

6) Last night I was with your family. I gave Fiqret your radiograms to read and she found them amusing. Your mother and children are well. Don't worry about them. Your little son's sword is broken, so when you come back bring him a sword, I think you will find one there, because not all the swords will have been turned into ploughshares.

My regards to Behar. His boy is well. Tell him to look after Lukanov<sup>3</sup> well lest the breeze carry him away.

Affectionately yours,

*Shpati*<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> At that time Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PR of Bulgaria, whom they were about to dismiss, as they did later.

<sup>4</sup> One of Comrade Enver Hoxha's pseudonyms during the National Liberation War.

## **LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW**

**October 1, 1960**

Dear Comrade Hysni,

I received the letter and the material you sent me yesterday, at the time when we were holding the meeting of the Political Bureau to examine the draft-directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan which will be presented to the 4th Congress of the Party, as well as the report on the re-organization of the school. I had just received the material when your radiogram arrived, too, in which you told us that this material must be returned to you; therefore we handed it over to be printed. I am telling you all this so that you will understand that now that I am writing to you, I have not yet read the material you sent me; therefore I have nothing to say about it at the moment. I shall give you an opinion by radiogram or in a longer letter, which I shall send you by plane.

Associating myself with your view, I, too, think that the Soviets are up to a dirty manoeuvre for definite aims.

The material they have provided may be acceptable up to a point; likewise, it is drafted and predisposed so that it could be corrected and made even stronger. They are not much concerned about this!! «If you like,» they may say, «we can even make it much stronger, only there must not be any polemics, everything should go quietly and smoothly. As to carrying out what we put on paper, let us not worry about that — in a word, we shall carry on as before,

we shall violate this Declaration, too, like that of Moscow [1957], and if you accuse us again, we shall convene a second Bucharest Meeting and really fix you.»

If the Soviets have made some concessions or are predisposed to see the Declaration made even stronger, **this is not because they have changed their views, not because they recognize their mistakes, but because they make these alleged concessions to us in order to stop the discussion from going any further. They think that what we are seeking is declarations. But we have Marxism-Leninism. What we need and insist on is that the Soviet leaders must correct their opportunist mistakes.** The Declaration must be the conclusion of these discussions. This is precisely what frightens the Soviets and does not frighten us.

**The Soviets are afraid of the discussions** not only because of the shocks that ran through other parties after Bucharest, but because these upheavals will have greater repercussions after November. So, to stave this off, they hand out this declaration, saying: «And we can make it even stronger if you like»; and thus, all their admirers shout and cheer: «Eureka! This is, has been and will remain our line. We have never made mistakes. China reflected, reconsidered its mistakes and came back on the right road! *Thus, Bucharest was very 'poljezno'.*\* *In our parties we condemned China and Albania as dogmatic, etc.* We killed two birds with one stone: we exposed them, and we cured them, and we opened the way to say to the parties again tomorrow that the patients were not completely cured because they have had a relapse of the disease of dogmatism. Finally, we triumphed in both acts and carry on in our old way.» This, I think, is more or less the reasoning of the Soviets and their admirers. Nikita found the medicine for Zhivko\*\* and Co.

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\* Useful (Russian in the original).

\*\* Ironical diminutive for Zhivkov.

**In no way must we fall for the tricky manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionists. We must give the Soviets and others to understand that we agree to work on this material, to remove from or add to it but this material will be put together as a conclusion of all-sided discussions which will be held in November and will show how the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the decisions of the Moscow Meeting [1957] have been carried out, who has departed from and who has implemented them consistently. A reassessment of Bucharest will be made not only on the basis of the Soviet «facts», but also on the basis of facts that the other parties, too, will bring up on this question.**

**The coming Moscow meeting must not be a formal meeting, nor an unproductive polemical meeting, but a meeting of great constructive importance on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Leninist norms. It will not be just a «pacifist», conciliatory meeting to draw a veil over the grave mistakes, but a meeting to make a radical exposure of and cure the mistakes. There is no other way, and they should not expect any other way of solution from us. If these mistakes are not looked squarely in the eye, we are sure that the revisionists will rapidly go further with their destructive work. Therefore there is only one road for us — struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, and not reconciliation with such opportunist and revisionist mistakes in Ideology and politics, such as Khrushchev and his group are making. I think that the struggle should be commenced in the commission, where the other parties, except that of China, have sent fourth-rate people, because naturally, the Soviets have reached agreement with them, have adopted one set of tactics, and are seeking to get easily over the ditch they themselves have dug by accusing China and us of a thousand things. **But this does not go down with us.****

There is no need to write any more, for you know the

issues yourself. When I send you the remarks about the material, I may write at greater length.

Regards to Ramiz [Alia] and the comrades.

I embrace you,

*Enver*

I am writing to you in haste because the plane is about to leave; therefore you will find it difficult to read. Yesterday we were at the Chinese comrades and in my speech I fired the first «warning shots».<sup>1</sup>

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**1** On September 30, 1960 Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered a speech at the Embassy of the PR of China, in which the Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA towards the urgent problems concerning the international communist movement was made clear.

**RADIOGRAM**  
**TO COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK**

**October 1, 1960**

Dear Mehmet,

1) The Moscow Meeting<sup>1</sup> opens today. The delegations are very colourless, apart from the Chinese and ours, 50 people all told. We hear that the Bulgarian delegation will do what the Soviets tell them — to avoid stirring up polemics. This is the general watchword issued by the «friend» you have there.

2) The Soviets handed out a document in the form of a 36-page declaration, which is to be discussed in regard to adding to it or deleting some bits. We have just translated and typed it, since it came only yesterday, and I have just given it a first quick reading. The real working meeting will start this Tuesday, October 4, in Moscow.

3) The first impression of the material: A dirty manoeuvre by the revisionists, not in a polemical tone, but some devious and base insinuations, a lot of big gaps, smoothing over some angles dangerous to them, some tactical retreats to throw dust in people's eyes, some approaches to our theses, to the effect: «Look, we are making concessions to your stubbornness, and this in the face of a savage enemy; therefore take this declaration, be content with it, worship it if you like.» But it should be gone over again

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<sup>1</sup> The preparatory commission of the 26 parties.

carefully, and I will make suggestions to Hysni about its essence.

4) What is the manoeuvre of the revisionists in my opinion: They want to draw a veil over all their mistakes, and the veil is this declaration. They think we are desperately concerned about declarations, as if we did not have our ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Hence, according to them, they are «fulfilling our desire» with a declaration in which room is left for amendments. Indeed, they are ready to «make it much stronger». I believe they will make a few concessions and then say: «You see, this has been our line, you made some additions, we agreed to them, and now there is nothing to divide us, hurrah! But who has deviated from Marxism-Leninism, who is revisionist or dogmatic, what occurred in Bucharest and how things went on later, and so on and so forth — all these matters have been decided, and decided correctly and unanimously; you slipped into dogmatism, we condemned you and we were right; we exposed you in our parties, this was useful to you; you reflected upon your mistakes and came here; we held a discussion and reached agreement, and even produced this declaration. Go home now boys, make self-criticism in your parties, and henceforth do not commit the mistake of criticizing us, because we shall bring you to a second Bucharest Meeting and this time you will be recidivists.» This is approximately «Rrapo Lelo's» aim. This reasoning and tactic of «Rrapo's» is certainly extremely gratifying to Zhivkov and Co., since sooner or later, they will certainly have an earthquake under their feet, but with this manoeuvre they think they may avert it. This, naturally, is their course, but not ours. Our course is that which we have decided on and which is correct.

5) I warned Hysni to begin the fight right in the commission and let them understand clearly that we can discuss the declaration, deleting or adding something, but that

this declaration should be the conclusion of Marxist-Leninist debates about the problems under discussion: who has applied Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration [1957] correctly and who has betrayed it; who are the revisionists and who is not dogmatic; who rigged up Bucharest and for what purpose; who created this split and why. All the problems will be laid on the table and examined, not just on the basis of the false facts of the Soviets, but also on the basis of our arguments and those of the Chinese and anybody else. We do not accept peace for the sake of peace in the communist movement; we do not permit faults to be covered up. We cannot allow the Moscow Meeting to be a «meeting of revisionists» and right-wing pacifists; we shall fight to make it a militant, constructive, Marxist meeting. There is no other way. In this manner any illusion of the Khrushchevites will vanish, all their manoeuvres will fail, and things will be carried through to the end. I believe that the Chinese will act as we do.

So much for now. Write to us if you have any comment or suggestion.

I embrace you,

*Shpati*

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**THE MOSCOW DECLARATION SHOULD BE MADE  
AS STRONG AS POSSIBLE, WITH GUNPOWDER  
AND NOT COTTON-WOOL**

*Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Moscow*

**October 4, 1960**

Dear Comrade Hysni,

I received your letter this morning and I understood your views. I agree with these views and the proposals you make, which, in general, conform with what I have written you.

Thus, I am stressing once more, as we discussed when you left Tirana, that you will press for the declaration of the Moscow Meeting to be as strong as possible, with gunpowder and not cotton-wool, and to contain questions formulated correctly, according to our view, and not equivocal, insipid views, such as the Soviet delegation, whose ideas are opportunist and revisionist, will try to put in.

One thing you must bear in mind is that by means of the declaration, not only must we express the correct Marxist-Leninist views of our Party about the problems, but when reading this document, every communist in the world should at once understand that in the «ideological conflict», which the Khrushchev group trumpeted inside and outside the camp, this group was defeated and its revisionist course was condemned. In the first place, the mem-

bers of those parties where the questions were put forward in a distorted way, slandering the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, which were condemned unjustly and mud was thrown at them, must understand this fact when they read the declaration. This is very important, for the slanderers have no intention of going back to their parties and making self-criticism. Therefore much depends on your contributions to the discussion there, much depends on the formulations which you will propose. Pay great attention to the formulations of the main issues. In these formulations bear in mind not to stay within the limits of the Soviet text and the form they have given to the presentation of a problem. By this I want to say: don't try to adjust the question to the phrasing put up by the Soviets or to avoid damaging the general or partial «framework» of the structure of the Soviet text. Such a manner of construction will hinder you from formulating the ideas as we conceive them, because the Soviets have built that text in conformity with their views, they have extended themselves in some places in order to introduce a bit of poison, or they have spread the poison in a whole «tirade» over which they have also sprinkled a coating of sugar. Therefore don't worry about the Soviet structure and wording of the text, concern yourself about the key problems, cut out all the tittle-tattle and nonsense, then leave it to the Secretariat to correct the structure of the declaration.

In my opinion, the declaration stinks on the main questions, and is just what you think it is. I read it through carefully once and made notes on the margins. Time did not permit me to sum up all these remarks and elaborate them. Thus, I decided to send you the text with the notes I have made. Don't think that every note on this text is a jewel. There are some unnecessary, hasty things, written in anger. Therefore have a look at them yourself;

the aim is mostly to draw your attention to something which may not have struck your eye, although it has struck mine, and vice-versa. I am sure that you have gone over the Soviet material with a fine-tooth comb and have seen all the delicate questions; therefore my mind is at ease on that score. Anyway, although you will find it somewhat difficult to read my notes, for I have scribbled them, I shall be satisfied if they are of any help to you.

If you have anything particular to consult me about, send a radiogram. As to the speech you will deliver, it will be best if you send us a copy because, as you yourself say, we may be able to help you with some comments, either by radiogram or by returning the text with our remarks, if we have any and if the time of the return of the plane permits.

...The Khrushchev group has lined up on its side a large number of parties, which it caught on the hop, and is taking advantage of their trust in and love for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It will be difficult for these parties and these communists to have the courage to adopt a clear-cut stand immediately. This is true. But it becomes very dangerous to leave this matter to drag on, because revisionism will do its own dreadful work, will compromise people and parties, will carry on large-scale demagoguery with propaganda and with large material funds. Within ten years the Tito clique completely disintegrated the party, and threw the genuine communists and patriots into jails or killed them. Therefore the most correct stand is that at this meeting we should carry the matter through to the end, as Marxists. It must come out nakedly who is on an anti-Marxist road, who is betraying Marxism-Leninism and violating the 1957 Moscow Declaration. This is the Khrushchev group. Therefore the meeting should dot the i's. The i's must be dotted about Bucharest, and those who have made mistakes must admit them at the

meeting like Marxists and go back to their parties to correct them. The Khrushchev group will not admit its mistakes, then it is responsible for splitting the ideological unity of the international communist movement. We are on a correct Marxist-Leninist road. The Khrushchev group has deviated into revisionism, therefore our struggle and time will expose it. But there is one other thing, the threat of a split and the split itself will speed up the process of the bankruptcy of the Khrushchev group and its isolation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other parties, which will be shocked and reflect on the matter better and sooner. Otherwise, these parties pretend to be outside the conflict, indeed, they consider it a success that it did not come to a split, and it was left to time to prove whether the Soviet line or ours is correct. The slogan «let time verify the line», as some advocate ... is to the liking of Khrushchev, and is an opportunist, revisionist and anti-Marxist slogan. It contains in itself the fear of carrying things through to the end and radically curing the mistakes. This idea serves to preserve the Khrushchev status quo with a bit of patching up, which Khrushchev has not, does not, and will not take any notice of at all. This slogan helps the revisionists to go further, to spread revisionism. In a word, if this slogan is adopted, we can be sure that great dangers will follow.

Revisionism is the main danger, it must be attacked, however big the «heads» that have this purulence within them. To clear up the abscess, the scalpel must be used. All those who say «let us leave it to time», understand the situation, but lack the revolutionary courage to put the finger on the sore spot and to use the effective means to clean it.

On the other hand, we should realize that the Khrushchev group is terrified of the situation, terrified of a split. It sees that its policy is suffering failures, that

it has created a grave situation that is far from correct, that ideologically it is quite deliberately and hopelessly on the road to disaster. Thus, in this situation, is it permissible for us to allow this revisionist group to regain its breath, to get over this great chasm which it created? It seems to me that we must not allow this. If we do not expose the Khrushchev group, we shall be making a great mistake, for it will take advantage of this to do more harm to the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and international communism. Khrushchev is an exhibitionist clown. Look at what he is doing at the UNO. This is why I sent you that long radiogram the evening before last.

But, anyway, dear Hysni, carry on as you are doing. You are doing fine.

Vito is well. She and Nexhmije are toiling at their lessons.<sup>1</sup> Your son is well, too. On Sunday he had lunch with us.

Every day I receive «amusing» radiograms from Mehmet. Matters continue as before. No concrete results whatever. No disarmament, no reorganization of the UNO Secretariat, no meeting, not a damned thing. The only «success» has been the creation of the third force with Tito at the head and the blessing of «*dyadya*»\* Khrushchev...

Best regards to Ramiz and the comrades. The comrades here send you their greetings.

I embrace you,

*Enver*

*Works, vol. 19*

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**1** Comrades Vito Kapo and Nexhmije Hoxha, members of the CC of the PLA, at that time were taking a correspondence course at the Faculty of History and Philology of the University of Tirana.

\* Uncle (Russian in the original).

## LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW

October 7, 1960

Dear Comrade Hysni,

Today we opened the Plenum. Things are going well, the discussions about the school reform are continuing. The contributions to the discussion are good. We shall continue to discuss this problem tomorrow, too, and then we shall examine the draft-directives of the five-year plan.

Today at noon I received the parcel with the material you sent me. You will understand that in fact I have had very little time, but I have glanced rapidly through your letters, your speech, and the reformulations and amendments you are going to make of the draft-declaration.

1) In regard to your speech, I liked it. The problems were dealt with well and its tone was correct. If the opportunity presents itself, either to you in the plenary meeting, or to Ramiz in the commission, **you should defend the Communist Party of China more strongly**, since the main assault is against it, **the main batteries are aimed at it**. They hate us just as much as the Chinese, and there is **no** doubt that they will attack us, but their main attack will be concentrated on the Communist Party of China, since they estimate, and with reason, that the greatest potential danger to them is the Communist Party of China, and they think: *«if we can defeat it, the Albanians will be no problem»*.

Therefore, for the time being, our positions are not

being attacked, **but we will be attacked**, especially when we turn our volleys on Khrushchev they will accuse us, too, of being «dogmatic» because we take the side of China. We must show the Soviets and their supporters **that ours is a Marxist-Leninist line, that we are fighting the revisionist and right opportunist views, as well as the slanderers and falsifiers.**

From these positions we attack all those who dare to attack us, either openly or in an underhand way.

Apart from those parties that we know have taken wrong positions, don't attack those that hesitate, that lack the courage to say what they think, those that say nothing about our Party or only something **of little consequence. Don't push them into open conflict with us, but manoeuvre. The attack should be concentrated on the main enemy, on those who have caused the opportunist deviation and who attack our correct line.** Apart from the Soviets, Bulgarians, Poles and others of this ilk, if these parties make some half-hearted attack on the Communist Party of China, **because they cannot do otherwise**, don't put the pressure on them. Leave it to the Chinese to judge the best tactic to follow.

2) ...

In my opinion, the Soviets want to close the matter, **to cover up their rottenness, because for the time being it is not in their interests to deepen the contradictions. They are ready to make some concessions simply to get over the river without wetting their feet:** to make the amendments demanded in one way or another, and then tell us, *«there is no reason to hold debates or discussions.» «We agree.» «Go home!»*

I may be mistaken in my assessment of what the Soviets are up to. I told you at the start that I had only a quick glance through the material you sent. Your speech deprives the Soviets of this possibility, because it comes out clearly that «we have accounts to settle». Initially our speeches

may be like a «prelude», but later they must burst out like Beethovens' symphonies; we are not for «serenades and nocturnes».

3) I also read the formulations of the amendments to the draft-declaration. They seem good. Consult and collaborate with the Chinese comrades. Why should the Soviets and others co-ordinate their activities, and not we?

I would say you should have another look at the formulations about the «*transition to socialism*» so that the spirit of our point of view comes out better. I remind you once again of the question of the «*cult*», **which should be formulated in another way, because in November we are going to take it up in connection with Stalin and the attitude of Khrushchev.** There is a passage about «factions», have another look at it to see **whether it has been put there as a trap.** One last remark: on page 27, 2nd paragraph of the draft-declaration typed in Tirana, or on page 14 of your text, Lenin's idea should be brought out more clearly: «... as long as the bourgeoisie does not impede the workers' movement and its vanguard in its ideological, political, and economic struggle...» (this is a quotation from Lenin). But the idea, that the Soviets have introduced subsequently, should be made more precise, because there they moan Nehru and others, to justify the aid they provide them.

4) It is difficult to say what you should slap back in their faces, and what you should not. It depends on the circumstances. You must go by the principle of defending the Party and its line fearlessly, without hesitating «should I say this or hold back?» As you judge it. You should **expose your opponent by means of fair arguments and crush him. A single fact used at the right time and place can be enough to make your opponent fall flat on his face in the mud. Therefore don't tie yourself down and don't worry too much about making some mistake.**

The question is simply that we should keep some things

for the Moscow Meeting instead of throwing them in at the commission, because if the Soviets were to learn of them they would work out their tactics for a counter-attack.

**Do not hesitate to give the Bulgarians and Poles their due, for they are hand in glove with the Soviets.** The others, too, are not much different, but see what you can do. You should go easy on the Czechs if they do not attack us. I am telling you this because in New York Novotny behaved towards Mehmet as usual, as if nothing had happened. The Hungarians, too, to our knowledge, are not very active, regardless of their speech there.

As long as they hesitate, the French should be told in various forms: «**Which way are you going?** We have a feeling that you understand where the mistakes lie and you should help to avoid even more serious mistakes, etc.» Make an effort in this direction.

A diplomat of a country of people's democracy told one of our comrades in Rome that the leaders of the communist and workers' parties of our camp, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, knew what was to be put forward at Bucharest, because Khrushchev had consulted them previously. **Hence, the Bucharest Meeting was organized beforehand behind the scenes, as an international faction (we shall use this argument at the Moscow Meeting).**

I have nothing else to add but to wish you success. I know that you are working hard and suffering from the «icy atmosphere», but we can do nothing about it. **The struggle for justice is no bed of roses. When you fight for the Party, for the people and communism, there is neither fatigue nor boredom.**

The comrades went to the *priyom*\* given by the Germans. I did not, as I wanted to write you this letter I will

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\* Reception (Russian in the original).

send tomorrow by plane. I did not go to the Germans' reception also for the reason that I wanted to make them realize that we did not take it kindly that their delegation did not return our official visit, although they had decided the date and the composition of the delegation. The reasons they gave for not coming were unconvincing, but the real ones are those we know and over which you are fighting there.

**«Fiasco» in the UNO! With a capital F. Mehmet leaves New York on the 11th of October and arrives in Tirana on the 20th or 21st.**

On the 25th of October we are convening the People's Assembly, and on this occasion Mehmet will speak about the «triumph» of «Rrapo Lelo's» disarmament and coexistence in the UNO. My best regards to Ramiz.

Yours affectionately,

*Enver*

*Works, vol. 19*

## LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW<sup>1</sup>

October 13, 1960

Dear Hysni,

Reading the second speech of the Chinese delegation reinforced the belief which I expressed about the first speech. **The Chinese are not for carrying the matter through to the end,** they are for regulating matters by means of phrases in resolutions or declarations. **They want to «correct what can be corrected and let time correct the rest».** It seems to me that they **do not understand what a threat the Khrushchev group represents to the world communist movement** and are ready to coexist with this group. It does not depend on us whether or not this group will remain in power, **but it is essential for us to expose this group, headed by Khrushchev, as it deserves.**

**The Chinese leaders are doing nothing in this direction, they are doing the opposite:** they attack Stalin and compare Khrushchev with Lenin.

They agree that we must make a good or somewhat good declaration, agree that the Soviets must retract the accusations and slanders which they have made against China, but is this sufficient? I have the impression that the Chi-

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<sup>1</sup> In volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha this letter was published in an abridged form to avoid making public the disagreements with the CP of China at that time. In this volume the letter is published in full.

nese will be satisfied if we get half-way. **We cannot be satisfied just with this.** In their two speeches in the commission not a word is said **against the main culprit, Khrushchev,** but on the contrary, they speak well of him, because «he criticized Stalin correctly». I have the impression that the Chinese comrades are hesitant and, if the draft-declaration turns out more or less good, I foresee that **their contribution at the meeting will be even more academic, like their speeches in the commission. It seems to me that the Chinese comrades do not realize that the Khrushchev group has very weak positions, both ideologically and politically.** Then should we be satisfied to defend ourselves or should we go on the attack? In my opinion the Chinese are defending themselves **and not attacking and are not going to attack later, either.** The Chinese comrades are worried about the impression and atmosphere that might be created by their attack among the delegates of the commission or later in the meeting. This is not good. **I have told you once that if I were in the skin of the Soviet revisionists, I would accept the field that the Chinese are opening to me, because there I find good grass and could browse freely.** However, the determined revisionists do not change so easily, they will not accept everything. Just as Tito «assisted» us by going from treachery to treachery every day, Khrushchev and company will do the same thing. But they will do great damage. **I think that the speeches of Teng Hsiao-ping in the commission indicate a seeking for compromise with the Soviet revisionists: they must withdraw the accusations (this is a kind of retreat and exposure) and we must refrain from attacking them and exposing them to the end.**

I am preparing my speech for the meeting as we have decided, but, as you can guess, it cannot be equated with the form, the tone and the content of the speeches of the Chinese in the commission. As things are turning out, at

the meeting, too, we shall be alone in our stand. The majority will be angry with us and will abuse us, but **we shall be right and time will prove us so. You can be sure that at the meeting no one will dare to agree with us.** But we shall do our duty and defend Marxism-Leninism. **The Chinese hesitate to separate the Khrushchev group from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union itself and put themselves on a course which naturally hinders them from saying what they feel and openly denouncing those who are at fault.** If you don't put your finger on the culprits and sort out the wheat from the chaff, then you bind your own hands and harm yourself. No, those who say, **«How could the glorious Soviet Union or the great Communist Party of Lenin be attacked for the fault of a few bastards?»** are not going to make an impression on us. If you do not make a division between them, then of course, you are obliged to soften your criticism and the fault is not revealed. We say: **«It is precisely to defend the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin that these 'bastards' must be exposed and the criticism must not be softened and deviators covered up.»** In that case, irrespective of whether an *«otlichno\*»* declaration is brought out, the danger remains, indeed it becomes more threatening both for our camp and the communist and workers' movement.

But we shall see, and, as Khrushchev says, «God grant» that I am mistaken in my judgement. You have not told us when you expect the first act to be over, because it has been going on for about three weeks!

There's nothing fresh from here (there are plenty of the usual things with the Soviet people here). Mehmet left New York on the 11th and will arrive in Tirana on October 20-21.

Best regards to you and Ramiz,

*Enver*

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\* Brilliant (Russian in the original).

P.S. I think that before you return to Albania **you should talk** with the Chinese delegation **about how they intend to present these matters in general at the Moscow Meeting, will they put them forward in an «academic» form, or will they give the thing a bit of fire.** It will be good if you could put forward our opinion in general terms, but don't say, this is what we are going to do, **but this is what should be done.**

Published according to the original at the Central Party Archives.

**WHETHER ALBANIA IS A SOCIALIST COUNTRY OR  
NOT DOES NOT DEPEND ON KHRUSHCHEV, BUT  
HAS BEEN DECIDED BY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE  
THROUGH THE WARS THEY HAVE FOUGHT AND  
THE BLOOD THEY HAVE SHED**

*From the conversation with Y. Andropov in Moscow*

**November 8, 1960**

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* I was informed today that Khrushchev had expressed the wish to meet me tomorrow at 11 a.m. I had decided to give a positive answer to this request, but today I read the Soviet document in which Albania does not figure as a socialist country.

*Y. ANDROPOV:* What document is this, I do not understand you, tell me concretely what material you mean, where this has been said?!

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* This is the material of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressed to the Communist Party of China<sup>1</sup>.

*Y. ANDROPOV:* But why should you be concerned about it? This is a letter to China. What has China to do with Albania?

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<sup>1</sup> Reference here is to the 125-page letter of November 5, 1960, which the CC of the CPSU sent to the CC of the CP of China, in which it ignored the existence of the PR of Albania as a socialist country and maligned the Party of Labour of Albania.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* And this made my meeting with Khrushchev definitely impossible.

*Y. ANDROPOV:* I do not understand you. What is said about you in that material?

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Read it and you will see.

*Y. ANDROPOV:* I have read it and am very familiar with its content, since I myself participated in drawing it up. But your statement, Comrade Enver, is a very serious one.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Yes, it is serious. Tell Khrushchev that whether Albania is a socialist country or not does not depend on Khrushchev, but has been decided by the Albanian people themselves through the wars they have fought and the blood they have shed. This has been decided by the Party of Labour of Albania, which has marched, and will always march, on the Marxist-Leninist road.

*Y. ANDROPOV:* I do not understand you, Comrade Enver, that material is meant for China. What has it to do with Albania?

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* I speak on behalf of my Homeland, my people, my country.

*Y. ANDROPOV:* This is a very serious statement, and I can only express my regret over it.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* We shall have the meeting of the parties, and there our Party will express its opinion. That's all! Good bye!

## **WE SHALL ARDENTLY DEFEND MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE**

*From the conversation of the delegation of the PLA  
with the representatives of the CPSU, A. Mikoyan,  
F. Kozlov, M. Suslov, P. Pospyelov, Y. Andropov,  
in Moscow<sup>1</sup>*

**November 10, 1960**

*A. Mikoyan is the first to speak. Expressing his «regret» over the disagreements that have arisen between the CPSU and the Party of Labour of Albania, he accuses our Party of allegedly being the cause of these disagreements, of «not having the same trust as before...» in the CPSU. He complains of our officers' having allegedly completely changed their attitude towards the Soviet officers at the naval base of Vlora, and asks: «Do you want to leave the Warsaw Treaty?...», etc. He claims that the Soviet leadership allegedly stands for the clearing up of these «misunderstandings» in the best way. «Tell us,» he went on, «where our mistakes are, we shall not get angry. We get angry only when you talk behind our backs.»*

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**1** This meeting with the delegation of the PLA, that was staying in Moscow, was requested by the Soviet leaders with a view to «persuading» our delegation not to raise at the Meeting of the 81 parties the questions about which the PLA did not agree with them, and particularly their anti-Marxist actions towards our country after the Bucharest Meeting.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Tell us when and where we have said anything against you behind your backs. With us Albanians, it is not the custom to talk behind someone's back.

What you said concerning the military base of Vlora is not true. There is a close friendship between the Albanian and Soviet officers and men there. This was the case until the Bucharest Meeting, and from our side it is still so. The Central Committee of our Party has instructed our men at the Vlora base to maintain a correct attitude toward the Soviet personnel. But some of your sailors have even attacked ours. It has also issued instructions that these matters should be settled through the party basic organizations. An incident took place between an officer of our navy and a Soviet rear-admiral, who came from Sevastopol on an inspection and who was addicted to drink. Quite improperly, he got hold of one of our officers, a good comrade who had studied in the Soviet Union, and demanded that he tell him what was decided at the Plenum of the Central Committee, because, he said, «I will be giving lectures on this matter in Sevastopol and will be asked about it.» Our officer replied that the communique on the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee had been published in the newspaper,<sup>2</sup> so what more did he want? He took his hat and left and reported the matter to his commander. Your comrades had the rear-admiral on the mat, he begged our pardon, and the incident was closed.

Concerning the handing over of the submarines: our seamen were trained for two and a half years in Sevastopol, and they had distinguished themselves in firing practice. Our Staff and our seamen had prepared themselves to receive the submarines in a solemn manner. There is a

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<sup>2</sup> «Zëri i popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA, September 9, 1960.

Soviet rear-admiral in our Staff. We do not know exactly what he is, but a rear-admiral he certainly is not. He said, «The submarines cannot be handed over to you because you are not trained.» The comrades of our Ministry of Defence questioned the validity of this statement. Were it necessary for our armymen to study for some months longer, they should have been informed about it. But the Soviet Staff itself had said that the Albanian crews had completed their training.

Then they told us that winter had come, that seas were stormy. Our comrades came here, to your admiralty, stated their case and received the reply that «the submarines would be handed over to them.» But again came the order from your people not to give them to us. When we were in Tirana, our Ministry of Defence sent a letter to Gorshkov,<sup>3</sup> explained the matter in comradely terms, just as I put it to you. The letter said that if several more months were needed to train our seamen, you could tell us so. But the reason does not lie here.

*A. MIKOYAN:* And where does it lie?

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* It is up to you to tell us this. But this is not the main problem... Let us come now to the question of our leaving the Warsaw Treaty, since you mentioned this at the start..

*A. MIKOYAN:* We did not, but such was the impression created.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* How can such an impression be created? On the basis of what a certain rear-admiral says?! Let us consider this question, for there are more serious things in it.

*A. MIKOYAN:* Really?! We know nothing of them.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* How is it that you know

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**3** Soviet admiral, at that time Deputy-Minister of Defence of the USSR.

nothing of them? If this is the case, it is not right that your Central Committee does not know about them. Do you know that we have been threatened with expulsion from the Warsaw Treaty? Grechko<sup>4</sup> made such a threat.

A. *MIKOYAN*: We know nothing about it. Tell us.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA*: We shall tell you all right, for it is a matter of principle. Two of your marshals, Malinovsky and Grechko, have said such a thing. You must know this.

*COMRADE HYSNI KAPO*: On October 22, I informed Polyansky of this.

A. *MIKOYAN*: You may not believe me, but I do not know.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA*: Since you put the matter in this way, that you know nothing about it, we must remind you that four months ago we wrote you a letter concerning your ambassador. Why did you not follow the Leninist practice of your party and reply to us?

F. *KOZLOV*: We shall send you another ambassador.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA*: You say so now, but why have you not written to us? We wrote to you four months ago, but have received no answer.

A. *MIKOYAN*: We did well not to answer you. And this is why: for 15 years now our ambassadors have been going to the party committees to ask for information. This has been so in Albania, too. Is it interference on the part of our ambassador to ask the chairman of the Central Auditing Commission<sup>5</sup> about what went on at the Plenum<sup>6</sup>?

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<sup>4</sup> At that time commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty.

<sup>5</sup> Koço Tashko, who was discharged from his functions and expelled from the ranks of the Party for anti-party activity, breach of party discipline and organizational norms and distortion of its line.

<sup>6</sup> The 17th Plenum of the CC of the PLA — July 11-12, 1960, which approved the activity of the delegation of the PLA at the Bucharest Meeting.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Yes, it is interference and entirely impermissible. I can say that in our country nothing has been hidden from the Soviet personnel. For 16 years we have followed the practice of informing you about all important documents and decisions of the Central Committee of our Party or Government. Why have we done this? Because we have been sincere and frank with the Soviet Union and the CPSU. You have no right to accuse our Party of bad behaviour towards the CPSU. We have been very closely linked with the Soviet comrades, from the ambassador to the ordinary specialist. All doors have been open to them.

*A. MIKOYAN, M. SUSLOV:* Precisely, that is so.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* We think that perhaps no other party has behaved in this way towards the CPSU. Why have we done this? Because we have considered the CPSU as the party which, under Lenin's leadership, carried out the Great Socialist Revolution and was the first to open the way to socialism and communism.

We have had disagreements prior to the Bucharest Meeting, and we shall tell you about them. For example, on the question of Yugoslav revisionism. But we have gone about it in such a way that nothing has leaked out. Why have our relations deteriorated after Bucharest? What did we say at Bucharest? We expressed our attitude, stressing that the disagreements which were presented by Khrushchev at the Bucharest Meeting were over matters concerning the CPSU and the CP of China, and that the Party of Labour of Albania reserved the right to voice its opinion about them at the Moscow Meeting. Why, then, was our Party attacked?

We do not agree with the Bucharest Meeting, but we did nothing to make you change your attitude towards us one hundred per cent. First of all, your ambassador, whom we liked, behaved in a despicable manner towards us. After the Bucharest Meeting, and especially after his return from

Moscow, he began to attack us and behaved contemptuously towards us.

A. *MIKOYAN*: I had never thought he would go as far as that.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA*: That means you do not believe us. Do not forget that I am the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour. I have been and am a friend of the Soviet Union. You can disbelieve me, but you believe your «*chinovniki*»\*. What interest has the PLA in creating disagreements and saying false things about the ambassador of the Soviet Union?!

A. *MIKOYAN*: I believe that you are not interested in this. The ambassador has spoken no ill of you. Personally, he is a good man.

M. *SUSLOV*: But not very bright, especially politically.

A. *MIKOYAN*: Tell us, what should we do to improve our relations? We shall replace the ambassador.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA*: Things are not as simple as that. We do not maintain only diplomatic relations but also inter-party links, and these must be on a Marxist-Leninist basis. For example, ambassador Ivanov had contact with me. Why should he meet the chairman of the Central Auditing Commission?

I am the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Have I asked you why you expelled Zhukov<sup>7</sup>? Up to now I know nothing. The Soviet ambassador has always come to ask me about the plenums of our Party, and I have informed him about them. He came and asked me about

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\* Russian — bureaucratic officials of Tsarist Russia. Such bureaucratic officials were also cultivated by revisionism in the Soviet Union.

<sup>7</sup> Member of the CC of the CPSU. Marshal of the Soviet Union, Minister of Defence of the USSR. While he was on a visit to the PR of Albania, the Khrushchev group discharged him from all functions and informed him of this as soon as he landed in Moscow upon his return from Albania.

the proceedings of this plenum. I told him what was to be told. Since the First Secretary of the CC of the Party told him that much, he should have gone home to bed. Otherwise, if your ambassador is going to get hold of one and the other, he and his friends are not diplomats and representatives of a socialist country, but intelligence agents. The staff of the embassy, through Bepalov, got hold of the chairman of the Auditing Commission and «worked» on him in two sessions. Then, for the third session, he was invited to dinner in the name of the ambassador, at the residence of the first secretary of the embassy. There were three of them: the ambassador, the counsellor and the secretary. And there our comrade, who 15 days before had agreed with the decision of the plenum, with the line of our Central Committee, was turned against the line of the Party. Now I ask you: can an ambassador be allowed to act in this manner and on his own responsibility?

We think that all these actions were aimed at creating disruption in our Party. Your ambassador went even further. At the airport, alluding to the Bucharest events, he asked our generals. «With whom will the army side?»

*A. MIKOYAN, F. KOZLOV:* He is a fool.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* I respect you, but we cannot swallow such «excuses», although we lack your experience.

The question of the invitation Khrushchev sent me is very important. First I decided to accept it. But when I read your material, the letter addressed to the Chinese comrades on November 5, I saw that Albania had been excluded from the socialist camp. All the countries of people's democracy of Europe are mentioned there with the exception of Albania.

*M. SUSLOV:* Neither is the Soviet Union mentioned there.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* What are you trying to

tell us? Were I in your place, I would admit that it is wrong. Ivanov has acted in this way, Grechko likewise, such things are written in the document, Khrushchev has told the Chinese delegation disgraceful things about Albania, but you admit nothing, whereas we have always been sincere with you. Kosygin did not behave well towards me in a conversation we had, either. He behaved as if he were an overlord. He said: «In your Party there are enemies that want to split us.»

This year, because of very unfavourable natural conditions. we were badly in need of bread grain. We had bread for only 15 days. We asked you for 50 thousand tons of wheat. We waited for 45 days but received no reply. Then we bought it in France with convertible currency. The French merchant came immediately to Albania to size up the situation. He asked. «How is such a thing possible? Albania has never bought grain from the Western countries. and the Soviet Union is selling grain everywhere.» In order to dispel his doubts we told him, «The Soviet Union has given us grain, that is, maize, but we use it to feed pigs.» We know where you sell your grain, where the Rumanians, the Germans sell theirs: to England and elsewhere. You imposed conditions, and we were obliged to offer you gold to buy the bread grain we needed.

A. *MIKOYAN*: We have not refused to supply you with grain. I know that grain has been shipped to you every month. You proposed to our people to pay in gold, and they accepted. Why should we want your currency?!

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA*: Comrade Pospyelov, when you were in Albania, you saw what love our people nurture for the Soviet Union. But now you seek this love from Koço Tashko and Liri Belishova, and not from us.

The tactic you are following is completely wrong. You should have talked with me before you wrote those things

in the letter I mentioned. But when you accuse our Party and its leadership of being anti-Soviet, of being criminal, and, as you say, of resorting to «Stalinist methods», and now, after you have made all these public accusations, you want to talk with me; this I cannot accept.

A. *MIKOYAN*: We invited you to talk earlier but you refused.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA*: The matter is not as you say. I had taken some days off. It was only partly a vacation, because I was working on the report for the Congress of the Party.<sup>8</sup> Comrade Hysni Kapo told me that Ivanov had informed him that if he wished, Comrade Enver could go to rest in the Soviet Union. But he did not tell me anything about the meeting with Khrushchev.

*COMRADE HYSNI KAPO*: In regard to your letter, in which you invited us to hold talks, it was quite clear what we were going to talk about.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA*: The letter said that we should meet to discuss the question of China.

A. *MIKOYAN*: Not the question of China. The word «China» is not even mentioned there.<sup>9</sup> You refused to meet us.

*COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU*: How can such a thing be denied! How can you behave in such a way towards our country! Shame on you, Comrade Kozlov, that you allow

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<sup>8</sup> Reference here is to the 4th Congress of the PLA, which it had been decided to hold in November 1960. Later, due to the Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow, it was postponed until February 1961.

<sup>9</sup> A downright lie on the part of Mikoyan. The letter of August 13th that the CC of the CPSU sent to the CC of the PLA said expressly: «The Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties held in Bucharest showed that between the Communist Party of China and the other sister parties there is a different understanding of a series of important problems of the international situation and the tactics of the communist parties...»

yourself to present small Albania with an ultimatum; «Either with us or with China»!

*F. KOZLOV:* When your delegation passed through here, I said only that I was surprised at Comrade Kapo's position. Your stand was different from that of other parties. We have treated you so very well. When Comrade Enver spoke in Leningrad, he said that the Albanian people feel that they are not one million but 201 million.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* I still say it too, but not if you ignore China. Both you and we should be for the unity of the camp, for a billion-strong camp. We love the Soviet Union, but we love China, too. Why is it, Kozlov, that since Bucharest you speak of «zigzags» by our Party and ask with whom we will side, «with the 200 or the 600 million»? At a meeting at which the ambassadors of other countries were present, you said that a single bomb would be enough to turn Albania into dust and ashes...

*COMRADE HYSNI KAPO:* You say that we allegedly talk behind your backs. But on October 22, Khrushchev told the Chinese delegation that from then on he would maintain the same stand with respect to Albania as to Yugoslavia.

*Y. ANDROPOV:* That is how things stood: in a conversation we had with the Chinese comrades, Comrade Khrushchev said that some Albanian leaders are dissatisfied because the question of Berlin is not yet settled.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* And I am the one who said it, too. After Khrushchev returned from Paris, Ivanov asked me about the Berlin question. I answered: «In my personal opinion, imperialism has been shaken, our positions are strong, and in America there is a favourable political situation that could be utilized for the settlement of the Berlin question.» This was my personal opinion.

*A. MIKOYAN:* There is nothing wrong with that, but

not as someone, who offended us, put it, saying to our officers: «Berlin scared you, you did not keep your word,» etc...

*Y. ANDROPOV:* It is in connection with these words that Khrushchev said that we have had good relations with the Albanians, but now, as things stand, we cannot trust them. We lost Albania...

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Even in these terms, this is not in the least comradely. What has the Bolshevik Party taught us? All these things have a source. Marxism-Leninism does not recognize that events can develop spontaneously. Hence, you should go thoroughly into these matters. What are the reasons that things came to this state after the Bucharest Meeting? We think it is up to you to tell us.

*A. MIKOYAN:* We may be wicked, but we are not fools. Why should we want our relations with you to become worse?

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* We have asked this question, too. Apart from the fact that we have not been wrong, but even if we had, why did the CPSU, which has seen many things, not show a little patience with us Albanians: why did its leadership not say: «Well, the Albanians have made a mistake, but let us see what they have to say tomorrow, after they have thought things over»?

You should know, comrades, that we regret when we see all these things which are occurring in the attitude of the leaders and other Soviet officials towards Albania and our Party of Labour. We say to you that the unhealthy spirit that exists among your people in Albania should be completely eliminated. Since the Bucharest Meeting, seeing what Ivanov and company are doing, I have not met and will not meet your people in Tirana.

*A. MIKOYAN:* It's your cadres who have changed their attitude towards us. The Central Committee of our Party is

not mentioned. Khrushchev is mentioned only as a blunderer.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* I must tell you in a comradely way that Khrushchev often accuses us of being «hot-headed». But Khrushchev himself should keep his tongue in leash, because every state, every person has his dignity. He has said that you will treat Albania the same as Yugoslavia.

*P. POSPYELOV:* With his sharp replies at the Bucharest Meeting, Comrade Kapo was not in order, either.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Even now we do not agree with the Bucharest Meeting, as you organized it.

*A. MIKOYAN:* The Bucharest Meeting is another issue. Now the question is whether our relations should be improved or not. Comrade Khrushchev said today in his speech that we shall maintain friendship even with those parties with which we have differences. We must meet and talk things over.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* We are not against meetings. But we ask the comrades of the leadership of the CPSU to be more careful, because to distribute among 80 and more parties a document in which Albania is not included among the socialist countries, and then invite us to «come and talk», is completely unacceptable to us.

*M. SUSLOV, A. MIKOYAN:* Let's meet and talk about how we can improve our relations.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* We, too, seek to improve our relations.

*M. SUSLOV:* But not in that tone.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* I want to give you a piece of advice: Put out of your mind that we are hot-headed. When Marxism-Leninism and the interests of our people are at stake, we shall defend them ardently.

**WE HAVE FOUGHT EMPTY-BELLIED AND  
BARE-FOOTED, BUT HAVE NEVER  
KOWTOWED TO ANYBODY**

*Conversation of the delegation of the PLA, headed by  
Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the meeting with Khrushchev  
in the Kremlin, Moscow<sup>1</sup>*

**November 12, 1960**

*KHRUSHCHEV:* You have the floor, we are listening.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* You have invited us. The host should speak first.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* We accept the Albanians' terms.

I do not understand what has happened since my visit to Albania in 1959! Had you been dissatisfied with us even then, I must have been a block-head and very naive not to have realized it. At that time we had nothing but nice words to say, apart from some jokes, like the one I made with Comrade Mehmet Shehu about the poplars.<sup>2</sup>

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* If this is intended to

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**1** On November 12, 1960, the delegation of the PLA agreed to meet the representatives of the CPSU once more. Also present from the Soviet side at this meeting were A. Mikoyan, F. Kozlov and Y. Andropov.

**2** The sole criticism Khrushchev managed to make during his stay in Albania in May 1959 was that the poplars along our roads should be replaced with fig-trees and plums!...

open up conversation, it is another matter. The joke about the poplars is out of place here.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* What other reason could there be then, why have you changed your attitude towards us?

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* It is not we who have changed our attitude, but you. We have had disagreements on previous occasions, as for example, over the stand to be taken towards the Yugoslav revisionists. But this change of attitude occurred after the Bucharest Meeting, and precisely on your part.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* I want to get one thing clear. I thought that we had no disagreements over Yugoslavia. You have spoken more than we have about this problem. We, too, have written about it, but dispassionately. We have stressed that the more is said against them, the more their value would be increased. And that is what happened.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* In our opinion, that is not so.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* I speak for us. But I want to ask you: in what tone shall we speak? If you do not want our friendship, then tell us so.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* We want to be friends always. We want to talk in a friendly way. But this does not mean that we should see eye to eye with you on all matters.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* Three times we have invited you to talks. Do you want to break off our relations?!

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* It is you who caused the deterioration of our relations after the Bucharest Meeting. We have pointed out many facts to your comrades. They should have told you.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* I do not quite understand this; I had no conflict with Hysni Kapo at Bucharest. He said that he was not authorized by your Central Committee to take a definite stand on the questions under discussion.

*COMRADE HYSNI KAPO:* At Bucharest I expressed the stand of our Party that the Bucharest Meeting was premature and held in contravention of the Leninist organizational rules, that the disagreements discussed were disagreements between the CPSU and the CP of China, and that the Party of Labour of Albania would express its opinion on these matters at a future meeting. Thereupon, you said that you were amazed at the stand taken by the Party of Labour of Albania. You said this both at the meeting of the 12 parties of the socialist countries and at the broader meeting of 50 and more parties. In reality, we had told you our stand before we spoke at the meeting of the 12 parties. I had spoken with Andropov about this. After he informed you of our talk, you told him to tell the Albanians that they must think things over and change their stand.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* The Central Committee of our Party has never accepted the Bucharest Meeting. From the very beginning, I was fully informed of all that was going on at Bucharest.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* This is of no great importance. The point is that even before the Bucharest Meeting you were not in agreement with us, but you said nothing about this to us. And we considered you as friends. I am to blame for having trusted you so much.

*COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU:* I ask Comrade Khrushchev to recall our talks of 1957. We spoke to you with open hearts about all the problems, including that of the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists. You listened to us, then after a telling reply to you by Comrade Enver, you rose to your feet and said, «Do you want to put us back on Stalin's road!» That means that you knew long ago that we thought about the Yugoslav revisionists differently from you. You knew this at least as early as April 1957. But you should also remember that in 1955, when you were about to go to Yugoslavia, we replied to your letter

in which you suggested changing the attitude that should be maintained towards the Yugoslav revisionists, that the problem should first be analysed by the Information Bureau which should make the decision.

*A. MIKOYAN:* Yes, that is what happened.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* You say that new people with little experience have come to power in the Soviet Union. Do you want to teach us?

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* No, there is no need. This is an internal question of yours. But do you know what your ambassador has said? Other things apart, I shall tell you only one fact that has to do with the army. He has asked to whom the Albanian army will be loyal. This question he addressed to our generals at the airport, in the presence of one of your generals. Our officers replied that our army would be loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the Party of Labour and socialism.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* If our ambassador said such a thing, he was foolish.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Yes, but this is political foolishness.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* This is every sort of foolishness.

*A. MIKOYAN:* Do you think that such behaviour by our ambassador expressed our line?

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* A fool's foolishness, even of a political character, may be excused once, but when it is repeated many times over, then it is a line.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* Yes, that is true.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Your ambassador has been a friend of our Party, and ours personally. He was no fool. He committed this «foolishness» following the Bucharest Meeting. Why did he not display such «foolishness» prior to the Bucharest Meeting, during the three consecutive years he stayed in Albania? That is astonishing!

*A. MIKOYAN:* It is not astonishing, but previously he

used to receive information from you regularly and had not seen such behaviour on your part.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* It seems to me that you said that he did not know that there were disagreements between us...

*A. MIKOYAN:* Comrade Enver told us that previously he used to tell Ivanov everything, but later he did not: Hence the changes in the behaviour of the ambassador. We discussed these things.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* If we have discussed these things, as Mikoyan says, then why are we sitting here? If, after discussing matters, we say that we do not agree with you, you can then say to us, «We have discussed these things.»

*A. MIKOYAN:* But we recalled our ambassador. Why do you inflate this matter?

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* All right, we will leave the ambassador aside, but what you have written about Albania and the Party of Labour in your letter to the Chinese comrades is monstrous.

*A. MIKOYAN:* We have expressed our opinion.

*COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA:* You publicly accuse us of anti-Sovietism. (*He reads page 46 of the letter.*)

*KHRUSHCHEV:* This is our opinion. You must not get angry.

*COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU:* You attack us. and we should not get angry.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* We are sorry about what happened with these people.<sup>3</sup> You do not agree. I did not know

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<sup>3</sup> Koço Tashko and Liri Belishova, the latter ex-member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, who capitulated to the flattery and blackmail of the Soviet leaders and put herself in open opposition to the line of the Party. For her anti-party and hostile stand she was dismissed from all functions and expelled from the Party.

Koço Tashko. I may perhaps have seen him, but even if you were to show me his photo, I would not remember him.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* If you want his photo, we may send it to you.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* I know Belishova less than you do. I know that she was a member of your Political Bureau. She told us about the talk she had had in China. Kosygin told Comrade Mehmet this when Mehmet was in Moscow, and when he heard it he went white with rage. She was a courageous woman; she told us openly what she felt. This is a tragedy; you expelled her because she stood for friendship with us! That is why we wrote about this in the document.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* That is to say, you consider what has been written here, in your material, to be correct?

*KHRUSHCHEV:* Yes, we do.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* There are two points here. First, you say that we expelled a member of the Political Bureau in an undemocratic way. Who told you that this was done not according to democratic rules and Leninist norms, but according to «Stalinist methods», as you call them?! Second, you say that we expelled her for pro-Sovietism, and that implies that we are anti-Soviet. Can you explain this to us?

*KHRUSHCHEV:* If you have come here intending to disagree with us and break off relations, say so openly and we won't waste time.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* You did not answer our question. And you have distributed this material to all the parties.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* To those parties to which the Chinese have distributed their material.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* And we have our point

of view which does not coincide with yours. Two or three times you have raised the question of whether we are for friendship or for breaking off relations. We came here to strengthen our friendship. But you admit none of your mistakes. You have made criticism of us, and so have we of you. You have criticized us on the quiet and publicly, before all. You may have other criticisms. Tell us, and we shall tell you ours, so that our central committees may know them. The Central Committee of our Party has sent us here to strengthen our friendship.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* One of your comrades told our army-men that Khrushchev was not a Marxist.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* In connection with the question of the army-men, we have talked with your comrades. How could it be in our interest to have our army-men quarrel at the Vlora base! And now you produce «documents» to the effect that one of our comrades has allegedly said this and that. Have a good look at your army-men. I told Mikoyan that your rear-admiral at the Vlora naval base is not a rear-admiral.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* We can dismantle the base if you like.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Then what Malinovsky and Grechko have said turns out to be true. Are you trying to threaten us? If the Soviet people hear that you want to dismantle the Vlora base, at a time when it is serving the defence of Albania and the other socialist countries of Europe, they will not forgive you for this...

*KHRUSHCHEV:* Comrade Enver, don't raise your voice!

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* If you dismantle the base you will be making a big mistake. We have fought empty-bellied and bare-footed, but have never kowtowed to anybody.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* The submarines are ours.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Yours and ours, we are fighting for socialism. The territory of the base is ours. About the submarines we have signed agreements which recognize the rights of the Albanian state. I defend the interests of my country.

*A. MIKOYAN:* Your tone is such as if Khrushchev has given you nothing. We have talked among ourselves about the base. Khrushchev was not for dismantling it. I said to him, if our officers go on quarreling with the Albanians, why should we keep the base?

*COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU:* You have treated us as enemies. Even here in Moscow you have carried out intelligence activities against us. You know this very well.<sup>4</sup>

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* As the question was put here, we might just as well discuss it at the Warsaw Treaty.

I want to say that while such a thing has occurred to you, it has never crossed our minds. And then, you say: «We shall dismantle it if you like.» Relations between the Albanians and the Soviet personnel at the Vlora base have always been good. Only since the Bucharest Meeting have some incidents taken place, and they were caused by your officers who were not in order. If you insist, we can call together the Warsaw Treaty. But the Vlora base is ours and will remain ours.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* You flare up in anger. You spat on me; no one can talk to you.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* You always say that we are hot-headed.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* You distort my words. Does your interpreter know Russian?

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<sup>4</sup> The reference is to the bugging devices installed secretly by the Soviet revisionists both at the residence of the delegation of the PLA in Zarechye of Moscow and in the offices of the Embassy of the PR of Albania in Moscow.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* Don't carp at the interpreter. He knows Russian very well. I respect you and you should respect me.

*KHRUSHCHEV:* That is just how MacMillan wanted to talk to me.

*COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU AND HYSNI KAPO:* Comrade Enver is not MacMillan, so take that back!

*KHRUSHCHEV:* But where shall I put it?

*COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU:* Put it in your pocket.

*COMRADE HYSNI KAPO:* (*addressing the comrades of our delegation*) I do not agree that the talks should be conducted like this.

*Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other comrades rise and leave the room.*

**SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE MEETING OF  
81 COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW<sup>1</sup> ON BEHALF OF THE CC  
OF THE PLA**

**November 16, 1960**

Dear Comrades,

This Meeting of the communist and workers' parties is of historic importance to the international communist movement, for it is making a detailed analysis of the international political situation, drawing up a balance-sheet of the successes and mistakes that may have been observed 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, headed by the Soviet Union, is already an accomplished fact in the world. The communist movement in general has been enlarged, strengthened and tempered. The communist and workers'

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**1** The Meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties was held in Moscow from the 10th of November to the 1st of December 1960. It was held in an extremely complicated situation of the international communist movement as a result of the spread of modern revisionism and especially the disruptive anti-Marxist activity of the Soviet leadership with Khrushchev at the head.

The delegation of the PLA was headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The speech he delivered at the Moscow Meeting was approved at the 20th Plenum of the CC of the PLA held on November 1, 1960.

parties throughout the world have become a colossal force which is leading mankind forward towards socialism, towards peace.

As the draft-statement which has been prepared emphasizes, our socialist camp is very much stronger than that of imperialism. Socialism is growing stronger and attaining new heights day by day, while imperialism is growing weaker and decaying. We should make use of all our means and forces to speed up this process. This will come about if we remain unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and apply it correctly. Otherwise, we will retard this process, for we are faced with a ruthless enemy — imperialism, headed by US imperialism, which 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 of a just and democratic peace in the world. This will be achieved when we have forced imperialism to disarm. Imperialism will not give up its arms of its own free will. To believe anything of the kind is merely to deceive oneself and others. Therefore, we must 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, to sabotage in every way the war which the imperialists are preparing.

The Party of Labour of Albania has never hidden from its people this situation and the threat with which imperialism is menacing peace-loving mankind, nor will it ever do so. We can assure you that the Albanian people, who detest war, have not been intimidated 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, always vigilant, keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other.

Our view is that imperialism, headed by US imperialism, should be mercilessly exposed, politically and ideologically, and at no time should we permit flattery, prettification, or coddling of imperialism. No concessions of principle should be made to imperialism. The tactics and compromises which are permissible 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 differences which have been manifested, and by building this unity on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, on equality, on brotherhood, on the spirit of comradeship and proletarian internationalism. Our Party believes that not only should we have no ideological split, but 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 and on correct political criteria in accordance with the concrete existing situations...

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 suppressed by the capitalists, the feudal lords and the imperialists. Hence, it is natural that the struggle of these peoples should be waged with great severity against the capitalists, feudal lords 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 their executioners...

Therefore, in the struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress in the world, the socialist camp is not alone in facing the imperialist camp, but is in close alliance with

all the progressive peoples of the world, while the imperialists are isolated facing the socialist camp.

We are living at a time when we are witnessing the total destruction of colonialism, the elimination of this plague that has wiped peoples from the face of the earth. New states are springing up in Africa and Asia. The countries where capital, the scourge, and the bullet reigned supreme, are putting an end to the yoke of bondage, and the peoples are taking their destiny into their own hands. This has been and is being achieved thanks to the struggle of these peoples 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 Josip Broz Tito, are trying in a thousand ways, by hatching up diabolical schemes, to mislead the peoples and the newly formed states, to detach them from their natural allies, to link them directly with US imperialism. We should exert all our strength to defeat the schemes of these lackeys of imperialism.

We are witnessing the disintegration of imperialism, its decomposition, its final agony. We are living and fighting in the epoch which is characterized by the irresistible transition from capitalism to socialism. All the brilliant teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, which have never become outdated, as the revisionists claim, are being confirmed.

World imperialism is being dealt heavy blows which clearly show that it is no longer in its «golden age», when it made the law, as and when it wanted. The initiative has now slipped from its hands, and this was not because of its own wish or desire. This initiative was wrested from it not by words and discourses alone, but after a long process of bloody battles and revolutions which capitalism itself provoked against the proletariat, against the strength of

the peoples 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 the 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, world imperialism, headed by US 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 Labour 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 suffering losses, that are and should be pessimistic. We have won, we are winning and shall continue to win. That is why we have always been optimistic and are convinced that our efforts will be crowned with success.

But we think that exaggerated, unrealistic optimism not only is not good, but is even harmful. He who denies, belittles, who has no faith in our great economic, political, military and moral strength, is a defeatist and does not deserve to be called a communist. On the other hand, he who, intoxicated by our potential, regards the opponents as mere gnats, thinking that the enemy has lost all hope, has become harmless, and is entirely at our mercy — he is not a realist. He bluffs, puts the peoples to sleep in the face of 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 the facts straight in the eye. World imperialism, headed by its most aggressive detachment US imperialism, is directing the course of its economy towards preparations for war. It is arming itself to the teeth. US imperialism is arming Bonn's Germany, Japan, and all its allies and satellites with all kinds of weapons. It has set up and is perfecting 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 enslave the peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that if we were to say and think otherwise, we would be deceiving ourselves and others. We would not call ourselves communists if we were afraid of the vicissitudes of life. We communists detest war. We communists will fight to the end to smash the diabolical plans for war which the US imperialists are preparing, but if they declare war on us, we should deal them a mortal blow that will wipe imperialism from the face of the earth, once and for all.

Faced with the threats of atomic war by the US-led world imperialists, we should be fully prepared economically, politically and morally, as well as militarily, to cope with any eventuality.

We should prevent a world war, it is not absolutely inevitable. But no one will ever excuse us if we live in a dream and let the enemy catch us unawares, for it has never happened that the enemy is or is called *loyal\**, otherwise he would not be called an enemy. The enemy is and remains

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\* French in the original

an enemy, and a perfidious one at that. He who puts his trust in the enemy will sooner or later lose his case...

The peaceful policy of the countries of the socialist camp has exerted a major influence in exposing the aggressive aims of imperialism, in mobilizing the peoples against the war-mongers, in promoting their glorious struggle against the imperialist oppressors and their tools...

But in spite of all this, many concrete problems which have been laid on the table, like the proposals for disarmament, the summit conference,<sup>2</sup> etc., have not yet been resolved and are being systematically sabotaged by the US imperialists.

What conclusions should we draw from all this? The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that imperialism, and first and foremost, US imperialism, has not changed its hide, its hair or its nature. It is aggressive, and will remain aggressive as long as it has a single tooth left in its head. And being aggressive, 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 US imperialists make no secret of their refusal to disarm. They are increasing their armaments, preparing for wai, therefore we should be on our guard.

We should make no concessions of principle to the

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<sup>2</sup> In December 1959, Khrushchev, former head of the Soviet Government, who was for the settlement of major international issues with the chiefs of imperialism by means of discussions only, made arrangements through diplomatic channels for the calling of a summit conference with the participation of the heads of the governments of the USSR, USA, Britain and France. This conference was to have been held in May 1960, but it could not be held because of the sabotage by the US imperialists and the vacillating adventurist stand of Khrushchev.

enemy, we should entertain no illusions about imperialism. Believing to improve the situation we would make it infinitely worse. In addition to arming and preparing for war against us, the enemy is carrying on unbridled propaganda to poison the spirit and benumb the minds of the people, spending millions of dollars to recruit agents and spies, millions of dollars to organize acts of espionage, diversion and murder in our countries. US imperialism has given and is giving thousands of millions of dollars to its loyal agents, the treacherous Tito gang. It is doing all this to weaken our internal front, to split us, to weaken and disorganize our rear areas.

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 refuted once and for all. There can be no socialist state, there can be no communist, who is opposed to peaceful coexistence, who is a war-monger. The 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 Labour has always held, and still holds, that the policy of peaceful coexistence corresponds to the fundamental interests of all the peoples, to the purpose of the further strengthening of the positions of socialism. Therefore this principle of Lenin's is the basis of the 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. While struggling consistently to establish

Leninist peaceful coexistence, while making no concessions on principles to imperialism, we should further develop the class struggle in the capitalist countries, as well as the national liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

In our view, the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries should strive to establish peaceful co-existence between their countries, which are still under the capitalist system, and our socialist countries... But their task does not end there. In these countries it is necessary to promote, intensify and strengthen the class struggle. The working masses, led by the proletariat of the country headed by the communist party, and in alliance with the proletariat of the whole world, should make life impossible for imperialism, should crush the bases of its military and economic potential, should wrest from its hands its economic and political power, and proceed to the destruction of its old power and the establishment of the new power of the people. Will they do this by violence, or in the peaceful parliamentary way?

This question has been clear, and it was not necessary for Comrade Khrushchev to confuse it at the 20th Congress, and to do so in such a way as to please the opportunists. Why was it necessary to make all those parodies of Lenin's clear theses and of the lessons of the October Socialist Revolution? The Party of Labour 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 have assumed power without bloodshed, for they forget that the glorious Soviet Army poured out rivers of blood for them during the Second World War.

Our Party thinks that, in regard to this matter, we

should be prepared for both eventualities, and we should be well prepared, especially, for taking power by violence, for if we are well prepared for this, the other possibility has more chance of success. The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow on the head and crushes you, because you have not trained the necessary cadres to attack, or done illegal work, you have not prepared a place where you can protect yourself and still work, or the means with which to fight. We should forestall this tragic eventuality.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been, is and will be for peace and peaceful coexistence, and will fight for them in a Marxist-Leninist way, as Lenin teaches us, and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration. It has been, is and will be striving actively for general disarmament. On no occasion, not for one moment, will the Party of Labour of Albania cease waging a political and ideological struggle against the activities of the imperialists and capitalists and against bourgeois ideology. It will not cease waging a stern, relentless and uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism, and in particular, against Yugoslav Titoite revisionism. There may be comrades who reproach us Albanians with being stubborn, irascible, hot-headed, sectarian, dogmatic, and whatever you like, 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 favour of war and against coexistence. Comrade Kozlov has even put this alternative to us Albanians: either coexistence, as he conceives it, or an atomic bomb from the imperialists, which would turn Albania to ashes and leave no Albanian alive. Until now no representative of US 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 people who have fought for centuries against countless savage enemies and who have never bent the knee, to a small people who have fought with unprecedented heroism against the Hitlerites and Italian fascists, to a party which stands loyal and consistent to the end to Marxism-Leninism. But Comrade Frol Kozlov, you have the wrong address. You cannot frighten us into submitting to your misguided will, and we never confuse the glorious Party of Lenin with you, who behave so badly, with such shamelessness, towards the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania. The Party of Labour 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 other peace-loving countries.

The Party of Labour of Albania will exert all its strength, use all its rights and carry out all its obligations, to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, a Marxist-Leninist unity. It is absurd to think that small socialist Albania wants to break away and live outside the socialist camp, outside 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 Labour of Albania have placed it there with their blood and sweat, their work and sacrifices, with the system of government which they have established, and with the Marxist-Leninist line they pursue. But let no one even think that because Albania is a small country, because the Party of Labour of Albania is a small party, it should do what someone else says when it is convinced that this someone is mistaken.

As I said earlier, the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that our socialist camp, which has one common aim and which is guided by Marxism-Leninism, should also have its own strategy and tactics, and these should be worked out

jointly 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 it is right to say 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 the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.<sup>3</sup> 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 further development and strengthening of the economies of the socialist countries has always been and is 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.

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 proper norms, we have made and continue to make every effort to give the countries which are our friends and brothers some little help through our exports.

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**3** Set up in January 1949. At the end of February of the same year the PR of Albania became one of its members. From an institution for reciprocal aid, with the coming to power of the Khrushchev revisionist clique in the Soviet Union the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (Comecon) degenerated, too, becoming an instrument for the achievement of the socialimperialist aims of this clique.

We have been aided by our friends, first and foremost, by the Soviet Union...

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have utilized this aid of the Soviet Union and the other countries of people's democracy as well as they could to the best advantage of our people. They are for ever grateful to the Soviet peoples and those of people's democracies for it. We have always considered and will continue to consider this aid not charity but fraternal, internationalist aid.

Our people, who have been in dire poverty, who have fought with heroism, who have been massacred and burnt out, had a duty to seek the aid of their friends and brothers who are 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 anyone may hold about the nature and purpose of this aid. Economic pressure on the Party of Labour 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 countries for the economically weaker ones, such as ours, should be greater. The Albanian people have no intention of folding their arms and opening their mouths to be fed by others. That is not their custom. 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 strong countries of the socialist camp should also accord credits to neutral capitalist countries and to peoples recently liberated from colonialism, provided the leaderships 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 greater and more urgent need of them. Egypt needs irrigation schemes and electric power, but socialist Albania has greater and more urgent need of them.

On many political issues of first-rate importance our socialist camp has held, and continues to hold, identical views. But since collective consultations have not been held regularly, 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), which very often affect other states of the socialist camp as well. Some of these initiatives are incorrect, especially when they are not 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, too. From our point of view, this initiative was wrong, 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,<sup>4</sup> but not with the Bulgarian proposal, which wants the Balkan countries to disarm while leaving Italy unaffected. Or have the Bulgarian comrades forgotten that bourgeois and fascist Italy has attacked Albania a number of times during this century?

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<sup>4</sup> Through this proposal and the notes the Soviet Government addressed to the governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, Britain and the USA, on May 25, 1959, it proposed the creation of a zone free of nuclear weapons and missiles in the Balkans and the Adriatic region.

Besides, can it be permitted that, on another occasion, without any consultation at all with the Albanian Government, with which they are bound by a defence treaty, the Bulgarian comrades should 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 is making territorial claims against our country? It seems to us that it 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 also been made by the Polish comrades at the United Nations, when Comrade Gomulka stated in a unilateral way at the General Assembly of the United Nations that Poland proposes that the existing «status quo on the stationing of military forces in the world should be preserved and, concretely, that no more military bases should be created but 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 members, 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, or any other country of the socialist camp, except the Soviet Union, not to install missiles, 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 it has the bomb and missiles, then we shall see in what terms US imperialism will speak, we shall see whether they will continue to deny China its rights in the international arena, we shall see whether the US imperialists will dare brandish their weapons as they are doing at present.

Someone may pose the question: Will China win its rights, despite opposition by the United States of America, by possessing and dropping the bomb? No, China will never use the bomb unless we 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 have been talking to it in a different tone. We will never attack with the bomb, we are opposed to war, we are ready to destroy the bomb, but we must keep it to defend ourselves. «It is fear that guards the vineyard,» our people say. The imperialists should be afraid of us, and terribly afraid at that.

Based on Marxism-Leninism and on the Moscow Declaration and the Manifesto on Peace, the Party of Labour 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...

The major problems of the time have concerned both the Party of Labour of Albania and our small 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 anyone 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 manoeuvres against the socialist camp and our country in particular. Therefore we have never had and never will have illusions about their changing their nature and their intentions towards the peoples, towards our camp, and towards socialist Albania in particular...

The US and British imperialists have always 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 chopped off the heads of their agents who have conspired against the Party of Labour of Albania and our regime of people's democracy...

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 war-mongers and opposed to peaceful coexistence?

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 own aggressive intentions towards Albania.

Rankovich wants us to turn our borders into a road-house 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 cut-throats», so that Tito may realize his dream of turning Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia, so that the reactionary Italian bourgeoisie may put into action for the third time its 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 never will permit such a thing, we are accused of being «war-mongers». 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 still is to isolate us from the camp and from our friends, to accuse us of being «war-mongers and savage» because we do not open our borders for them to graze freely, to accuse us of being opposed to «coexistence». But the irony of fate is that there are comrades who believe this game of the revisionists and these slanders against the Party of Labour 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 token to be bartered. 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 Americans for the sake of which we should recognize, as they demand, the old political, diplomatic and trading concessions King Zog's regime had granted them.

As a general conclusion, the Party of Labour of Albania is absolutely convinced that our great cause, the cause of socialism and peace, will triumph. Through determined action, the combined forces of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the international communist and workers' movement, and all the peace-loving peoples have the possibility of compelling the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence, of averting a world war. But at the same time we will intensify our revolutionary vigilance more and more so that the enemies can never take us by surprise. We are convinced that victory will be ours

in this noble struggle for world peace and socialism. The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, just as heretofore, will spare nothing to assist the triumph of our common cause with all their might. As always, we shall march forward in steel-like unity with the whole socialist camp, with the Soviet Union, and with the whole 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 emphasized both in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and in the draft-statement prepared for our present meeting. The 1957 Declaration stresses 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 interest of the further unity of the family of socialist states, in the interest of the international workers' movement, in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism.»<sup>5</sup>*

It must be said that, especially in recent times, in the

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<sup>5</sup> «Declaration of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries», Tirana 1958, p. 24 (Alb. ed.).

international communist movement and in the relations among certain parties, profound ideological and political disagreements have arisen, the deepening of which can bring nothing but damage to our great cause. Therefore the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that in order to go forward 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 dwell here on the question of the Bucharest Meeting at which our Party, as you know, refrained from expressing its opinion concerning the differences which have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but reserved since then the right to do so at this meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties. At that time the Party of Labour of Albania was accused by the Soviet comrades and by some comrades of 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 both the Soviet information material, as well as that of the Communist Party of China, let them reflect on it themselves. We have read and studied both the Soviet and the Chinese materials, we have discussed them carefully with the Party activists, and come to this meeting with the unanimous view of our whole Party.

As we all know, on June 24 this year, on the occasion of the 3rd Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, the

Bucharest Meeting was organized unexpectedly and without any previous warning, at least as far as our Party was concerned, on the initiative of the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Instead of «exchanging opinions» and setting the date for this meeting we are holding today according to the agreement reached through the letters of June 2 and 7, it took up another topic, namely, the ideological and political accusation directed against the Communist Party of China, on the basis of the «Soviet information» material. On the basis of this material, entirely unknown up to a few hours before the meeting, the delegates of the fraternal communist and workers' parties were supposed to pronounce themselves in favour 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, 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 fraternal 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 for the accused party to submit its views in advance 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 Communist Party of China passed over quickly and to have the Communist Party of China condemned at all costs.

This was the concern of Comrade Khrushchev and other Soviet comrades in Bucharest, and not at all the international political issues worrying our camp and the world as a whole after the failure of the summit conference in Paris.

Our Party would have been in full agreement with an

international meeting of communist and workers' parties, with whatever other meeting and whatever agenda that might be set. provided that these meetings 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 materials and allowed enough time to study these materials so that they could prepare themselves and receive the approval of the political bureaus of their parties and, if necessary, of the plenums of their central committees, regarding the decisions that might eventually be taken at these meetings. The meetings should be conducted according to the Leninist norms governing 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 Meeting did not comply with these norms; therefore, although it took part in it, our Party denounced and denounces that meeting as out-of-order and in violation of the Leninist norms.

We think that the Bucharest Meeting 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 that meeting, who conceived those forms, and who applied those non-Marxist norms in this matter.

The aim was to have the Communist Party of China condemned by the international communist movement for faults and mistakes which do not exist and are baseless. The

Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is fully convinced of this on the basis of its study of the facts and the Soviet and Chinese materials, which the Party of Labour of Albania now has at its disposal, on the basis of a detailed analysis which the Party of Labour of Albania has made of the international situation and of the official stands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

The whole Party of Labour of Albania holds the unanimous view that the Soviet comrades made a grave mistake in Bucharest. They unjustly condemned the Communist Party of China for having allegedly deviated from Marxism-Leninism, for having allegedly violated and abandoned the 1957 Moscow Declaration. They have accused the Communist Party of China of being «dogmatic», «sectarian», of being «in favour of war», of being «opposed to peaceful coexistence», 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 Communist Party of China 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 Labour of Albania that the Soviet comrades, resorting to groundless arguments and pressure, wished to lead the delegation of the Party of Labour 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 Andropov said as much to Comrade Hysni Kapo) was «whether we would line up with the 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 many unjust and unfriendly gestures by the comrades of the Soviet leadership and the employees of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana after the Bucharest Meeting, to which I shall refer 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 Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

No warning was given to the Party of Labour 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 Workers' Party, accusations would be brought against the Communist Party of China for alleged grave mistakes of line. These charges came as a complete surprise to the Party of Labour of Albania. Yet now we hear that, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Workers' Party, and the Vietnam Workers' Party, the other parties of the camp were informed 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 did not lack vigilance, and this happened because it always observes the Leninist norms in the relations among parties, because it respects the principles of equality among parties, an equality which the other parties should respect towards the Party of Labour of Albania, regardless of its being small in numbers.

Right from the beginning, our Party saw that all 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 still considers the only correct one to maintain towards the events as they developed.

Some leaders of fraternal parties dubbed us «neutralists», some others reproached us with «departing from the correct Marxist-Leninist line», and these leaders went so far as to try to discredit our Party before their own parties. We scornfully reject all these things because they are slanders, they are dishonest, and they are incompatible with communist morality.

We pose these questions to those who undertook such despicable acts against the Party of Labour of Albania: Has a party the right to express its opinions freely on matters and how it sees them? What opinion did the Party of Labour 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 Labour of Albania; we expressed our loyalty to the decisions of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and Manifesto on Peace, and this is corroborated by the line consistently pursued by the Party of Labour of Albania; we expressed our loyalty to and defended the unity of the socialist camp, and this is corroborated by the whole struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania; we expressed our affection for and loyalty to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet peoples, and this is corroborated by the whole life of the Party of Labour of Albania. We did not agree to pass judgement on the «mistakes» of the Communist Party of China and, even less, «to condemn» the Communist Party of China without taking into account the views of the Communist Party of China on the charges raised against it in such a distorted, hasty and anti-Marxist way. We counselled caution, cool-headedness and a comradely spirit in treating this matter so vital to and exceptionally serious for international communism. This was the whole «crime» for which

stones were thrown at us. But we think that the stones which were picked up to strike us fell back on the heads of those who threw them. The passage of time is confirming the correctness of the stand maintained by the Party of Labour of Albania.

Why were Comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades in such a great hurry to accuse the Communist Party of China groundlessly and without facts? Is it permissible for communists, and especially for the principal leaders of so great 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 Labour of Albania also has the full right to express its opinion on the matter.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that the Bucharest Meeting was not only a great mistake but also a mistake that was deliberately aggravated. In no way should the Bucharest Meeting be left in oblivion; rather, it should be severely condemned as a black stain on 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 Communist Party of China. These should have been settled in due time and in a Marxist-Leninist way between the two parties concerned.

According to the Chinese document, the Communist Party of China says that these differences of principle were raised by the Chinese 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 Labour 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.

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 differences settled? Were the matters raised so trivial — for example, the condemnation of J.V. Stalin, the major question of the Hungarian counter-revolution, that of the ways of taking power, not to speak of many 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 all interested in them, because all our parties are responsible to their peoples, but they are also responsible to international communism as well.

In order to condemn the Communist Party of China, Comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders were very concerned to present the case as if the differences existed between China and the whole international communist movement, but when it came to problems like those I just mentioned, judgement on them has been passed by Comrade Khrushchev and the comrades around him 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 problems of an international character.

The Hungarian counter-revolution occurred, but matters were hushed up. Why this tactic 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 opposed in line to 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 sent a letter to our Party in which it proposed that, «with a view to preventing the spark of differences from flaring up», the representatives of our two parties should meet so that our Party would align itself with the Soviet Union against the Communist Party of China, and that our two parties should present a united front at this meeting. Of course, the Central Committee of our Party refused such a thing, and in its official reply described this as something quite un-Marxist, a factional act directed against a third fraternal party, against the Communist Party of China. Of course, this correct principled stand of our Party was not to the liking of the leadership 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 Labour of Albania that the matters, as they were raised against China in Bucharest, were tendentious and aimed at condemning the Communist Party of China and isolating it from the whole international communist movement.

For the Party of Labour of Albania this was 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 organized against a great fraternal party like the Communist Party of China, that under the guise of an accusation of dogmatism against China, an attack was being launched against Marxism-Leninism.

At the meeting the Communist Party of China was ac-

cused of many faults. This should have figured in the communique. Why was it not done? If the accusations were well founded, why all this hesitation and why issue a communique which did not correspond to the purpose for which the meeting was called? Why was there no reference in it to the «great danger of dogmatism» allegedly threatening international communism?

No, comrades, the Bucharest Meeting cannot be defended. It was not based on principle. It was a biased one to achieve certain objectives, of which the main one, in the opinion of the Party of Labour of Albania, was, by accusing the Communist Party of China 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. Therefore they blatantly tried to take them by surprise. The Soviet comrades achieved half their aim and won the right to put forward the condemnation of China to these parties as the outcome of an «international conference of communism». In the communist and workers' parties, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania and certain other communist and workers' parties, the question was raised of the «grave errors of line committed by the Communist Party of China», the «unanimous» condemnation of China in Bucharest was reported in an effort to create the opinion in the parties and among the people in this direction. The Party of Labour of Albania also was condemned at some meetings of these parties.

After the Bucharest Meeting the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania decided, and decided rightly, to discuss in the Party only the communique, to tell the Party that there existed divergences of principle between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, which should be taken up

and settled at the coming meeting, due to be held in Moscow in November. And this is what was done.

But this stand of our Party did not please the leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and we were very soon made aware of this. Immediately following the Bucharest Meeting, an unexpected, unprincipled attack was launched, and 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, under the pretext that «the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania has betrayed the friendship with the Soviet Union», that «the line pursued by the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania is characterized by 'zig-zags'», that «Albania must decide to go either with the 200 million (with the Soviet Union), or with the 600 million (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 Labour of Albania those elements who, the Soviet leaders thought, stood in the way of their crooked and dishonest undertaking.

What came out of this divisive work was that Liri Belishova, ex-member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour 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 the Party.

The attempt of the Soviet comrades, in their letter to

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 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 Labour of Albania, which has forged and steeled this friendship tempered in blood, and not the various capitulators, splitters and deviationists, are the life-long friends of the Soviet peoples.

But attempts to arouse doubts about the correct stand of our Party in Bucharest were not confined just to Moscow. They were made, with even more fervour, in Tirana by the employees of the Soviet Embassy, headed by the Soviet ambassador to Tirana personally.

As I said before, prior to the Bucharest Meeting, one could not imagine closer, more sincere, more fraternal relations than those between us and the Soviet comrades. We kept nothing hidden from the Soviet comrades, neither party nor state secrets. This was the decision of the Central Committee of our Party. These relations reflected the Albanian people's great love for and loyalty to the Soviet peoples, sentiments which our Party had tempered in blood.

Over these sacred sentiments of the Party of Labour of Albania and our people certain sickly elements, with the Soviet ambassador at the head, trampled roughshod. 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 Labour of Albania, to split the Party, to create panic and confusion in its ranks, and to alienate the leadership from the Party. The Soviet ambassador to Tirana went so far as to attempt to incite the generals of our army to raise the People's Army of Albania against the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state. But the saw struck a nail because 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 very well how to draw the line between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and the splitters. And in fact they put these denigrators in their place.

Nevertheless, the employees of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, headed by the ambassador, through impermissible anti-Marxist methods, managed to make the chairman of the Auditing Commission of the Party of Labour of Albania, who 15 days earlier had expressed his solidarity with the line pursued by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania in Bucharest, fall in for their intrigues, go completely off the rails of Marxism-Leninism and come out in flagrant opposition to the line of the Party. It is clear that these despicable efforts of these Soviet comrades were aimed at splitting the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, at alienating it from the mass of the Party. And this as a punishment for the «crime» we had committed in Bucharest, by having the courage to express our views freely, as we saw fit.

The functionaries of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana went even further down this road. They turned to the Albanians who had studied in the Soviet Union with a view to inciting them against the Albanian leadership, thinking that they would be a contingent suitable to their crooked aims. But the Albanians, whether those who had completed their studies in the Soviet Union or those who are still in the course of their studies, know that such base methods as those used by the employees of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana are altogether alien to Marxism-Leninism. The Albanians are the sons and daughters of their own people and of their own Party. They are Marxist-Leninists and internationalists.

We could list many other examples, but so as not to take up much time at this important meeting, I will men-

tion only two other typical cases. The pressure on our Party continued, even during the days when the commission was meeting here in Moscow to edit the draft-statement which has been submitted to us, when the Soviet comrades said that we should look ahead and not back. During those days in Moscow, a 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 Labour 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, who tried to incite our People's Army against the leadership of our Party and state. But like the Soviet ambassador, Marshal Malinovsky, too, is making a grave mistake. No one can achieve this aim, and even less that of breaking up the friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union. The just struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against these subversive acts strengthens the sincere friendship of our people with the peoples 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 make such a decision.

In October of this year, Comrade Khrushchev declared solemnly to the Chinese comrades: «We shall 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 Labour of Albania committed for our country to be treated like Tito's Yugoslavia? Can it be said that we have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, as the Tito clique has done? Or did we break away from the socialist camp and hitch up with US imperialism, as Yugoslav revisionism 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 witness to this. This is borne out also by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, which, in its letter of August 13, 1960 to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, stresses: «The relations between the Party of Labour 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 never at any time been obscured by any misunderstanding or deviation. The positions of the Party of Labour of Albania and those 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 Communist Party of China 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 market-place), the unjust action of Comrade Khrushchev; our only «crime» is that we are a small Party of a small and poor people, which, according to Comrade Khrushchev, should merely applaud and approve, but express no opinion of their own. But this is neither Marxist nor

acceptable. Marxism-Leninism has granted us the right to have our say, and no one can take this from us, either by means of political and economic pressure, or by means of threats and the names they might call us. On this occasion we would like to ask Comrade Khrushchev, why he did not make such a statement to us instead of making it to a representative of a third party. Or does Comrade Khrushchev think that the Party of Labour of Albania has no views of its own, but has made common cause with the Communist Party of China in an unprincipled manner, and that 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 Labour 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 leadership has, in fact, passed from threats of 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 45 days and after repeated official requests, instead of 50,000 tons, the Soviet Government 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 will of the Soviet comrades.

During those difficult days we got wise to many things. Did the Soviet Union, which sells grain to the whole world, not have 50,000 tons of grain to supply to 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 told us, «Don't 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 Labour 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 comradely. Nor is it a friendly act not to accept our offer to pay with clearing for grain from the Soviet Union, and to oblige us to draw the limited gold reserve from our National Bank in order to buy maize for the people's bread from 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 Labour have reached their climax. Comrade Khrushchev, on November 6 you declared, «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, «the Party of Labour of Albania is our weak link.»

What are all these monstrous accusations, this behaving like a «dealer» towards our Party, our people, and a socialist country, which is allegedly lost and won as in a gamble? What appraisal is this of a fraternal party which, according to you, is allegedly the weak link in the inter-

national communist movement? For us it is clear, and we understand 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. There is nothing comradely, nothing communist in this. You liken us to the Yugoslav revisionists. But everybody knows how our Party has fought and continues to fight 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 a market commodity which can be gained by one or lost by another. There was a time when Albania was considered a commodity to be traded, 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 are repeating the same thing when you arrive at the conclusion that you have «lost» Albania, or that someone else has «won» it, or that Albania is no longer a socialist country, as it turns out from the letter you handed us on November 8, in which our country is not mentioned as a socialist country.

The fact that Albania is marching on the road of socialism and that it is a member of the socialist camp is not decided by you, Comrade Khrushchev. It does not depend on your wishes. The Albanian people, led by their Party of Labour, decided this through their struggle, and there is no force capable of turning them from this course.

As regards your claim that our Party of Labour 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 from the liberation of the country to this day, during which our Party and our small people have withstood all the storms, demonstrate the opposite. 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 kept and continues to keep aloft the banner of socialism behind the enemy lines. You, Comrade Khrushchev, raised your hand against our small people and their Party, but we are convinced that the Soviet peoples, who shed their blood for the freedom of our people too, and the great Party of Lenin will not be in agreement with this activity of yours. We have complete faith in Marxism-Leninism. We are certain that the fraternal parties which have sent their representatives to this meeting will examine and pass judgement on this issue with Marxist-Leninist justice.

Our Party has always called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a mother party, and has said this because it is the oldest party, the glorious party of the Bolsheviks, because of its universal experience, its great maturity. But our Party has never accepted and will never accept that some Soviet leader may impose on it his views, which it considers erroneous.

The Soviet leadership viewed this matter of principled importance utterly incorrectly, in an idealist and metaphysical way. It has become swell-headed over the colossal successes attained by the Soviet peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and is violating Marxist-Leninist principles; it considers itself infallible, considers every decision, every action, every word and gesture it makes to be infallible and irrevocable. Others may err. others may be condemned, while it is above such reproach. «Our decisions are sacred, they are inviolable», «we can make no concession to and no compromise with the Communist Party of

China,» the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union told our people. Then why did they call us together in Bucharest? Of course, to vote with our eyes shut for the views of the Soviet leadership. Is this Marxist? Is this normal?

Is it permissible for one party to engage in subversive acts within another country to cause a split, to overthrow the leadership of another party or another state? Never! The Soviet leaders accused Comrade Stalin of interfering in other parties, of imposing the views of the Bolshevik Party upon others. We can testify that at no time did Comrade Stalin do such a thing to us. He always behaved to the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania 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 diverted the ships loaded with grain destined for the Soviet peoples, who were also in a very bad way for food at that time, and sent the grain at once to the Albanian people, while the present Soviet leadership permitted itself these ugly deeds.

Is such economic pressure permissible? Is it permissible to threaten the Albanian people, as the Soviet leaders did after the Bucharest Meeting? In no way...

We know that the aid provided to our small people, who before the war suffered great all-round misery, who during the war suffered death and devastation but never yielded, and who, under the glorious leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, fought with great heroism and liberated themselves, is great internationalist aid.

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 too, when it refused to send a single ear of wheat to the Albanian people with clearing.

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<sup>6</sup> 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 on his part. 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 it will cost, for that is of no importance.» Comrade Dej added, «We have talked this over with Comrade Khrushchev, too, and we were 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 a party meeting, like this one here today. Why are we raising these matters? We do so proceeding 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 Marxist-Leninist relations and bonds among communist and workers' parties, among socialist states, rejecting any bad manifestations that have arisen up to now. We are optimists, and we have full conviction and unshaken faith that the Soviet and other comrades will un-

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<sup>6</sup> At that time First Secretary of the CC of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

derstand our criticisms in the proper way. They are severe, but frank and sincere, and are intended to strengthen our relations. Notwithstanding these unjust and harmful attitudes which are maintained toward us, but which we believe will be stopped in the future, our Party and our people will consolidate still further their unbounded love for and loyalty to the Soviet peoples, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to all the peoples and communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, always on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

To our Party, friendship means justice and mutual respect on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is what the 1957 Moscow Declaration says and what is stressed in the draft-statement that has been submitted to us. We declare in all earnestness that the Party of Labour 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 go through fire for their true friends. And these are not empty words of mine. 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 someone's beautiful eyes, or to please some individual.

Dear Comrades,

In the 1957 Moscow Declaration, as well as in the draft-statement submitted to us, it is pointed out that revisionism constitutes the main danger in the international communist and workers' movement today. 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. Life has fully corroborated that, disguised under pseudo-Marxist and pseudo-revolutionary slogans, modern revisionism has tried with every means to discredit our great doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, which it has dubbed as «outdated» and no longer responding to social development. Hiding behind the slogan of creative Marxism, of new conditions, the revisionists have striven, on the 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 hand, 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 Meeting it has been fully confirmed that the modern revisionists are nothing but splitters of the communist movement and 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 traitor clique of Tito and Co. At the time when the Moscow Declaration was approved, this hostile group, this agency of US imperialism, was 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 continues to be the source of many evils and much damage to our international communist and workers' movement. In the opinion of our Party, the reason for the failure to carry out the total exposure of the revisionist Tito group, for the raising of false «hopes» about an alleged «improvement» and positive «change» in this

group of traitors, is the influence of the trend to conciliation, the mistaken views, and the incorrect assessment of the dangerous Titoite group on the part of Comrade Khrushchev and certain other Soviet leaders.

It has been said that J.V. Stalin was mistaken in his assessment of the Yugoslav revisionists and in sharpening the attitude towards them. Our Party has never endorsed such a view, because time and experience have proved 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 Information Bureau, as a collective organ, was called together at that time, and after the Titoite group was exposed, a merciless struggle was waged against it. Time has proved over and over again that such a thing was necessary and correct.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always held the opinion and is convinced that the Tito group has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, is an agency of imperialism, a dangerous enemy of the socialist camp and of the entire international communist and workers' movement. Therefore a merciless struggle should be waged against it. On our part, we have waged and continue to wage this battle as internationalist communists, because we have felt and continue to feel on our own backs the burden of the hostile activity of the revisionist Tito clique against our Party and our country. But this stand of our Party has never been to the liking of Comrade Khrushchev and certain other comrades.

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

As far back as 1942, when there was a great upsurge in the Albanian people's war, the Belgrade Trotskyite group, disguising themselves as friends and abusing our trust

in them, tried their utmost 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, they sought to take direct political and military control of these detachments. They attempted to make everything dependent on Belgrade, and our Party and our partisan army mere appendages of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav National Liberation Army.

While preserving its friendship with the Yugoslav partisans, our Party successfully resisted these diabolical aims. It was at that time that the Titoite group tried to lay the foundations of the Balkan Federation placed under its own direction, to hitch the communist parties to the chariot of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, to place the partisan armies of the Balkan peoples under the Titoite Yugoslav staff. It was to this end that, in agreement with the British, at that time, 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 diabolical 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 successes of the Communist Party of Albania and to organize a putsch<sup>7</sup> to overthrow the leadership of our Party, the leadership which had organized the Party, guided the National Liberation War. and led the Albanian people to victory. The first putsch was organized by Tito through his secret agents

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<sup>7</sup> At the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA held in Berat in November 1944, the delegate of the CC of the CPY cooked up a behind-the-scenes plot against the CPA with the participation of the anti-party elements. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, as well as Sejfulla Malëshova and some other. The main objective of this conspiracy was to overthrow the leadership of the Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and replace it with a new leadership in the pay of the Yugoslavs.

within our Party. But the Communist Party of Albania smashed this plot of Tito's.

The Belgrade plotters did not lay down their arms, and together with their chief agent in our Party, the traitor Koçi Xoxe, continued the reorganization of their plot against new Albania in other new forms. Their intention was to turn Albania into the 7th 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 watch against the plots of reaction organized by the Anglo-American missions which were threatening new Albania with new invasions, when a large part of the Albanian partisan army had crossed the border of the Homeland and had gone to the aid of the Yugoslav brothers, fighting shoulder to shoulder with them and together liberating Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kosova and Macedonia, the Belgrade plotters were hatching 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 the game was up, that our Party was smashing their plots, they tried their last card, namely, to invade Albania with their armies, to overwhelm all resistance, to arrest the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state, and to proclaim Albania their 7th Republic. Our Party smashed this diabolic plan of theirs, too. The aid and intervention of J. V. Stalin at these moments were decisive for our Party and for the freedom of the Albanian people.

Precisely at this time the Information Bureau exposed the Tito clique. The Information Bureau brought about the defeat of the conspiracies of the Tito clique, not only in Albania but also in the other people's democracies. 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 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 these hostile schemes of imperialism and its loyal servant 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, without exception, in our opinion, were and still are correct.

Those who did not want to see and understand these acts of this gang had a second chance in the Hungarian counter-revolution and in the unceasing plots against Albania, to see that 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 still they are traitors and agents of imperialism. They are the murderers of the heroic Yugoslav internationalist communists; and this is what they will be and how they will act until they are wiped out.

The Party of Labour of Albania considers the decisions taken against the renegade Tito group by the Information Bureau not as decisions taken by Comrade Stalin personally, but as decisions taken by all the parties that took part in the Information Bureau. And not only by these parties which participated in the Information Bureau, but also by the communist and workers' parties which did not take part in it. Since this was a matter that concerned all the communist and workers' parties, it also concerned the Party of Labour of Albania, which, having received and studied a copy of the letter Stalin and Molotov had written to the Central Committee of the Communist Party

of Yugoslavia, 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 CPSU 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 in such a hasty and 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 all were wrong in regard to them, and not just Stalin. This thing could not be resolved by Comrade Khrushchev at his own discretion, and it is impermissible for him to try to do so. But in fact that is what he did, and he connected this change of attitude in the relations with the Yugoslav revisionists with his visit to Belgrade. This was a bomb-shell to the Party of Labour of Albania, which immediately opposed it categorically. Before Comrade Khrushchev set out for Belgrade in May 1955 the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union expressing 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 we asked that the Party of Labour 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 have been settled in this precipitate way.

The slogan of «accumulations» was launched, the 2nd

Resolution of the Information Bureau was speedily revoked, the «epoch of reconciliation» with the «Yugoslav comrades» began. The question of the conspirators was re-examined, and they were rehabilitated. There was talk of the «Yugoslav comrades» here and the «Yugoslav comrades» there, and the «Yugoslav comrades», who came off absolved of any guilt, strutted like fighting cocks, trumpeted abroad that their «just cause» had triumphed, that the «criminal Stalin» had trumped up all these things, and a situation was created in which whoever refused to take this course was dubbed a «Stalinist» who should be done away with.

Our Party refused to take such a conciliatory and opportunist course. It stood fast on the correct Marxist-Leninist ideological position, on the position of the ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. The Party of Labour of Albania remained unshaken in its views that the Titoite group were traitors, renegades, Trotskyites, subversionists, and agents of the Americans, that the Party of Labour of Albania had not been mistaken about them.

The Party of Labour of Albania remained unshaken in its view that Comrade Stalin had made no mistake in this matter, that, with their line of betrayal, the revisionists had attempted to enslave Albania, to destroy the Party of Labour of Albania, and by cooking up a number of international plots with the Anglo-American imperialists, they had tried to embroil Albania in international conflicts.

On the other hand, the Party of Labour of Albania was in favour of establishing good neighbourly state relations, trade and cultural relations with the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, provided that the norms of peaceful coexistence between states of different regimes were observed, because as far as the Party of Labour of Albania is concerned. Titoite Yugoslavia has not been, is not, and

never will be a socialist country as long as it is headed by a group of renegades and agents of imperialism.

No open or disguised attempt will make the Party of Labour of Albania waver 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 omit the question of Koçi Xoxe from the report that we would submit to our 3rd Congress in May 1956, which would have meant 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 Titoite traitor group continued their struggle against the Party of Labour 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 before 1948. These are all facts. But the tragedy is that, while the Party of Labour of Albania, on the one hand, was defending itself against the bitter and unceasing attacks by the Yugoslav revisionists, on the other hand, its unwavering, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand was in opposition to the conciliatory stand of the Soviet leaders and certain other communist and workers' parties towards the Yugoslav revisionists.

At that time it was loudly proclaimed and written that «Yugoslavia is a socialist country, and this is a fact», that «the Yugoslav communists have great experience and great merits», that the «Yugoslav experience is worthy of greatest interest and attentive study», that the «period of disputes and misunderstandings had not been caused by Yugoslavia», and that «great injustice had been done to it», and so on and so forth. This, of course, gave heart to the Tito clique, who thought they had won everything,

except that there still remained one «thorn in their flesh», which they intended to isolate and later liquidate. However, not only could our Party not be isolated, much less liquidated, but on the contrary, time proved that the views of our Party were correct.

A great deal of 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 Party and our country during and after the war and after 1948, but I shall also dwell a little on the events prior to the Hungarian counter-revolution, which is the work of Yugoslav agents. The Belgrade traitor 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 was 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 remained extremely vigilant, 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 asking him to intervene against the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. These are documented facts. Tito's aim was that the counter-revolution in Albania should be co-ordinated 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 and Stalinist» Albanian leadership, and organized a plot which was discovered and crushed at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana in April 1956. The plotters received the stern punishment they deserved.

Tito's other dangerous agents in Albania, Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega, received orders from Tito to flee to Yugoslavia, because «they were in danger» and because activities against our Party «had 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 trial 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 defence 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 did not happen 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, rejected all these insinuations made by Comrade Khrushchev.

But Comrade Khrushchev's incorrect, unprincipled and unfriendly stand towards our Party and its leadership did not stop there. The other Yugoslav agent and traitor to the Party of Labour of Albania and to the Albanian people, Panajot Plaku, fled to Yugoslavia and placed himself in the service of the Yugoslavs. He organized hostile broadcasts from the so-called «Socialist Albania» radio station. This traitor wrote to the renegade Tito and to 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 this traitor's letter, Comrade Khrushchev expressed the opinion that Panajot Plaku could return to Albania on condition that we did 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 to Comrade Khrushchev was reached when, faced with our principled insistence on the exposure of the Belgrade Titoite agency, he was so enraged that, during the official talks between our two delegations in April 1957, he said to us angrily, «We are breaking off the talks. We cannot come to terms with you. You are seeking to lead us back to the road of Stalin!»

We were revolted at such an unfriendly stand by Comrade Khrushchev, who wanted to break off the talks, which would mean an aggravation of relations with the Albanian Party and state over the question of the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, the Tito group. We could never have agreed on this matter, but we, who are accused of being hot-blooded, kept cool, 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, in the first place, the US 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 subversive activity. The counter-revolution in Hungary did not break out unexpectedly. It was prepared, we may say, quite openly, and it would be futile for anyone to try to convince us that this counter-revolution was prepared in the greatest 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, to be linked with the NATO alliance through Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, to receive aid from America and, together with Yugoslavia and under the direction of imperialism, 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 was possible for Tito and the Horthyite bands to have worked 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 these questions 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 «Petofi Club», I went to Moscow and, in conversation with Comrade Suslov, told him what I had seen on my way through Budapest. I told him, too, that

the revisionist Imre Nagy was raising his head and was organizing the counter-revolution at the «Petofi 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 we pose the legitimate question: Why did Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades go many times to Brioni to talk with the renegade Tito about the question of Hungary? If the Soviet comrades knew that the Titoites were preparing the 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 the socialist countries?

Is it right that, as a communist party, as a state of people's democracy, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp, we should ask Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades to tell us 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?

Whether or not to intervene with arms in Hungary, is, we think, not within the competence of one person alone; since 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 our camp blood, it cost Hungary and the Soviet Union blood.

Why was this bloodshed permitted and no steps were taken to prevent it? We are of the opinion that no preliminary steps could be taken so long as Comrade Khrushchev placed his trust in the organizer of the Hungarian counter-revolution. the traitor Tito, and the Soviet comrades so seriously underestimated the absolutely necessary regular meet-

ings with their friends and allies, so long as they considered their unilateral decisions on matters that concerned us all as the only correct ones, and so long as they attached no importance whatsoever to collective work and decisions.

The Party of Labour of Albania is not at all clear about this matter, how things developed and how 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, about what is happening or about what measures they intend to take. But this is not a formal matter. The Soviet comrades know only too well what the Belgrade gang thought of Albania and what their aims were. This stand of the Soviet comrades is not only reprehensible but also truly incomprehensible.

Hungary was a great lesson for us in regard to what was done and in regard to the drama that was played on the stage and behind the scenes there. We believed that after the Hungarian counter-revolution the betrayal of Tito and his gang was more than clear. We know that many documents, that expose the barbarous activity of the Tito group in the Hungarian events, are kept locked away and are not brought to light. 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? After the death of Comrade Stalin, the most trifling items were searched out to condemn him, 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 towards the Titoites, they got out of this predicament, too.

The Party of Labour 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. Since it was impossible to attack our correct line, many friends and comrades, particularly the Soviet and Bulgarian comrades, derided us, had an ironical smile on their faces, and in 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 put out: «Don't speak any more of Tito and his group, 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 about the Titoite renegades, for Tito makes use of what we say to mobilize the Yugoslav people against our camp», etc. Many parties adopted these slogans, but not our Party, and we think we acted correctly.

Such a situation was created that the press of friendly countries accepted articles from Albanians only provided they made no mention of the Yugoslav revisionists. Everywhere in the countries of people's democracy in Europe, except in Czechoslovakia, where in general, the

Czechoslovak comrades assessed our activities correctly<sup>8</sup>, our ambassadors were isolated in a roundabout way, because the diplomats of friendly countries preferred to converse with the Titoite diplomats, while they hated our diplomats and did not even want to set eyes on them.

And matters 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 such a statement was intended to show quite openly that he disagreed with the Party of Labour of Albania on this issue.

We respected the wishes of our 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 mouth of the Albanians. This, in fact, corresponded to reality, but Comrade Khrushchev was very far from convincing us on this matter, and the Titoites learned that quite clearly, because after our guest's departure from our country, the Party of Labour of Albania no longer felt bound by the conditions put upon us by our guest and continued on its own Marxist-Leninist course.

In his talks with Vukmanovich-Tempo,<sup>9</sup> among other things, 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 Alban-

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<sup>8</sup> This stand was maintained only in the beginning.

<sup>9</sup> One of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders who as early as 1943 interfered in the internal affairs of the CC of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) and brought despicable accusations against it.

ians. We consider that Comrade Khrushchev's statement to Vukmanovich-Tempo, to this enemy of Marxism, the socialist camp and Albania, is wrong 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 toward the revisionists. Our people say that when facing the enemy you raise your voice, when facing your loved one you speak in honeyed tones.

Some comrades have the mistaken idea that we maintain this attitude toward the Titoites because we allegedly want to be the standard-bearers 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 on a «chauvinist course,» at least on that of «narrow nationalism». The Party of Labour of Albania has always viewed the question of Yugoslav revisionism through the prism of Marxism-Leninism, it has always viewed and fought 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 at the same time communists of a given country, of Albania. We Albanian communists would not be called communists if we failed to defend the freedom of our sacred country consistently and resolutely from the plots and diversionist attacks of the revisionist Tito clique, which are aimed at the invasion of Albania, a fact that is already known to everyone. Could we Albanian communists possibly permit our country to become the prey of Tito, of the Americans, 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 we 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, as Marxist-Leninists, not for one moment should we diminish the struggle against the revisionists and imperialists until we wipe them out. Because if the Soviet Union is to defend you, you must first defend yourself.

The Yugoslavs accuse us of «being chauvinists, interfering in their internal affairs, and 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 these friends, who think in this way, that they are grossly mistaken. We are not chauvinists, we have neither demanded nor demand rectification of borders. 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 population in Kosova, 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 Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Is this demand chauvinist or Marxist?

This is our attitude on these matters. But if the Titoites speak of coexistence, of peace, of good-neighbourly relations, and on the other hand, organize plots, raise an army of mercenaries and fascists in Yugoslavia for the purpose of attacking our borders and chopping up our socialist Albania, together with the monarcho-fascist Greece, then you may be certain that not only the Albanian people in new Albania, but also the one million Albanians living under Titoite bondage, will rise, arms in hand, to stay the hand of the criminals. And this is Marxist, and if anything happens, this is what will be done. The Party of Labour of Albania does not permit anyone to trifle or 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 the Yugoslav revisionists, things go so far that in a friendly country like Bulgaria a map of the Balkans is printed in which Albania is included within the boundaries of Federal Yugoslavia, we cannot remain silent. We are told that this happened due to a technical error of an employee, but why had this not happened before?

This is not an isolated case. At a meeting in Srem-ska Mitrovitsa, the bandit Rankovich attacked Albania as usual, calling it «a hell where barbed wire and the boots of the frontier guards reign supreme,» and saying that the democracy of the Italian neo-fascists was more advanced than ours.

Rankovich's words would be of no significance to us except that the Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors to Belgrade, who attended this meeting, listened to these words with the greatest serenity, without making the slightest protest. We protested about this in a comradely way 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 Labour of Albania, Todor Zhivkov dared to reject our protest and called 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 each other

We can never, never agree with Comrade Khrushchev, and we protested to him at that time about 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. There will be bloodshed if anyone touches the borders of Albania. Comrade Khrushchev was gravely mistaken when he told Venizelos that he had seen Greeks and Albanians working together as brothers in Korça. In Korça, there is no Greek minority whatsoever, but for centuries the Greeks have coveted the Korça district, as they do 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 schools, in addition to all the rights that all the other Albanian citizens enjoy.

The claims of the Greeks, among them, those of Sophocles Venizelos — the son of Eleutherios Venizelos who murdered Albanians and put whole districts of Southern Albania to the torch, the most rabid Greek chauvinist and father of the Idea of Greater Greece for the partitioning of Albania and annexation of it under the slogan of autonomy, are very well known. Comrade Khrushchev is well aware of the attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian Government and people on this question. Then, to fail to give Sophocles Venizelos the answer he deserves, to leave hopes and illusions, and to say that you will transmit to the Albanian comrades the desires of a British agent, a chauvinist, an enemy of communism and Albania — 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 you must refrain from politicizing at the expense of our borders 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 out of place, 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 platitudes and quotations, to have submitted a report in general terms in order to please you and pass my turn. But to the Party of Labour 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 followed 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 Meeting was organized and how quickly the Communist Party of China was condemned for «dogmatism»! But why has a conference to condemn revisionism not been organized with 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 main danger. Yugoslav revisionism has not been liquidated, and the way it is being dealt with 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 analyse 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 very optimistic, and he expressed this at the meeting of the Commission in October, when he accused the head of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Hysni Kapo, of pessimism in his view of events. We Albanian communists have not been pessimistic even at the blackest moments of the history of our Party and people, and never shall be, but we shall 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 Labour 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 a manifestation alien to and dangerous for the parties and for the communist movement itself. Marxist parties not only should not permit the development of the cult of the individual, which hampers the activity of the masses, negates their role, is contrary to the development of the life of the party itself and 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 of 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 do not belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet peoples alone, but to all of us. Just as comrade Khrushchev said in Bucharest that the differences are not between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but between the Communist Party of China 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 of the world, in the same way he should also be just and consistent in passing judgement on Stalin's work so that the communist and workers' parties of the world could adopt it in all conscience.

There cannot be two yardsticks, nor two measures of weight on these matters. 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, sprung without warning on the communist and workers' parties of the world, and why did many fraternal parties learn of it only when the imperialist press blazoned 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, such a matter was dropped on them all at once?

The Party of Labour 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 used. Our Party adopted, in general, the formulations of the 20th Congress on this matter, but nevertheless, it did not stick to the limitations set by this congress, nor did it

yield to the blackmail and intimidation from outside our country.

The Party of Labour of Albania maintained a realistic stand on the question of Stalin. It was just and grateful towards this glorious Marxist, whom, no one among us was «brave enough» to come out and criticize while he was alive, but against whom a great deal of mud was thrown when he was dead, thus creating an intolerable situation which negated the leading role of J.V. Stalin in 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 which successfully built socialism, which fought with legendary heroism and defeated fascism in the Second World War, when the powerful socialist camp was set up, and so on and so forth.

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that it is not correct, normal or Marxist to blot out Stalin's name and great work from all this epoch, as is being done at the present time. 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, who helped 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, the great Lenin, and to 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.

Viewed from this angle alone, Stalin belongs to the entire communist world and not only to the Soviet communists, he belongs to all the workers of the world and not just to the Soviet working people.

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. However, in the opinion of the Party of Labour of Albania, even from this aspect, they viewed it in a one-sided way, seeing only his mistakes, almost completely overlooking 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, its industry, its collective agriculture, and the leadership of the Soviet people in their great victory over German fascism.

Did Stalin make mistakes? In so long a period filled with heroism, trials, struggle, triumphs, not only Joseph Stalin personally, but also the leadership as a collective body, could not help making mistakes. Which is the party and who is the leader that can claim to have made no mistakes in their work? When the existing Soviet leadership is criticized, the comrades of the Soviet leadership advise us to look ahead and tell us to avoid polemics. But when it came to Stalin, they not only did not look ahead, but they turned right around, 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, have been overcome. But can it be said, as has been claimed, that Stalin himself was the sponsor of this cult of the individual? The cult of the individual should have been over-

come without fail, but was it necessary and was it right to go to such lengths as to point the finger immediately at anyone who mentioned Stalin's name, to look askance at anyone who used a quotation from Stalin? With speed and zeal, certain persons smashed the statues of Stalin and changed the names of cities that had been named after him. But why should we go any further? At Bucharest, turning to the Chinese comrades, Comrade Khrushchev said, «You are clinging to a dead horse.» «Come and get his bones, if you wish.» These references were to Stalin.

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

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

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

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, upheavals occurred in many communist and workers' parties of the world, and finally this, which is going on now.

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

A matter of this kind should be of extraordinary concern to us, and we should look for the source of the malady and cure it. But certainly this sickness cannot be cured by patting the renegade Tito on the back, nor by putting in the statement that modern revisionism has been completely defeated, as the Soviet comrades claim.

The authority of Leninism has been and is decisive. It should be established in such a way as to clean up erroneous views everywhere, and in a radical way. There is no other way out for us communists. If there are things that can and must be said outright, just as they are, this should be done now, at this meeting, before it is too late. Communists, we think, should sleep with a clear conscience. They should strive to consolidate their Marxist unity, but without holding back their reservations, without nurturing feelings of favoritism and malice. A communist must say openly what he feels in his heart, and the issues must be judged correctly.

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

I wish to emphasize that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have shown in practice how much they love, how much they respect the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that when the Party of Labour of Albania criticizes the

wrong-doings of certain Soviet leaders, that does not mean that our views and our attitude have changed. We Albanians have the Marxist courage to criticize these comrades with Marxist severity, we tell them everything in a comradely way, we open our hearts and tell them frankly what we think. Hypocrites we have never been, nor will we ever be.

In spite of the severity we show, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will still love us, in spite of the fact that we also may make mistakes, but the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the communist and workers' parties of the world will not condemn us for our sincerity, because we do not talk behind their backs or swear 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 acquainted itself with this draft and scrutinized it carefully. In the new draft-statement presented to us many amendments have been made to the first variant submitted by the Soviet delegation, which was taken as a basis for the work of the Editorial 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 Communist Party of China have been deleted.

At the meeting of the Editorial Commission, the delegation of our Party offered many suggestions, some of which were adopted. Although our delegation was not in agreement that certain important matters of principle should remain in the draft, it agreed that this document should be submitted to this meeting, reserving its right to express its views once again on all the issues on which it disagreed. Above all, we think that those five issues which remain

unco-ordinated 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 major imperialist countries. At the same time, that paragraph which refers to factionist or group activity in the international communist movement should be deleted, because, as we pointed out at the meeting of the Commission, too, this does not help consolidate unity, but on the contrary, undermines it. We are also in favour of deleting the words referring to overcoming 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 reality.

I do not want to take up the time of this meeting on these questions and on other suggestions which we have on the draft-statement. Our delegation will make our concrete remarks when the draft-statement itself is under discussion.

We shall do well, and it will be salutary, if we have the courage at this conference to look squarely at the mistakes and treat their harmful consequences, wherever they may be, consequences which are threatening to become aggravated and dangerous. We do not consider it an offense when comrades criticize us justly and with facts, but we shall never accept that, without any facts, they 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 dogmatism or sectarian-

ism we say to him, «Take off your revisionist spectacles, and you will see more clearly.»

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that this meeting will remain an historic one, for it is a meeting in the tradition of the Leninist meetings and conferences which the Bolshevik Party has organized in order to expose distorted views and root them right out, in order to strengthen and steel the unity of our international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour will continue in the future, too, to strive with determination to steel 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 PRINCIPLED AND CONSISTENT STRUGGLE  
AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND REVISIONISM  
HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE RAOD  
OF OUR PARTY**

*Closing speech at the 21st Plenum of the CC of the PLA<sup>1</sup>*

**December 20, 1960**

I shall try to be brief, since the contributions of the comrades of the Plenum to this great problem, so decisive for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the line of our Party, were at the proper level and supplemented the report submitted to the Plenum on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee very well.

First of all I want to emphasize that what we did in Moscow, where we put forward the line of our Party, is not a personal merit of mine or of our delegation only, but it is the merit of our entire Party, and in particular, of its leadership, the Central Committee, which has always led the Party correctly, has always analysed the situations in the light of Marxism-Leninism, has always remained loyal to our glorious theory, has carried out to the letter all the correct decisions that have been adopted and, likewise, has

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**1** At this Plenum Comrade Enver Hoxha submitted the report «On the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties Held in November 1960 in Moscow». The Plenum fully and unanimously endorsed the activity of the delegation of the CC of the PLA at that meeting.

known how to transmit these decisions properly to the Party and to arm it powerfully. For these reasons the whole general line of our Party has achieved great successes. Hence, we should be clear that the credit for this belongs to the Central Committee and our entire heroic Party.

The revisionists may think and say that, if our Party were to learn about the stand our delegation maintained at the international meeting in Moscow, it would not tolerate its Central Committee. But none of us has the slightest doubt about the steel-like unity existing in our leadership, the steel-like unity of our Party around the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. This constitutes the great strength of our Party, and this unity has made it possible for our Party to contribute to the defence of Marxism-Leninism at an international level, too. In this regard, of course, we have done nothing but our duty as a Marxist party, as internationalists. With this correct concept of its duty, which is characteristic of our Party, we are firmly convinced that all of us, in solid unity, will exert all our strength to apply Marxism-Leninism precisely, through to the end, unwaveringly and in all circumstances.

As the comrades said, we are confronted with a great and difficult struggle. We all are aware of the struggle which awaits us, but we are not afraid. We do not say this out of the desire to give one another courage; the whole life of our Party has demonstrated this, the recent events, especially, have proved this. In its principled, consistent stand, defending its correct line, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, our Party took no heed of either the current difficulties or those of the future. Thus, difficulties and the struggle do not frighten us. This is a Marxist characteristic. We have not been nor will we ever be pessimistic about the future. On the contrary, we will be optimistic, for we are convinced that Marxism will always triumph over opportunism and revisionism, as well as over imperialism.

But why is this struggle difficult? Because, when we say that we are confronted with modern revisionism, we mean not only that we are confronted with Yugoslav revisionism, which the Moscow Declaration describes as the essence of modern revisionism, but that we are facing even more dangerous revisionists. For the sake of appearances, everyone, even the other revisionists, even Khrushchev and company who are such themselves, admitted this. They did this to camouflage themselves, choosing the lesser of two evils. Otherwise, it would have looked a bit fishy and what they sought to conceal would have been exposed. They have put up a fight and will continue to do so in the future, too, resorting to all sorts of tricks to camouflage themselves.

These people proposed that nothing should be said about Yugoslav revisionism in the Declaration, and only after a prolonged struggle did they agree to the inclusion of this issue. But revisionism is not concentrated in Yugoslavia alone. It is a dangerous trend in the whole international communist movement. It has become dangerous especially because of the efforts of the opportunists to tranquilize the people by spreading the idea that revisionism exists in Yugoslavia alone, hence, they fight to confine the struggle just to Yugoslavia. In this way international revisionism is causing great confusion and will continue to do so in the future, it will try to conceal this serious danger which is threatening the international communist movement, and will go on confusing and deceiving other people in the future. Faced with this danger, one of the Marxist-Leninist parties which must and will wage a stern and consistent struggle against revisionism, is our Party.

It is a fact that we are not alone in this struggle. When Khrushchev said to the representatives of the Communist Party of China that, «We shall treat Albania the same as Yugoslavia», or that, «The Albanians behave towards us

just like Tito», he was bluffing and could deceive nobody. Tito is not Khrushchev's enemy, but we are. But, since the Yugoslav revisionists have been condemned, against Khrushchev's will, by the international communist movement as traitors to and renegades from Marxism-Leninism, then Khrushchev and Co., while not defending them directly, strive to smear the positions of the genuine Marxists and to put the «dogmatists», in reality those who defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on a par with the revisionists, with whom, as Marxism teaches us, one fine day Khrushchev and those who follow him will reach complete agreement on the course they are pursuing. So Khrushchev says that we Albanians are not revisionists but «dogmatists», and that allegedly we fight the Soviets the same as the Titoites, that is to say, according to him, he and his cronies are allegedly Marxists, whereas we constitute the «left» wing of Marxism: «Therefore,» he says, «both Tito from the right and the Albanians from the left are fighting against us, the Marxists.»

But, it is not the revisionists who are the enemies of Khrushchev and his entire group. Life is demonstrating that only the Marxists are the enemies of this group. The Political Bureau emphasizes that, following his advent to power, Khrushchev and his revisionist group had worked out a complete plan: Marxism-Leninism would be negated and all those trends and persons that had been unmasked, attacked and defeated as anti-Marxists, or who had been liquidated by Marxism-Leninism in action, were to be rehabilitated; the entire struggle of the Soviet Union and of the CPSU against renegades from Marxism-Leninism, a struggle which was personified in the CPSU(B) led by Lenin and Stalin, was to be negated.

This meant that both Lenin and Stalin had to be attacked. But to attack Lenin was impossible for them; it would have been a great catastrophe for the revision-

ists, therefore they confined themselves to Stalin and they dragged out a thousand and one things against him. Today it has become even clearer that these intriguers, liars, opportunists and revisionists are doing all these things openly, devising all these villainies in the international communist movement, organizing disgraceful behind-the-scenes plots within the fraternal parties.

Seeing all these despicable methods which the revisionists use, our Party is fully convinced that such monstrous accusations and slanders were brought against Stalin to discredit both him as a person, and the work of this great Marxist-Leninist. The revisionist, career-seeking, non-Marxist elements in the Soviet Union have accepted these concoctions. They have accepted the theses of Khrushchev and his group concerning «Stalin's mistakes», and so on.

The Political Bureau emphasizes that the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev tried to rehabilitate the Tito clique, and this is a fact. We should not be taken in by the variations and zigzags. For he has not been able to avoid them since he was not in a position to change the situation in a single day; there were sound Marxist-Leninist forces in the party who did not allow him to follow his course at the speed he would have desired, so that he and his group could carry out their plans immediately. But it is a fact that he has made every effort to completely rehabilitate all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism condemned up till then in the Soviet Union. He dug up accusations against Stalin, such as whether or not Kamenyev and Zinoviev, who had betrayed Lenin, should have been executed. Whether or not it was Stalin who shot these traitors, they were shot for the treason they had committed against the Soviet Union and communism. Now Khrushchev is dragging out all these things and striving to rehabilitate such people. Therefore, in order to rehabilitate the Yugoslav revisionists, too, he had to fabricate all sorts of lies against Stalin.

We should have no illusions at all that the line of Khrushchev and his group will change. This line will not change in the least in regard to international policy and its defence of revisionism. Khrushchev and his group are on a revisionist course. This stand of his has had and will have grave repercussions in the international arena.

But will Khrushchev and his group succeed in their plans? We are fully convinced that they will not be successful. Nevertheless we shall encounter many difficulties on our course. We must keep his policy in mind and deal with it very carefully, since he is no ordinary revisionist, but a wily devil and a skilful acrobat to boot. If we carefully analyse his activity since he came to power, we shall see that he has captured key positions everywhere, has used all sorts of methods to disguise himself, and is continuing to do his dangerous work. In the beginning, through his jugglings, he managed to create a situation which prevented the emergence of any opposition, he took up a few slogans about international political life and the development of the economy, and blazoned them far and wide with enough clamour to confuse people for a moment.

He followed this tactic in the Soviet Union as well, by preaching a sort of change, right down to the way people live. He trumpeted that, in Stalin's time, the life of the working people in the Soviet Union was hell, whereas now Khrushchev has become the «promoter of a new life, democratic and rich from the economic aspect». Then he also raised the question of peace in the world, which he was going to «impose» on the imperialists, etc.

This policy was loudly propagated right from the start of his career, when his instructions had not yet yielded their fruit. Words there were a plenty, but nothing came of them. All this was done in order to prepare the ground and create a favourable situation. Khrushchev continued to follow this road.

This course has had grave repercussions in international policy. It has lulled people to sleep in the face of the imperialist danger, the revisionist danger, and all the other opportunist trends menacing international communism.

With his views and his opportunist and revisionist policy, Khrushchev has aroused and activated all the revisionist elements, therefore he has become very dangerous. The revisionists who existed in the past in other countries did not make their presence felt, not because they were terrified of Stalin, not because he would have them shot, for in Bulgaria, Albania and elsewhere, even if Stalin had wanted to, or had really been as Khrushchev is presenting him now, they were out of his reach; they did not make their presence felt because at that time, in all the parties there was a correct Marxist-Leninist line, which did not allow revisionism to become active.

Yugoslav revisionism was exposed and condemned by the CPSU and by Stalin. This line was embraced by all the other parties. When Khrushchev and company came to power, all the revisionists saw that in them they had a powerful support, because these people were at the head of the Soviet Union. Therefore now it can be seen that during this period within many Marxist-Leninist parties which have had a consistent stand, people of opportunist-revisionist trends have raised their heads and even managed to have themselves elected to the leadership of some parties.

For a while Khrushchev thought that he would push through his line without resistance, therefore he was reckless in the propagation of his views, both in the internal economic and organizational measures which were taken in the Soviet Union and in its international policy. Thus, in pursuing his opportunist and revisionist line, he would say whatever came into his head and made repeated concessions to imperialism. In words, you may threaten the imperialists as much as you like, but they are no fools, they make their

calculations well, judge others not only by their declarations and tactics, but also by their means and forces. The imperialists also have the assistance of the revisionists who know the concrete reality in our countries.

It is a fact that ever since Nikita Khrushchev and his group came to power, imperialism has made no concessions at all. On the contrary, it has armed itself even more and is preparing for war. We are absolutely right when we say that the camp of socialism and the forces of peace are much more powerful than those of imperialism. But these forces can be weakened if we slacken our vigilance, if we do not defend Marxism-Leninism resolutely, if we do not put a stop to these actions of the revisionists and do not ceaselessly expose imperialism and revisionism, if we do not educate the people politically and do not arm them so that they are always ready to cope with any possible danger.

It is clear that the methods used by Nikita Khrushchev and those who assist him result in reduced vigilance towards this danger. Therefore, as the report of the Political Bureau points out, the time came when we could wait no longer, we could go no further by these methods. When the Soviet leaders say, «you started the fight», etc., they are telling lies, trying to cover their tracks. The main thing is that they began to follow an opportunist line, which has become more and more pronounced since the time they seized power.

Their defence consists only of accusations against others of having said this and that. But it doesn't hold water. We see that ever since they came to power, they have been following a revisionist line and working to weaken the struggle against imperialism, the vigilance of the peoples and help revisionism gain control of the international communist movement.

Now, however, we have said stop! to this whole

business. Thus, the whole opportunist line, with Khrushchev at the head, was endangered. He wanted to defeat the Marxist-Leninist resistance to his line in an opportunist way. He thought that this resistance in the Soviet Union would be broken by bringing out the question of Stalin, by condemning the «cult» of the individual around Stalin. He thought, too, that, in the international communist movement, there were enough forces available to strike a decisive blow at the Marxist-Leninist attack against this opportunist line. This was clearly evident at the Bucharest Meeting where efforts were made to condemn and liquidate the situation which was hindering them, but, as we know, they failed.

Our Party played an important role at the Bucharest Meeting. It was the only party to oppose what was being done there. And thenceforth the hostility against us, until then covert, came out in the open. From this we can judge how grave and damaging to them was the stand of our Party.

We must have complete confidence that the situation Khrushchev has created in many communist parties of Europe, which he has managed to win over to his side, is a temporary one. We base this conviction on the strength of Marxism-Leninism. However, for the time being, he has created this unhealthy situation by bringing people with opportunist-revisionist views into the leadership of a number of parties by one means or another. In these favourable conditions which he had created for himself, apart from the great Communist Party of China, there was a small Party, too, which realized the danger of this line, and stood up to say resolutely: «Stop! I am not with you at this point, I do not support the course you are pursuing!»

Up till now, in the interests of the international communist movement, we, too, have used tactics, but now that Khrushchev seeks to deal blows at the sound part of the international communist movement and compel it to follow

his opportunist line, we say to him, «Stop!» Of course, to them this is a great loss.

But the situation became more complicated for them at the Moscow Meeting. The Moscow Meeting did not proceed as they had envisaged. The proof of this is the Moscow Declaration, which is a good document, approved by all. Naturally, had there existed a healthy situation, a more fiery, more militant declaration would have come out of it. However, this document is acceptable and it must be understood correctly, just as it is.

Now the question arises: Can it be said that these people who signed such a document will change? We must say to the Central Committee that they will not change their line. This is implied from the words Khrushchev said, which were mentioned in the report, and which should not be forgotten. In connection with the Declaration he said that «it is a compromise document». To Khrushchev this is a compromise, because he is entering another phase, but our tactics, too, are now entering another phase.

All the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties ardently loved the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the leadership of the CPSU, with Stalin at the head, and had unshakeable trust in them. This was a well-deserved, correct, Marxist-Leninist trust. When the Khrushchev group came to power, it no longer found that warmth in the hearts of the Albanian communists and those of the other countries as before. We continued to nurture the same feelings of love and trust as before for the Soviet Union and the CPSU, with the difference that, basing ourselves on the events taking place there, we said that injustice was being done in the CPSU, that the line was being distorted there. In the beginning there were a number of ill-defined things, but later they became concrete.

Even in this phase, we preserve our love for the Soviet Union, but over this time we have seen and understood that

the leadership of the CPSU was moving to the right, towards an opportunist, revisionist course. Under these conditions, we adopted the tactic of keeping silent in public, especially before world public opinion. This was a correct tactic of our leadership, which did not adopt it by accident. Its aim was to defend Marxism-Leninism, to defend the line of our Party.

But what is our line? Struggle against revisionism and any opportunist or dogmatic trend which attacks and aims at the destruction of Marxism-Leninism, ideological and political exposure of imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism and of every kind of revisionism, sharpening of vigilance, arming and permanent readiness to deal with any eventual danger, and unbreakable friendship with all the communist and workers' parties and with the countries of the camp of socialism, regardless of whether Khrushchev, Zhivkov, Gomulka, and others like or dislike our line. That is to say, we have not made political or ideological concessions in our line, it was they who made concessions. We have tried resolutely to defend our line and our love for the CPSU and the Soviet Union, but with Khrushchev and Co., we have not been and are not in agreement. This they have understood and know.

Now a new stage, which the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings opened, has been reached. In this stage too, their tactics have taken and will take new forms. But our tactics too, will not mark time; they will be adapted to the development of events, but we shall always continue our resolute defence of Marxism-Leninism, we shall expose all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

After the Bucharest Meeting and especially after the Moscow Meeting, the positions of these people, who thought that they had won, have been shaken. Of this nobody has any doubt. Nikita Khrushchev can no longer cut a great figure on the throne he had seized in the international

communist movement, because of the principled struggle waged by our Party and by many other parties which maintained a Marxist-Leninist stand.

These stands are of great historic importance, for they said stop! to Khrushchev. They shook his positions among the various parties to their foundations, although he had thought them impregnable.

But we should bear in mind that Khrushchev will try to keep all those who followed him at the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings on his side, because they are heavily compromised. The Soviet revisionists and their flatterers who were present at the Moscow Meeting, were greatly concerned that we should not criticize them, therefore they strove to throw dust in our eyes by cajolery. This was what Mikoyan tried to do before we spoke at the Meeting. «We, too, agree with you on the question of Stalin, on the 'condemnation' of Yugoslav revisionism, so tell us what more do you want?» was more or less what he said.

If we look at the problem from the ideological viewpoint we shall be convinced of what was of greater importance: whether to speak about those major problems of principle of the communist movement, or about something else, about what Malinovski and others said, for example. Of course, the defence of questions of principle of the communist movement, first and foremost, was of greater importance than to mention the things the Soviet leaders had done us, but these, too, were extremely discrediting to them, therefore they tried to induce us not to mention them in our speech, for this would expose not only their opportunist line, but also the underhand, fiendish and dirty methods, which the Soviet revisionists and their leadership have used against us and many others, which they have now covered over with a scab, but these things have not been forgotten, and have had their influence on the mistakes made in many major questions of international communism.

Maurice Thorez, for example, may have had other reasons for the stand he maintained against us at the Moscow Meeting, though, when he was on holiday in Albania, he was in full agreement with as much as I told him. But the speech of our Party delegation in Moscow touched him on the sore spot, because as the representative and leader of the Communist Party of France, he bears great responsibility, since he permitted such a very important matter as that of the stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists, whom the Information Bureau had condemned, to be settled by Khrushchev and his followers, not in the Marxist-Leninist way, but simply by means of a telegram.

Gomulka got up in the meeting and demanded that the question of Albania should be considered within the Warsaw Treaty, but he said this also because the representative of our Party had opposed his policy and had not agreed with Gomulka's proposals in the UNO. This is a question of great importance, because his proposals amounted to saying to the imperialists: «Keep all the numerous military bases you have set up, keep the atomic bomb, and don't let others have it.» The stand of our delegation, therefore, was a telling blow to their adventurous and opportunist policy, the aim of which is to lead the socialist camp to disaster. That is why Gomulka said that Albania should be expelled from the Warsaw Treaty.

The raising of these major questions for the fate of socialism had very great importance. The Soviet leadership would not have been much concerned if we had only pointed out what Ivanov had done in Albania. The raising of problems in the way we did upset them, since this would expose their policy. But by also raising the question of their interference in the internal affairs of our country, the question of their aims to split our leadership, we touched Zhivkov on a sensitive spot, since it is known

that it was Khrushchev who interfered to bring him to power in Bulgaria.

Thus, our speech at the Moscow Meeting was extremely ranking to Khrushchev. It is understandable that this exposure opened up very great troubles for him. This is what impelled them to heap unprincipled insults on us, because, if the others were to go thoroughly into these things, it would lead to a lot of troubles, not only for those who aimed their insults against us, but also for those who directed them.

It is known that following the 20th Congress of the CPSU, there were changes in the leaderships of many communist and workers' parties. Khrushchev understood that the parties in which the leaderships were not changed constituted a great danger to his line, because his efforts and his views could not find a foothold among them. Thus, he was obliged to grin and bear it and, for the sake of appearances, maintained friendly relations with our Party. But he saw that he could not achieve his aim and thought, if not today, I will try again tomorrow to achieve it. This is what he intended for our Party, the CP of China and some other parties. In these parties he has been quite unable to undermine the leaderships, therefore, seeing a danger in them, he has gone about achieving his plans in other ways.

At first he tried to strengthen his positions, to create an atmosphere of trust, because, allegedly, he was the «Lenin of today», to eliminate all doubts about himself, and in the course of this activity to prepare his loyal cadres who would support him. He saw that good propaganda work about the Soviet Union was being done in Albania and he hoped that the time would come when we, too, would follow his course. But it did not turn out that way.

Although they signed the Declaration, it does not mean that they have changed their course. This is only

one of their tactics. None knows how long this will go on, but it is a dangerous tactic. We shall keep our eyes on it, we shall follow it closely; the international situations will become more complicated, despite the propaganda of Khrushchev and his followers about peaceful development. Wherever we look, we see strikes, uprisings, national liberation movements on the part of the peoples and terror on the part of the imperialists. This refutes the view Khrushchev has propagated so widely about the peaceful development of events.

Except for the great strength of international communism, the strength of the parties fighting consistently for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, nothing can stop these people on their course.

We must be optimistic. The issues are becoming clearer day by day, and the international situation will undoubtedly confirm our theses. But we face a protracted struggle. It should in no way be thought that they will lay down their arms. On the contrary, they will try to manoeuvre in the most brutal and sophisticated ways. The contradictions of the policy they follow towards the imperialists will emerge ever more clearly, whoever is a Marxist will understand them, because the imperialists are preparing for war, while the revisionists want to restrain them with words alone. With the policy they are pursuing they are leaving imperialism a free field of action, therefore, day by day, it is becoming a grave danger to the camp of socialism, the entire communist world, and peace in the world.

We have had faith in the Soviet Union, because in case of difficulties both it and the countries of people's democracy have helped us. But at no time have we gone to sleep basing our hopes on the aid of friends alone. Khrushchev has always said demagogically: «Why do you need weapons? We are defending you!» Fine, but what are all these things that are happening? Why have we not met even

once to talk over these problems so important for the fate of the socialist camp and international communism, to look into these great problems together? Why was our Minister of Defence appointed deputy—commander of the united forces of the Warsaw Treaty? Likewise, why have his colleagues of Poland, Czechoslovakia and others been appointed? Their appointment is entirely formal, because nobody invites them to talks, all the measures taken on behalf of the socialist camp are decided by Khrushchev and company. «You can put your trust in us,» says Khrushchev, «we are well armed.» But somebody might launch a surprise attack on us, and we do not have the weapons to retaliate. «We shall attack them from Siberia,» says he. But as events are developing, all of us together should be better prepared. We shall go to war together, therefore how we shall defend ourselves should be decided together. We do not seek to know the military secrets of the Soviet Union, but Khrushchev in the Kremlin continues to lay down his grand strategy for all the countries of the camp and doesn't call even once to tell us at least: «We have these kinds of weapons and in safe places.» The representatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries do not meet from time to time to check on armaments, to take joint measures, so that our armies get to know and fraternize with one another. These situations are known only to Khrushchev's friends. I am sure that the others, too, even Gomulka who is keeping quiet now, certainly have objections over these questions, but now he sees eye to eye with Khrushchev, and, over a criticism that we made, besides other threats, he demanded our immediate expulsion from the Warsaw Treaty.

Hence, the struggle ahead of us in the existing situation is not an easy one. On the contrary, it will be very difficult. But we must fight with determination, must follow the situation step by step, being clear in our minds about what these people are and what they want to do. If they

put themselves on the right road, we shall change our attitude towards them and shall march together with them as before, but it is impermissible for us to slacken our vigilance and go to sleep. After all these things which are occurring, we shall not have blind trust, because the views and actions of this man are blatantly anti-Marxist. Khrushchev is committing a great crime against the Soviet peoples and international communism.

We must take the threats he is making against us seriously. If they do not manage to throw us out of the Warsaw Treaty, if they do not withdraw their men from the Vlora naval base, if they do not cut off their credits, this will not be because they love us, but because their impetus was checked in Moscow, as well as because of international political circumstances. What they did to us about the naval base was not only blackmail, but an entire line mapped out not by Khrushchev alone.

Why did they take a stand against us when we had not yet expressed our viewpoint? They had consulted one another, and the Bucharest Meeting was the alarm signal for them to do this. Later they called on us to march on their road, and since we did not follow them, they thought up what stand they should adopt towards us.

If their career had not been stopped at the Moscow Meeting, they would have tried to drag us on to their anti-Marxist road, or, if they failed to achieve this, to discard us, and if they were unable to expel us, to take the stand they are adopting now.

They could achieve neither the first nor the second objective, and so it came to the situation we know. Of course, they had a different plan for us, but it was not easy for them to achieve it because they would have been exposed in the international communist movement, especially in the eyes of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Although their plan towards our Party failed,

they will never forget the courageous and correct Marxist-Leninist stand our Party has maintained and continues to maintain, and they will hatch up plans to take revenge, if not today, tomorrow. But we shall not give them weapons to fight us. We are not going to make mistakes; we do not violate the line, nor kowtow to anyone; we shall remain vigilant, as always, on the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist-Leninist stand we maintained, as well as the stand of the CP of China, are of decisive importance for the life of the socialist countries, for peace and socialism throughout the world. The Communist Party of China has become an extraordinarily serious obstacle to them.

We think that if Khrushchev and company had not retreated, it would have been a great disaster for them and for all their minions, because their parties would not have allowed such a crime to be committed against international communism. But even if their parties had accepted this temporarily, after a time it would certainly have emerged that they were revisionists and traitors. That is why they preferred to retreat, in order to gain new strength from the new positions they withdrew to. For this reason we think that we shall be facing a difficult struggle of great responsibility for the defence of socialism in Albania, the general line of our Party, and the correct principles of the Moscow Declaration.

But the grave situation that has been created in the international communist movement and in our relations with the leadership of the CPSU and with the leaderships of some other parties, sets before us very important tasks, which we must always carry out correctly, with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and courage, as we have done up till now.

First of all, day by day, we must further consolidate the unity of the Party. This is a steel unity, but we should work continuously to temper it, since these moments are import-

ant turning-points, and at these turning-points there are people who waver. Therefore the Party should be close not only to its members but to each individual, close to all the masses of the people, so that the unity of the ranks of the Party and the Party-people unity is tempered in a Marxist-Leninist way.

We are of the opinion that the Party should know the hostile and revisionist activities of these traitors, should see who are the individuals that want to dig the grave for our Party, as well as for international communism. There are written documents about this, but we should also work by word of mouth in order to make it clear to the Party that a stern struggle must be waged against revisionism, not only theoretically, but also in practice and with concrete examples. The Party members must be vigilant, defend its line and safeguard the great interests of our people, the Party and Marxism-Leninism.

Thus, it is important that we educate the Party well, because in this way it will understand correctly the tactics we have to use in such complicated situations.

Our Party will use tactics; this is necessary, among other things, so that the Soviet peoples and those of the countries of people's democracy understand that we are on the Marxist-Leninist road and in friendship with them, but in opposition to those who are their enemies and enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

If the leaderships of these countries continue to act against us, they will receive the proper reply, but we shall try to maintain friendly relations with all the socialist countries, without making concessions in principles, without distorting the line, and always maintaining correct attitudes on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We should keep in mind that we shall have contacts with Soviet people or people from the countries of people's democracy. We shall not change our attitudes, but of course,

the relations with them will not be as they used to be, and it is not we who have brought this about, but they themselves. Mikoyan said to us: «Now it is not necessary to have close party relations, but only trade relations.» We told him that we did not agree with such a view, but since that was what they wanted, we could act that way, too.

When Ivanov or Novikov came to meet us, we were the ones who gave them the information they wanted with the greatest goodwill. We did this, not because we had to render account to them, but because this stand was connected with the question of the close and unreserved friendship we nurtured for the Soviet Union. Now that the situation has changed, and this only because of them, when they come again we shall receive them, shall ask what they want, but shall give them only what we consider it reasonable for them to know, and nothing more.

With the technicians and specialists who work in our enterprises, our relations should be warm, cordial and friendly. Of course, there may be evil people among them, but even if they are not so, some will be instructed to become so. Therefore we must be careful and vigilant, must clearly distinguish between those who are honest and sincere towards us and those who have been sent to carry out the hostile instructions of Khrushchev and company. We must defend our Marxist-Leninist line all the time and with anybody. We must not be afraid to hit back at them in a proper way when they attack our Party, our leadership and our unity, in an improper way. We should be on our guard against provocations, because there are people who commit provocations, but there are also provocations to which we must respond on the spot and deal the deserved blows at those who hatch them up.

We should be careful and vigilant to orientate ourselves correctly on the basis of the line of the Party in every instance. Here the capability and intelligence of commu-

nists must be displayed. It is easy to tell the other: «Get out!» or «I don't want to talk to you!» but such a stand would be neither politic nor Marxist. Therefore we should act with maturity and flexibility.

We should talk to the foreigners residing in Albania about the line of our Party, about our stand, we should try to explain it to them, so that they understand these things correctly, because many of them may be unclear.

The press organs in particular must be very vigilant and mature. Our press must present the line and tactics of our Party properly. This work must be done carefully by the Directory for Agitation and Propaganda. It is important to steer a correct course in the press, because a mistake made by us there may be exploited by the imperialist and revisionist foreign enemies, or may confuse the broad masses of the Party and people.

Therefore we should work carefully to guide the Party correctly through the press. Everything on the correct Marxist-Leninist road, in the interest of the Party, the people and socialism should be reflected there, whereas any manoeuvre of the revisionists, which may even seem fine, but which, in fact, is harmful, should not be published in the press, and we shall render account to nobody for this.

We must consider everything deeply, must carefully weigh up both its good and its bad aspects, and choose the best one, which serves our work and our cause.

We shall certainly overcome these difficulties. Therefore, first of all, the Party must be mobilized, must be clear about everything and in complete unity, its political and ideological level must be enhanced, its Marxist-Leninist line applied consistently, and we must be totally mobilized to realize our plans.

The comrades working in the party and state organs should keep these situations in mind and pay very great

attention to the work of convincing and educating the masses, to make them conscious of the need to carry out all the tasks, especially the utilization of internal resources. Thus, while working to open up new land, we should not base all our hopes on tractors alone. If possible, we shall bring in tractors, too, but we must strengthen our economic potential with all the possibilities we have, in order to keep up regular supplies for the people, to avoid being caught in a crisis, we must create reserves in all fields through economical use of our resources.

With regard to this, a program of work should be built by the whole Party and the state organs. Many tasks face us in practice over this question.

Our Party and people have been hardened to difficulties, therefore our plans have always been realized. So we shall overcome these new difficulties as well, better days will come for our Party and our people, because right is on our side, because we have many friends in the world, not only great China, but all the peoples and the true communists, to whom the cause of freedom, independence, and socialism is dear.

This was what I had to say. Now let us approve the communique. Besides this, we have the 4th Congress of the Party ahead, which, as we decided, will be held in February next year. During this time, the Party must mobilize all its forces, carry out an all-round political, ideological and economic work, in order to go to the Congress in steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity, with tasks realized in all fields, well-prepared to discuss problems in a lofty party spirit and to shoulder the difficult but glorious tasks we shall be charged with.

**THE OPEN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE OF  
THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS WILL FAIL IN THE FACE  
OF THE DETERMINATION AND IRON WILL OF THE  
ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND COMMUNISTS**

*Letter sent to the CC of the CPSU*

**January 14, 1961**

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

*MOSCOW*

By means of a note of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, on January 6, 1961, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was informed of the reply of the Government of the Soviet Union concerning the conclusion of the clearing agreement between the People's Republic of Albania and the USSR for the period 1961-1965, and the signing of the agreement on the credit accorded to the People's Republic of Albania by the Soviet Union for the mechanization of agriculture. In its reply the Soviet Government, after announcing that it does not accept the proposal of the Albanian Government to send a deputy-chairman of our Council of Ministers to Moscow for this

purpose, «once again reaffirms that the economic issues, which, as is known, are directly linked with the normalization of relations, can be discussed in the existing conditions only at the highest level of the parties and governments.»

Such an attitude on the part of the Soviet Government does not seem to us just, in conformity with the particular question under discussion, and even less in conformity with the character of relations among the member countries of the socialist camp.

The Soviet Union has helped the Albanian people and the People's Republic of Albania in their efforts to eliminate the centuries-old backwardness as quickly as possible and to build socialism. The Party of Labour of Albania, our Government and the entire Albanian people have always been grateful for and appreciative of this assistance, and have always considered and still consider it as an expression of proletarian internationalism, as assistance between comrade and comrade, between brother and brother.

In this spirit our Central Committee and Government turned to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union for new credits for the successful realization of the 3rd Five-year Plan 1961-1965 of the development of the people's economy of Albania.

As is known, on the basis of talks held in Moscow in regard to this question in December 1958, between the representatives of the parties and governments of the two countries at the highest level, the Soviet Union accorded the People's Republic of Albania a credit for the period 1959-1965 and the relevant agreement, together with the lists of the projects to be extended or built in Albania with the assistance of the Soviet Union on the basis of this credit, was signed in Tirana on July 3, 1959. Likewise, in response to the request of the Central Committee of the Party of

Labour of Albania, on April 30, 1960, for a special credit for agricultural machinery and chemical fertilizers, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union agreed to accord the People's Republic of Albania another credit for this purpose and on July 25, 1960 the Soviet Government presented to the Albanian Government the relevant draft-agreement for signature. As to exchanges on a clearing basis for the period 1961-1965, after the talks held for this purpose, the relevant protocol has been signed by the government delegations of our two countries since April 3, 1959.

In such conditions, considering all these issues decided at the highest level of the parties and governments of the two countries and properly concluded, the Albanian Government proposed that the agreement on clearing for 1961-1965 and the one presented by the Soviet Government on the credit for the mechanization of agriculture should be signed by the deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission of the People's Republic of Albania. It is clear that no question had remained unsettled, except some changes of projects sought by the Albanian Government through the note of the Albanian Embassy in Moscow on the 28th of October 1960, and which could have been settled quite easily by the two delegations.

Here it is opportune to mention that a few months ago the Soviet Government itself considered the issues in the same way, and showed itself ready to send the minister of foreign trade of the Soviet Union to Albania for the signing of these agreements. When we were informed by the Soviet side that he was unable to come to Albania for health reasons, the necessary approaches were made from our side so that an Albanian government delegation, headed by the deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, would go to Moscow.

As can be seen, everything is very clear and the proposal of the Albanian Government to send the said delegation for the above purpose is completely normal and in order. In these circumstances, we are rightfully astonished at the stand now maintained by the Soviet Government on these questions and we cannot understand from what bases it is proceeding in unilaterally demanding the re-examination of the above-mentioned issues, discussed and decided at the highest level of the parties and governments of the two countries and definitely settled. In its reply of January 6, 1961 the Soviet Government also makes allusions to doubts about the relations between our two states and speaks of their normalization.

In connection with this attitude of the Soviet Government, we consider it opportune to express to you frankly our opinion that this attitude of the Government of the Soviet Union is not correct in principle and does not conform in practice to the real state of the facts and the issue under discussion. By mixing state relations with those between parties, the Soviet Government, improperly and in a manner unacceptable in the relations between our socialist countries, is trying to impose its will on the Party of Labour of Albania to send the main representative of the Party to talk about these issues.

Our view is that the issues raised by the Soviet Government have a distorted character and can be rightfully considered as economic pressure exerted on our state and the Party of Labour of Albania on the eve of its 4th Congress, in order to cause it economic and other difficulties. We think that the relations between our two states are quite normal, and in questioning their true character, the Soviet Government is making a very wrong and unilateral assessment, with which we cannot reconcile ourselves.

We want to point out that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have considered and

will always consider the meeting of delegations of our two parties and governments at the highest or any other level, a pleasure. But in such conditions as the Soviet Government presents the issue, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania does not find it reasonable or proper to send a top level delegation. First, because, as it was stated above, the issues concerned have been examined and decided definitely by the two sides, in full agreement and at the highest level, and second, because the Soviet Government raises these issues in an incorrect way, contrary to the spirit of relations between socialist countries, hence, unacceptable to us.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania hopes that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will take measures so that in the future, too, the relations between our two countries will continue on the correct course of the friendly relations which have existed for a long time, relations which have closely linked our two countries and peoples. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania hopes that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will take the necessary measures so that the delegation appointed by the Albanian Government can come to Moscow as soon as possible and, with the representatives of the Soviet Government, sign the accords concerning the previously concluded agreements.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania would like to point out to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that, if things proceed in the way that the Soviet Government presents the issues, in connection with the relations between our two countries, seeking to create difficulties for the socialist construction in Albania, that is a hopeless course. Naturally, the Soviet Government would bear responsibility for the consequences these actions would have on Albanian-Soviet

relations, actions which are incompatible with the practice of relations among the Marxist parties and socialist countries hitherto. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania trusts that the artificial obstacles raised to the Party of Labour of Albania and to a friendly and allied country, a Marxist party and a small socialist country which are fighting unwaveringly, in the conditions of the hostile encirclement, against the imperialists and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the Yugoslav revisionists, in defence of the interests not only of the Albanian people, but also of all the socialist countries, will be removed.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania points out that whatever circumstances may present themselves for the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, who are determined to face any difficulty with heroism, the friendship with the great Soviet people will remain inviolable.

We hope that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will carefully examine these important questions and will give us a reply within a short time, so that the said agreements will be signed as soon as possible.

On instruction  
of the Central Committee of the PLA

First Secretary

*Enver Hoxha*

*Works, vol. 20*

**REPORT TO THE 4th CONGRESS OF THE PLA<sup>1</sup>**  
**«ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL**  
**COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF**  
**LABOUR OF ALBANIA»**

*(Extracts)*

**February 13, 1961**

Dear Comrades,

With a feeling of legitimate pride, the Albanian communists and all the Albanian people have their hearts and attention focussed on the 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is opening its proceedings today.

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**1** The 4th Congress of the PLA was held in Tirana from February 13 to 20, 1961. The report delivered to this Congress by Comrade Enver Hoxha made a thorough scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the activity of the Party from its 3rd Congress. The Congress drew the balance-sheet of the results achieved in the political, economic and cultural fields, and correctly defined the paths of the future development.

Basing itself on the radical socio-economic changes in the country, the Congress reached the conclusion that *in the PR of Albania the economic base of socialism had been built* both in city and countryside, and adopted important decisions which opened up great prospects to our country. It went down in history as the Congress which *initiated a new stage in the development of the country, the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society*, and prepared the Party for an all-out ideological offensive on modern revisionism. The Congress approved the directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the country.

This Congress is another very important event in the glorious history of our heroic Party and our marvellous people. The Congress will discuss and approve the directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the further development of the economy and culture, will open up new roads and perspectives of even greater prosperity to our people and will make our beloved socialist Homeland stronger.

The 4th Congress is meeting in the twentieth anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party. Twenty years have gone by since those difficult days for our Homeland, when our Marxist-Leninist Party, born from the bosom of our suffering but brave and dauntless people, was founded. Our country was being ravaged, our people had risen against enslavement by fascist invaders, Hitler's nazi hordes were at the gates of glorious Moscow; Leningrad, the cradle of the Great October Revolution, was besieged and in great peril. The infant born from the bosom of the people in Tirana on November 8, 1941 did not delay one single day, but raised its steel fist and struck mercilessly at the fascists and traitors. It took the banner of the fight for freedom in its steel hands, raised the fighting traditions of our people to new heights, revived the glorious epic of the times of Skanderbeg and the National Renaissance with a new splendour, guided and led our heroic people to total victory over the nazi-fascist invaders and local traitors, gave our Homeland genuine freedom and sovereignty, gave it honour and dignity, gave it security and great confidence in its own strength, forged the everlasting friendship between the Albanian people and the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, who helped us in the liberation of our country, between the Albanian people and the fraternal peoples of China and of the other countries of people's democracy of the socialist camp. The people's revolution was carried out successfully and it opened the most glorious epoch in the thousands of years of our history,

the epoch of the construction of socialism and communism in Albania.

In fire and flame, in suffering and toil, in joys and victories, people and Party became a single indivisible whole. The history of the Party during these twenty years is the history of the Albanian people themselves; the struggles of the Party are the struggles of the people, just as its victories are the victories of the people. People and Party are bound together in our country like flesh to bone. This is the greatest victory, this is the greatest guarantee of the happy future for our Homeland. The Party, which is guided in its work and struggle by Marxism-Leninism, achieved those victories. These victories were attained at the cost of the bloodshed and sacrifice of tens of thousands of men and women partisans who covered themselves with glory in bloody battles and fell fighting for the liberty of our Homeland, for democracy, for socialism, for communism...

THE RESULTS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN  
OUR COUNTRY

Dear Comrades,

The construction of socialism in our country, this is the sacred aim to the achievement of which our talented people, the heroic working class, the working peasantry and our people's intelligentsia, who under the leadership of our glorious Party have completely changed the face of our country, in the literal meaning of this expression, have dedicated all their creative activity. Reporting to the Party and the people, we note with satisfaction that as a result of the successful and loyal application of the economic and political general line of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the construction of socialism, *our country is now entering a new stage, the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, the stage of turning our country from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian one.*

If we recall the bitter past of our country, the great hardships and obstacles, the valiant struggle full of self-sacrifice which our working people have waged during these post-Liberation years, then the importance of the stage reached in the development of our society, the heroism of our glorious people, the merit of our Party of Labour, which as an experienced captain, guided by our compass,

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<sup>2</sup> The 1st chapter of the report deals with the International situation and the foreign policy of the PRA.

Marxism-Leninism, set our country on the course of knowledge and progress, will stand out ever more clearly.

A. — *THE SUCCESSFUL CONSTRUCTION OF THE  
ECONOMIC BASE OF SOCIALISM*

The decisive conditions for the development of our country on the road to socialism were created in November 1944, when, after the triumph of the people's revolution, its main strategic task was solved: political power passed completely into the hands of the working class and the working masses, led by the Party of Labour of Albania. The profound revolutionary economic and social transformations carried out by the people's power after the country's liberation, such as the nationalization of industry, transport, the banks, foreign trade and internal wholesale trade, led to the establishment of public ownership of the main means of production and circulation, and created the first economic possibilities to begin the construction of the new socialist society.

The transition of our country from a semi-feudal situation and technical-economic backwardness directly to the building of socialism, leaving out the stage of developed industrial capitalism, set before our Party, as one of its most vital and urgent tasks, the creation of industry through the socialist industrialization and electrification of the country.

«... *Big industry*,» says V. I. Lenin, speaking of its role in the building of socialist society, «*is the base for the transition to socialism and from the viewpoint of the state of productive forces, i.e., from the viewpoint of the fundamental criterion of all social development, constitutes the foundation of the socialist economic*

*organization, by uniting the advanced industrial workers, uniting the class which exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat.»\**

In formulating and applying the policy of socialist industrialization, the Party proceeded from the concrete conditions of our country, from the internal possibilities, the natural resources, the economic co-operation among the socialist countries. Under the new historical conditions, for our small country with limited possibilities in human forces and material and financial means, the creation of all branches of industry has not been possible. The high rates of growth in industrial production, the creation and development of a number of branches of heavy industry, giving priority to the mining industry, the development, alongside it, of light industry, are some of the salient features of the socialist industrialization of our country.

Under the correct leadership of the Party, with the mobilization, creative work and self-sacrifice of the masses of working people of town and countryside, we have now created a new industry, with modern equipment. Albania has been converted into an agrarian-industrial country. This is a great historic victory of our Party and people on the road to the creation of the material-technical base of socialism, the further expansion and strengthening of the productive forces of our country and socialist relations of production.

Parallel with this, the Party has waged a resolute struggle and has pursued a consistent Leninist policy for the collectivization of agriculture, which was crowned with the creation of the economic base of socialism in the countryside, too. Our peasantry, with unwavering faith in the Party, embraced the road of collectivization and is proceeding

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, pp. 270-271 (Alb. ed.).

along this road resolutely and voluntarily, fully convinced of the superiority of the collective economy over the small individual economy. Today, in our country in general, the collectivization of agriculture has been completed. The socialist sector in agriculture predominates in regard to both the area of the arable land and production for the market.

Towards the small producers in the towns, too, our Party followed a correct policy, which aimed at organizing them on the road of the socialist economy by means of their voluntary union in the artisan cooperatives. Now these cooperatives include the overwhelming majority of our craftsmen.

The socialist forms of the economy and the socialist relations of production predominate in all branches of the economy. In 1960, the socialist sector of the economy yielded about 90 per cent of the national income. Last year the socialist sector included: 99 per cent of the total industrial output, 100 per cent of the wholesale trade, 90 per cent of the retail trade, and over 80 per cent of the total agricultural production. *Thus, the multiform economy has generally disappeared in our country and in its place a single system of socialist economy has been created. Thus, the economic base of socialism has been created both in town and in countryside. The capitalist economy, the exploiting classes, and the exploitation of man by man have been abolished. With this great historic victory our country is advancing at a more rapid pace towards the further construction of the material and technical base of socialism.*

On the sound foundation of the new socialist relations of production, the dynamic development of the productive forces of the country has taken place, unemployment has been liquidated for ever, the national income has greatly increased, and the material and cultural level of the masses of working people has been steadily raised.

An integral part of our socialist revolution are the

revolutionary transformations which have been carried out in the ideological, educational, and cultural fields, as well as the great work done by the Party for the education of the workers in the spirit of socialist consciousness, for raising their technical and cultural level and training cadres of the new socialist intelligentsia.

The establishment of socialist relations of production radically changed the old structure of classes in our society. *The most characteristic and fundamental feature of the class structure in our country at the present stage is the existence of two friendly classes — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, their alliance under the leadership of the working class and the consolidation, on this basis, of the moral and political unity of all the working people.*

Our new working class was born, grew up and has been tempered in the work for the construction of socialism. At present the workers, together with their families, account for about 22.5 per cent of the total population. But what is decisive, is the fact that our working class is no longer a politically oppressed and exploited class, as is the case with the working class under capitalism, but a class which has smashed the feudo-bourgeois state power and bureaucratic apparatus to its foundations and on its ruins has built the new state power, a leading class which holds the political power in its hands, the initiator and organizer of all the economic and social transformations which are carried out in our society, a class which is constantly raising its political, technical and cultural level.

With the re-organization of agriculture on a socialist basis in our countryside, in place of the individual peasantry, a new class — the cooperativist peasantry — has emerged and is being formed. The basis of its economy is no longer the small-scale private property, but the collective property. The source of its income and well-being is no longer individual work with primitive tools, but collective

work with advanced equipment. The further economic and organizational development and strengthening of the socialist system in the countryside will be, at the same time, the process of the development and strengthening of this class and its alliance with the working class.

In the struggle for the construction of socialism the new socialist intelligentsia, born of the people and loyal to them, has been formed. It is marching shoulder to shoulder with the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. Thanks to the educational work and the correct policy pursued by the Party, the best people from that small number of the old intelligentsia which we inherited from the past also came over to the side of the people and socialism.

Our Party has always regarded the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry as the main social force for the construction of socialism. For the consolidation of this alliance, new economic links between town and countryside in the field of circulation of goods and that of production have been established and are being constantly extended.

As can be seen, the period we have traversed during these 16 years of people's power has been a period of profound revolutionary changes carried out under the leadership of the Party. During this period we have had to overcome a series of difficulties, obstacles and contradictions. These difficulties and contradictions were increased and made more complicated because of the various imperialist plots and the brutal interference of the Yugoslav revisionists in our internal affairs, because of their hostile activity carried out in all forms against our Party and state. In overcoming them our Party has waged a stern, principled and consistent struggle against internal and foreign enemies, against the imperialists and their lackeys — the Yugoslav revisionists. At the same time, the Party has dealt resolute

blows at all the opportunists, deviators and traitors, who have attempted to undermine the work of the Party and turn it from the Marxist-Leninist course.

In all its activity for the socialist transformation of the economy the Party of Labour of Albania has applied a correct general line, has always based itself on Marxism-Leninism, and dealt with problems in a scientific way. It has remained faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and has succeeded in mobilizing the broad working masses and has made them conscious builders and defenders of the new socialist society.

During this period our Party has also struggled to solve the non-antagonistic contradictions which have arisen from our progress in socialist construction, such as the contradictions between the advanced political power and the relatively low level of the productive forces, between the rapid development of industry and the lagging behind of agriculture, between the advanced equipment and the need for cadres and their level of training, between the level of production and consumption, etc. In achieving the above-mentioned victories the decisive role has been played by the great efforts, the self-sacrificing and glorious work of our heroic people, the socialist patriotism, the talent and determination of our heroic working class, the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, the correct line and wise, courageous, and far-sighted leadership of our Party of Labour and its creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the concrete historical conditions of our country. The aid provided for our country during this period by the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of the socialist camp has played an important role as an external factor. The Albanian people and their Party of Labour are and will always be grateful to the peoples and the communist and workers' parties of these countries for this internationalist and fraternal aid.

The history of these last 20 years has confirmed the behest of our ancestors that «freedom is not donated, it must be won with bloodshed». In the 20th century, the century of Leninism, through heroic and violent struggle, the Albanian people, unbowed through the ages, under the leadership of their glorious Party, smashed the Italian and Hitlerite fascists, overthrew and completely crushed the feudo-bourgeoisie and its state power, created the new people's state power, created the new Albania, and are successfully building socialism. It is precisely because the struggle against the imperialists, against fascism, against the feudo-bourgeoisie was waged in these forms by the Party and people for the liberation of Albania and the seizure of power, because the people worked with great revolutionary vigour for the reconstruction of our poor, war-devastated country, for the building of socialism, because we all were always on our guard to defend the people's victories that we succeeded in overcoming terrible waves and storms during these twenty years. The revolutionary impetus of the people has never stopped and it never will, the tasks set were achieved and will be achieved successfully, we smashed the enemies' heads and we shall always smash them if they try to lay a finger on our Homeland and our people. Woe to the Albanian people if we had hoped that the American, British, French and the Italian capitalists, or the Shefqet Verlaci and Mustafa Kruja would make us a gift of freedom. Woe to our people if we had compromised and capitulated to the imperialists, if we had shown fear and vacillation towards them, if we had begged them for freedom, liberation and peace. The Marxist-Leninist line of our Party shines like the sun in spring time. Like the sun it warms our Homeland and makes it flower. The fiery rays of this sun are blinding to the enemies of our people, the enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

The 16 years of people's state power have demonstrated the truth of the universal laws of the socialist revolution, formulated by the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. They have also confirmed the practical and real possibility of the transition of the backward countries directly from the old feudal order to socialism, leaving out the stage of developed capitalism.

**B. — THE 2nd FIVE-YEAR PLAN — AN IMPORTANT  
STEP IN THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR  
ECONOMY AND CULTURE**

In the period since the 3rd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which coincides with the carrying out of the 2nd Five-year Plan, a step of historic importance has been taken in the construction of the economic base of socialism in our country.

The 3rd Congress of the Party put forward as the main task the further development of industry, especially the mining industry, chiefly on the basis of the full use of the existing productive capacities and the mobilization of internal reserves, and the rapid development of agriculture, mainly on the basis of the reorganization of agricultural production on socialist foundations. Relying on these factors, the task was put forward of achieving a further improvement of the material conditions and raising the cultural level of the working people.

*Summing up the work done in these five years, our Party, with a feeling of legitimate pride, announces that in general the main tasks of the 2nd Five-year Plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule.*

The volume of total industrial output set by the 3rd Congress of the Party for the 1956-1960 period was fulfilled in 4 years and 9 months, in the mining industry in 4 years

and 6 months, while the level of industrial output set for 1960 was achieved one year ahead of schedule. In 1960 the volume of total industrial production increased more than 118 per cent above that of 1955, as against 92 per cent which was the target set by the Congress, with an average annual rate of 16.9 per cent, as against 14 per cent. Production of means of production (group «A») increased at an average annual rate of 18 per cent, as against 14.8 per cent, and of consumer goods (group «B») 16 per cent, as against 13.5 per cent, which was the target. To give you a better grasp of the importance of these figures, the importance of our achievements, suffice it to mention that in 1960 the Peshkopia and Burrel districts alone produced as much as was produced in 1938 in the whole of Albania, while the city of Tirana produced more than five times as much. This is what our glorious Party and the people's power are achieving, this is what our free people are able to do.

The main task of the 3rd Congress of the Party for the collectivization of agriculture was also achieved ahead of schedule. As early as July 1960 the socialist sector included 86.3 per cent of the cultivated land. In this way, the economic base of socialism has been built in our countryside. With the achievement of this victory, which is of a great historic importance, our Party, relying on the immortal teachings of Lenin, successfully resolved one of the most difficult tasks of the transition period.

The targets set in the field of raising the people's material and cultural level were successfully fulfilled, too. The growth of industrial and agricultural production, the complete abolition of the ration card system, the repeated reductions of retail prices, etc., have greatly improved the well-being of the working people.

The mobilization and the readiness of the working masses, the taking of initiatives for the discovery

and exploitation of internal reserves and the increase to ever higher levels of the creative energies of the working people, made it possible to advance the figures of the 2nd Five-year Plan. These additions, which were approved by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in February 1958, played an important role in the overfulfilment of the targets of the 2nd Five-year Plan in many important branches of production.

The successful fulfilment of the 2nd Five-year Plan is the result of the great and selfless work of our heroic working class, the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, and the correct and wise leadership of our glorious Party of Labour...

*2. - THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE IS THE  
GREATEST SUCCESS OF THE PARTY  
IN THE COUNTRYSIDE*

The policy of our Party, based on the Marxist-Leninist teachings, for the socialist transformation of the countryside, was fully implemented during the first four years of the 2nd Five-year Plan. Excluding the areas of a markedly mountainous character, agricultural cooperatives have been formed in all the villages of the other areas. This is one of the most splendid achievements of our Party and our people.

The correct line of the Party on the collectivization, expressed in the well-known slogan, «We must neither be hasty, nor mark time», which was applied in the first stage, made it possible for the broad strata of poor and middle peasants to be convinced in practice of the great benefits to be derived from the organization of collective agricultural economies in comparison with the individual economies. The orientation of the December 1955 Plenum of the

CC, which was also stressed by the 3rd Congress, for speeding up the tempo of collectivization, marks the beginning of a new stage in the mass collectivization of agriculture in all the main areas of the Republic. Thus, whereas at the end of 1955 the cooperatives occupied only 14.5 per cent of the peasants' arable land, a year later they occupied 30.8 per cent. The year 1957 became the year of the great turning-point, because not only the poor peasants, but also the middle peasants began to enter the agricultural cooperatives *en masse*, and the collectivized area reached 58 per cent. In 1960, 83.2 per cent of the arable land owned by the peasantry had been collectivized. Thus, it became possible to complete the task set by the 3rd Congress of the Party one year ahead of schedule. Understanding very well this duty that the Party put before them, the communists of town and countryside, the patriots, the best activists of the Democratic Front and of the other mass organizations, the heroic working class of our country put all its strength and energy into this great work for the socialist transformation of the countryside, together with the entire working peasantry of our country, that has always loyally followed the Party, and assured this great victory of our country.

To achieve the victory of the cooperativist order in the countryside, our Party had to wage a bitter struggle against the external and internal enemies, against the kulaks, who strove to hinder the working peasantry from setting out on the socialist road by exploiting the individualist psychology of the small property-owner in the village. The kulaks tried to create distrust and hesitation among the peasants, to turn them from the right road which the Party pointed out. But all these efforts failed. Our patriotic working peasantry, with unshakeable trust in the Party and its correct line, turned from the capitalist road and followed the road of socialism. *The line of our Party*

*triumphed in the countryside and once again on this occasion it was proved how correct was the line, how unbreakable was the strength and unity of the Party with the people, how politically mature was our peasant, who with conviction, resolutely took the road the Party showed him for the collectivization of agriculture, as the only right road to emerge once and for all from backwardness, and built the new life in the village.*

The victory of the collectivization of agriculture in our country is another clear demonstration, verifying the correctness of the theses of V.I. Lenin on the policy which the Marxist parties must follow to put the working peasantry on the road to socialism. The Belgrade revisionist clique prattle in vain about «the specific road», through which «socialism» is allegedly being developed in the Yugoslav countryside. Only the enemies of Leninism, such as the modern revisionists, strive to deceive the masses by showing them «new roads» for the building of socialism in the countryside, whereas in fact these «new roads» not only obstruct socialism in the countryside, but contribute to the further impoverishment of the peasant, to his proletarianization, to the enrichment of the kulaks and their buying the land, and the exploitation of agricultural machinery in the interests of the kulaks alone, even though it is state owned. With these «forms», allegedly specific and new, allegedly preliminary and in preparation for future collectivization, the modern revisionists dig the grave for socialism in the countryside, strengthen the rich peasantry, and allow capitalism to grow stronger day by day in the countryside. Life has proved that the only road which assures the future of the peasantry, which rescues it for good and all from capitalist exploitation and poverty, is the road of the collectivization of agriculture...

### 3. - *THE RISE OF THE MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF THE WORKING MASSES*

The unceasing increase of total industrial and agricultural production, the triumph of collectivization in the countryside, the development of all the other sectors of the people's economy have brought about as an objective result the further raising of the material well-being and the cultural level of the people. In our country the planned organization of the process of social production is carried out in order to assure the well-being and all-round development of all members of our society.

During the years of the 2nd Five-year Plan, the rise of the material well-being and cultural level of the working people is characterized by these main indices:

At the end of 1960 the national income is estimated to be 48 per cent greater than in 1955.

Important measures have been taken to lower the retail prices of goods, to raise low wages and pensions, to increase the wholesale purchase prices of agricultural, livestock, and other products. These, together with the rise in the level of qualification of the workers and labour productivity have brought an increase of 29 per cent in the real wages of the workers and employees in 1959.

The trade organs have supplied the people better with mass consumer goods. The volume of the circulation of goods at the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan reached 194 per cent, compared with that of 1955.

The results achieved in the first years of the 2nd Five-year Plan in the increase of industrial and agricultural products, created the conditions for the total abolition of the rationing system in November 1957, before the time limit set by the 3rd Congress of the Party. The

successful implementation of this important measure was a great victory, which confirms the wisdom of the economic policy pursued by our Party and which has given a further impulse to the all-round development of production and distribution.

One of the problems of the living conditions of the people, on which we have concentrated more attention, is housing, the increase in the number of houses and their upkeep. The number of houses built during these last 10 years is sufficient to house the pre-Liberation population of the cities of Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Vlora and Elbasan, taken together.

The health situation of our people has undergone obvious improvement. The natural increase of the population per 1,000 inhabitants has been about 32 persons. Never before has there been such a rapid growth of population in our country. Our country now ranks among the leading countries of the world in this respect. From 1,122,000 inhabitants which Albania had in 1945, according to the preliminary data, at the 1960 census it reached 1.625,000 inhabitants.

#### 4. - *THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS BEING SUCCESSFULLY CARRIED OUT IN OUR COUNTRY*

The tasks laid down by the 3rd Congress for the development of education, science, and culture in general have been carried out with success.

Our country has become not only a great construction site but also a big school, where one out of every five persons goes to school. Today, more than 300,000 persons are attending day and evening schools. An important step has been the building of widely extended 7-year schools so that classes have been opened even with only 10-15 pupils.

Today we have 557 7-year day schools, with more than 63,300 pupils, as against 2,563 pupils before Liberation.

Secondary schooling, which in the past was the privilege of certain social strata, has now taken wide proportions. Secondary schools have been opened not only in the smallest district centres, but even in the centres of some localities. This school year alone over 16,000 pupils are pupils in the technical and teacher-training secondary 9,500 pupils in the technical and teacher-training secondary schools.

During the 2nd Five-year Plan the University of Tirana, the biggest scientific and teaching centre in the country, the pride of our people's state power, was established. Today 7,800 students are studying in the higher institutes, at home and abroad, that is, 4.6 times more university students than there were pupils in all the secondary schools in 1938, or 3 times more the number of pupils in the 7-year schools of that period.

Today 4,245 higher cadres and about 20,000 middle cadres are working in all branches of the economy and culture. Now there are 870 engineers working in our country, as against the 35 we had in 1938, 570 agronomists, as against 45 in 1938, and 478 doctors and dentists, as against the 122 there were all told in our country. In 1960 alone about 1,000 persons graduated from the universities at home and abroad, that is, over double the number of higher cadres in 1938.

Our country, which 15 years ago was a backward agricultural country, today has a fully formed working class, in the ranks of which 62 per cent are qualified workers. During the 2nd Five-year Plan about 47,000 new workers, as against 39,000 envisaged in the plan, were trained in the lower vocational training schools or labour reserve schools, and more than 83,000 others, as against 70,000 envisaged in the plan, passed through qualification

courses. During the 2nd Five-year Plan about 9,300 middle cadres completed their training in the day and evening schools at home, as well as 2,800 higher cadres in schools at home and abroad.

In our country the organization of scientific work has been put on the right road. Important successes have been achieved, especially in the field of the historical - philological sciences. Under the care of the Party, the treasury inherited in the field of material and spiritual culture, everything positive and progressive which the past generations of our heroic people have created through the ages, is being constantly brought to light, is becoming the property of the people, is becoming a great mobilizing force in the struggle to build the new life and culture in our country. A valuable contribution in this direction is the compilation of the «History of Albania» and the «History of Albanian Literature». Valuable studies have likewise been made by the scientific institutes on some problems of agriculture and animal husbandry.

Important successes have been attained also in the field of literature and art. During this period about 700 original works of different genres have been published. Today we have the Opera and Ballet Theatre, the drama theatres and 11 professional variety theatres. The first Albanian operas and feature films have been created, figurative art exhibitions, theatrical and folklore festivals, have been organized, which together have animated the artistic and cultural life of the country. Always loyal to the great cause of the working class, our writers and artists, with their works, have given the Party great assistance in its ideological struggle for the education of the new man. During this period they have created artistic works and figures, which embody the great ideals of their contemporaries and of our wonderful epoch.

### III

#### THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has worked out the draft-directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the development of the people's economy and culture. Before the examination and final approval of these draft-directives by this highest forum of our Party, as is known, they were submitted for discussion to the working masses. Everywhere, in the work centres, villages, deep in the most remote corners of our Homeland, the masses of working people vigorously discussed the main figures of the splendid perspective being opened to our country with the 3rd Five-year Plan. The draft-directives were also examined in detail at the meetings of the party basic organizations and at the party conferences for rendering account and elections.

The enthusiasm aroused among the working people by the draft-directives demonstrated once more that the figures of the 3rd Five-year Plan are realistic. Although this plan is a solid one, it is completely realizable, and this is confirmed by the numerous pledges which were taken for its fulfilment ahead of schedule.

The Party has always considered the discussion of the main problems with the masses a matter of principle

in its work. In this regard it has always been guided by the well-known Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which implies the harmonious combination of the centralized leadership of the economy by the state with the widest possible development of the creative activity of the working masses, with their direct participation in the management of production. This is the source of the ever greater strength of the bonds between the Party and the people, who see in the Party the true representative of their sentiments and age-old aspirations.

The popular discussion of the draft-directives demonstrated once again the essence of our state of people's democracy, which is the organized people themselves, united by the fundamental idea and interests of the construction of socialism.

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, to thank all the participants of this popular discussion for the valuable contribution which they have made to the examination of the draft-figures of the 3rd Five-year Plan. The wide participation of the people in the discovery of internal reserves, their criticism and proposals, have helped to increase production, as well as to improve the planning of our people's economy.

In determining the main figures of the draft-directives for the 3rd Five-year Plan, the Party, in conformity with its program, aims to ensure the further development of the socialist revolution, to raise the productive forces to a higher level, to increase the economic potential and strengthen our Homeland, to steadily increase the material blessings in order to improve the life of the people.

On the basis of the further development of the productive forces, our working class will grow and its alliance with the working peasantry, and the economic,

political and organizational foundations of our people's state power, will become stronger.

*The 3rd Five-year Plan will mark an important step forward in the construction of the material-technical base of socialism. Our country will advance more rapidly on the road of transformation from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian one, agricultural production will increase more rapidly, and consequently, the material and cultural level of the masses of the working people will be further raised.* This is the main task of the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Our People's Republic has all the possibilities to make this objective of the 4th Congress of the Party a reality. The generally successful fulfilment of the state economic plans, the construction of the economic base of socialism, the uninterrupted development of the productive forces, the lofty consciousness and the socialist emulation, which has burst out all over our Homeland, have made it possible to set ourselves new tasks and to march at a rapid pace on the road of socialist construction.

The high and uninterrupted rates of development of industrial production are outstanding features of the 3rd Five-year Plan, too. They are further clear evidence of the strength and nature of our socialist economy.

The grandeur of the 3rd Five-year Plan can be appreciated, also, from the large funds which will be invested in the people's economy, and which will further increase the production of material goods during this period. Another feature of the 3rd Five-year Plan, also, is the fact that part of the investments will give their economic effect during the first years of the 4th Five-year Plan, thus ensuring the continuation of extended socialist reproduction.

In the 3rd Five-year Plan correct ratios have been

established such as to ensure the harmonious development of the branches of the economy, in the first place, that of industry and agriculture. With the creation of new branches of material production, the 3rd Five-year Plan improves the structure of the economy and creates better conditions for increasing social production further.

Priority to the increase of production of means of production, as compared with the production of consumer goods, is another distinguishing feature of this five-year plan. This is the result of the economic policy followed by our Party in the industrialization of the country and in the distribution of investments to the different branches of the economy.

During the 3rd Five-year Plan, the process of the socialist industrialization of the country will be raised to an even higher level. New branches, equipped with advanced technology, will be added to our up-to-date industry. The raw materials will be more completely processed, and this characterizes the further rise of the level of the industrial development of our country.

#### 1. - THE CONTINUATION OF THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY - DECISIVE FACTOR FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASE OF SOCIALISM

During the 3rd Five-year Plan, too, our Party of Labour considers the further development of the socialist industrialization of the country, giving priority to the rapid development of heavy industry, an important task.

It is envisaged that in 1965 the total volume of industrial production (at 1960 prices) will be increased 52 per cent, with an average annual rate of growth of 8.7 per cent. In the same year the specific weight of industrial

production in the total volume of industrial and agricultural output will reach 54 per cent.

Priority to the increase of production of means increased by 54 per cent, while production of consumer goods (group «B») by 50 per cent. Production of means of production will account for more than half the total volume of industrial production.

As can be seen, in its economic policy concerning the socialist industrialization of the country, despite the existence of special features, our Party always has in mind the Leninist thesis that heavy industry is the basis of socialist industrialization, that in this process, production of means of production must be increased at higher rates than the production of consumer goods.

The mining and processing industry will undergo great development, with the aim of achieving better utilization of the wealth of the country — the useful minerals, sources of fuel and hydro-power, the forest wealth, agricultural raw materials, and so on. Large funds will be invested for the establishment of new branches of heavy industry, such as the chemical industry for the production of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers for agriculture, as well as for the ferro-chrome metallurgy, electro-metallurgy of copper, and preparations will be made for the establishment in the future of the ferrous metallurgy base.<sup>3</sup>

By creating these conditions, our industry will give

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<sup>3</sup> Part of the new projects of heavy industry, such as the ferro-chrome factory, the copper processing complex, the metallurgical combine, the nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers plants, etc., were to have been set up during the 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1965). But because of the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian policy of the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers, who organized a savage all-round blockade on socialist Albania and arbitrarily annulled all agreements concluded with it, taking account of the

a more powerful impetus to the development of the productive forces. A more effective structure of the economy will be created, and the further processing of the raw materials of the country, increasing their value, will be carried out, in order to improve the import-export balance.

*The Party has taken and will take important measures for the further development of the oil industry, one of the main branches which has great prospects for our economy.* It is envisaged that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the extraction of oil will be increased 51 per cent and its processing 38 per cent. The output of oil to be extracted in 1965 is equal to the total output during the years 1951-1956 taken together. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, the volume of prospect drilling will be increased by 63 per cent above that of the 2nd Five-year Plan.

The oil workers face great tasks in order to put new oil and gas deposits at the disposal of our economy. Special care must be devoted to rapid and high quality well-drilling in order to improve the technico-economic indices and to raise the economic efficiency of fundamental investments. Advanced methods and the achievements of science must be utilized to step up oil extraction.

There is no doubt that oil is a great wealth for our country, and at the same time a product of great export value. Our extraction of oil will guarantee a large income for the economy of our country. All of you recall the systematic sabotage by the Yugoslav revisionists in this important branch of our economy. Their aim was to strangle our economy and make it wholly dependent on the Yugoslav economy, to achieve their

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new situation created, the Government of the PR of Albania decided to postpone the construction of these projects to the coming five-year plans.

fiendish plans to bring our Party to its knees, to dictate their will to our Party and people, to eliminate the sound leadership of the Party and replace it with traitors sold out to them. You clearly recall the attempts of the friend and collaborator of the Yugoslav revisionists, Tuk Jakova, who tried many times in the Political Bureau and in the Government, not only to prove that we had no oil and that the little which we extracted was not profitable, but also to defend his thesis, which of course was indignantly rejected, that we should give up oil extraction competely. Life itself proved what criminals the Titoites and their agents, Tuk Jakova and Co. were. The Yugoslav revisionists and their agents were convinced that our country had very good prospects for oil, and that this oil would be extracted, according to their reckoning, after they had eliminated our Party and its leadership. In this way, not only would they have secured our oil for their own interests, but they would also have «proved» the «inability» of our Party and its leadership and the «ability and wisdom» of traitors like Tuk Jakova and Co. However, this plan of the enemies of our Party and people did not work out and it never will. Today we have created a sound base for oil; we have thousands of glorious workers, specialists and engineers, whom the Party has raised with the greatest care. It has trained and educated them in higher schools, has equipped them with the great experience of life, and not only do they successfully fulfil the plans, but nobody can fool them any more...

Refining capacity will be extended on the basis of the increase of oil production. At the Cërrik oil refinery a reforming plant will be added, and this will make it possible to fulfil the requirements of our country for liquid fuel better.

*During the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the*

*other branches of the mining industry will also undergo great development.* New mines will be opened and exploitation in depth of the existing ones will begin. In 1965 the total output of our mining industry will be 49 per cent higher than in 1960.

At the end of the 3rd Five-year Plan our country will produce 45 per cent more coal. This means that the production of 1965 alone will be equal to 72 per cent of the total quantity of coal produced during the 1st Five-year Plan.

The chromium industry, too, will continue to develop rapidly during this five-year plan.

At the end of the 3rd Five-year Plan the output of the copper industry will be almost three times greater than in 1960.

The iron-nickel industry will undergo vigorous development. At the end of this five-year plan our country will be producing almost half a million tons of iron-nickel ore. This will be a sound starting-point from which to set up our ferrous metallurgy in the not-too-distant future.

The rapid rates of development of the oil and mining industries, the new projects of non-ferrous and ferrous metallurgy and the chemical industry, which will be built during the 3rd and subsequent five-year plans for the processing at home of our underground wealth, make it urgently necessary to ensure and extend the raw materials base.

*The Party considers it indispensable that during this five-year plan, too, geological work must be extended and intensified, paying special attention to complex prospecting to find new deposits, first of all, of oil, bitumen, natural gas, coal, chrome, iron-nickel, copper, as well as other useful minerals.*

The working people of geology must devote great attention to the enrichment, safeguarding and utilization

of the documents and materials in a scientific manner, so that they serve not only for the present, but also for the coming generations. Special attention must be paid to increasing the effectiveness of geological prospecting in order to discover and raise the reserves in category, with the lowest possible expenditure.

The work in the geological field must be judged not only by the volume of the work performed, but also by the quantity and quality of the useful mineral deposits put at the service of our people's economy.

*The coming into production of the new projects envisaged in the 3rd Five-year Plan, especially those which consume large quantities of electric power, and the prospects of the development of our country during the coming five-year plans, raise before us as a primary task the further extension of the energy base.*

The Party has taken timely measures to keep ahead of the needs of our economy for electric power. During the 3rd Five-year Plan our state will invest huge funds for the purpose of strengthening the energy base. With the new hydro-power stations which will come into production in the first years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, such as those of Shkopet<sup>4</sup> and Bistrica<sup>4</sup>, together with the powerful thermal station which will be built in Fier, the installed capacity of our power stations will be increased about 2.5 times. During the 3rd Five-year Plan studies will be made of the possibility of harnessing the huge energy reserves of the Drin River in the service of our economy. Eighty four per cent more electric power will be produced in 1965 than was produced in 1960.

*The main targets of the mechanical engineering industry in the future, too, will be the profitable increase and extension of the range of spare parts for industry and*

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<sup>4</sup> The «F. Engels» and «J. V. Stalin» hydro-power stations respectively.

*especially, for the oil industry, road transport, agriculture, and other branches of the people's economy. The work begun for producing simple machines must be continued and the existing engineering base must be exploited in depth.* In 1965 the engineering industry must meet not less than 50 per cent of the country's needs for spare parts. The task which the Party puts forward for the production of spare parts has special significance for our country. Its achievement will help in the better utilization and maintenance of the equipment and machinery, and will reduce our imports...

*The fulfilment of the ever-increasing needs of the population for consumer goods makes the further extension of light and food industries indispensable.* Great importance will be given during the 3rd Five-year Plan to the strengthening and modernization of these branches of industry, by building new plants with modern equipment such as the woollen textile factory for the production of woollen fabrics in Tirana, and the knit-wear combine in Korça; another big cotton textile combine will be built at Berat, the construction of the edible oil extraction and refining factory in Fier will be completed, and the «Ali Kelmendi» food combine in Tirana will be finished; the grape and other fruit processing industries will also be greatly developed.

The construction of these new projects, as well as the more effective exploitation of the existing productive capacities will make possible the local processing on a larger scale of agricultural and livestock raw materials, thus contributing to the development of these branches of agriculture and to the improvement of the material well-being of the people...

The fulfilment of the ever-growing daily needs of the population for different services and repairs is the number one task of our artisan cooperatives. Guided

by this aim, these organizations, together with the local organs of the Party and state, must have a thorough knowledge of the needs of the people for services, and they must establish their activities and the network of such services according to these needs.

*The majestic tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan will be accomplished to an appreciable extent by means of the important funds which will be invested for the development of the economy and culture.* The investments of this five-year plan will reach 69 billion 500 million leks, or 51 per cent more than in the 2nd Five-year Plan. As in the past, the great bulk of the investments, or 81.9 per cent, will be made in the sphere of material production.

In the coming five-year plan, capital construction work will have very great weight. For this about 35 billion 700 million leks, at 1961 prices, will be spent, or 60 per cent more than the volume of the construction carried out during the 2nd Five-year Plan, and 400 million leks more than has been spent during the fifteen years of the people's power, calculated at 1958 prices.

Out of the total volume of construction 72.1 per cent will be carried out for the productive branches. This will make possible the construction of more than four hundred industrial, agricultural, and social-cultural projects, etc.

The magnificent plan worked out by the Party for the reclamation of the plains, for the elimination of the ancient swamps, for putting the maximum land under crops, will enter the final stage of its realization.

To speed up the rate of building houses, expenditure of 6 billion 500 million leks, or 75 per cent more than in the 2nd Five-year Plan, is provided for.

Important work will be done for the further development of transport, by increasing the road and railway network, by mechanizing and modernizing our sea ports

and especially the port of Durrës, which will become one of the largest on the Adriatic Sea...

Comrades,

In general, these are the tasks which the Party puts forward for the further development of these important sectors of the economy during the 3rd Five-year Plan. As you see, these are no easy tasks. Fulfilment of them requires the full and all-round mobilization of the party organizations and the working collectives. It requires further improvement of the method of leadership and organization of work, a more determined struggle for savings, for the exploitation of the internal reserves and possibilities which exist in the country. In connection with the tasks which are put forward in these sectors of the economy, we must emphasize some very important questions which the Party and the working masses must keep in mind and which have to do with the further improvement of the quality indices of production.

a) *In the field of the productivity of labour.* The Party has always taught us that the uninterrupted increase of the productivity of labour, as an economic law of socialism, is the decisive factor for the acceleration of rates of production, reduction of costs, the increase of socialist accumulation, and the improvement of the material and cultural level of the working masses. The productivity of labour, as Lenin teaches us,

*«... is, in the final analysis, the most important thing, the main thing, for the victory of the new social order.»\**

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 29, p. 474 (Alb. ed.).

Such an evaluation of this very important economic indicator has found its concrete embodiment in our state plans. In the field of increasing the productivity of labour, as in all our economic activity, we have achieved satisfactory results. The target set by the 3rd Congress of the Party has been achieved in general: about 67 per cent of the increase in total industrial production during the 2nd Five-year Plan was achieved thanks to the increase of the productivity of labour.

The 3rd Five-year Plan sets still greater tasks. Under the draft-directives, the productivity of labour in industrial production as a whole is envisaged to increase 27 per cent, of which in mines 25 per cent, in industry 34 per cent, in vehicle transport 15 per cent, in rail transport 44 per cent and sea transport 75 per cent, whereas in construction and assembly work 29 per cent. The increase of the productivity of labour at such high rates in the 3rd Five-year Plan will ensure about 62 per cent of the increase in the total industrial production.

As can be seen, these are big tasks, but they are completely realizable, if effective measures are taken to exploit the great possibilities which exist in the economy of our country.

*Continuous technical progress is the material basis for rapid increase of the productivity of labour.* V. I. Lenin constantly stressed that the provision of new advanced equipment for all the branches of the people's economy, perfecting the technology of production, and mechanization of the processes of work are the material foundations for the uninterrupted increase of the productivity of labour.

Unlike the capitalist system, which is based on the exploitation of man by man, in our socialist economy unlimited possibilities have been created for the introduction of modern equipment on an extensive scale and in a planned way. The increase in the productivity of

labour in our country is not based on the inhuman intensification of work, as it is in capitalism. The equipment with which our industry is being provided constantly is the source of the uninterrupted growth of production and of the productivity of labour. For this reason the maintenance and rational exploitation of the machinery, mechanisms, and technical equipment, as the chief elements of increasing the productive capacity, have been and continue to be one of the most important tasks for the party organizations and the state and economic organs.

The Party has always made it known that the improvement of the utilization of the machinery must aim at both utilization in breadth through productive operation for the maximum time, and utilization in depth through raising productivity per work time unit. The carrying out of these tasks requires the establishment of a correct regime in the operation of the machinery, improvement of the rhythm of production, and so on.

*The training and the qualification of cadres is the decisive factor for mastering the equipment and raising the productivity of labour.*

The rapid development of the socialist industrialization, the reconstruction of a great number of enterprises, equipping them with up-to-date machinery, as well as the vigorous development of the other branches of our people's economy set the urgent task of training the cadres needed, not just to bring the enterprises into production but to ensure the most complete utilization of their planned capacities.

Equipment, no matter how good and perfect, remains a dead thing if it lacks people capable of using it. Therefore, in this five-year plan too, the Party will devote particular care to the growth and training of the working class and the leading cadres, as a decisive factor for

mastering the equipment and raising the productivity of labour.

The implementation of the effective measures provided for in the 3rd Five-year Plan in the field of the technical and vocational training of cadres will create the conditions for a more rapid march towards the elimination of the existing discrepancy between the needs for cadres and their availability, on the one hand, and the level of the technology and their professional training, on the other.

The fulfilment of these tasks which are of primary importance for raising the productivity of labour and building socialism, is closely connected with the reorganization of general and vocational education.

*The organization and utilization of work time — an important condition for raising the productivity of labour.* The problems that have to do with the fixing of output norms and, in general, the socialist organization of work have a profound economic, political and social content, and as such, have constantly drawn the attention of the Party. The number of workers working according to fixed output norms has steadily increased in all the branches and sectors of our economy. Good work is under way for advancing experimental-statistical output norms and replacing them with technical norms.

Technical norms are a great mobilizing force, a sound basis for raising the productivity of labour. They are fixed on the basis of the average indices of productivity already achieved so as to raise the broad masses of the workers to the level of their advanced comrades.

Taking into account the socialist principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work done, during this five-year plan the Party will adopt a series of important measures designed to make the system of wages an even stronger incentive to raising production and the productivity of labour.

*Socialist emulation — a great social force in raising the productivity of labour.* One of the characteristic features of the socialist organization of labour in our country is the fact that the workers are directly interested in increasing the productivity of labour. The fact that the workers are working for themselves, for the society, and not for the capitalist, develops great conscientiousness and an exemplary attitude towards work. This is the source of the birth and development of such wonderful initiatives as the «1+2» method<sup>5</sup> for the qualification of the workers, the movement for every worker to fulfil the norms, and, above all, the great social movement of brigades which are struggling to earn the title, «Socialist Labour Brigade», under the slogan «We must work, learn and live in a socialist way».

It is the duty of the party and trade-union organizations to support any workers' initiative, to generalize and publicize it in every way. Thus, they open broader horizons to the development of the productive forces of the country as a powerful factor for the increase of the productivity of social labour at even higher rates.

b) *Special attention must be paid to fulfilling the plan not only in quantity, but also in quality.* The setting up of a series of industrial projects, with modern up-to-date equipment, the reconstruction and modernization of the existing industry, the raising of the level of mechanization of construction work, the work done for the training and qualification of cadres, have created favourable conditions and real possibilities for the radical improvement of quality. The measures taken for the standardization of products, the changing of the methodology of planning,

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<sup>5</sup> A method of raising the technical-professional abilities of workers, according to which, a skilled worker pledges to raise two more workers to the level of his own qualification.

and the organization of offices, laboratories, etc., to check on quality, have also served this end.

The industrial enterprises and those of construction have all the possibilities to provide the people with high quality goods and work. The time has come for every enterprise or economic organization to concentrate its attention on fulfilling quality indices of production.

It has been noticed that during recent years many working collectives have turned out high quality products and constructions, which the people have eagerly welcomed, such as the products of the «Stalin» textile combine, those of the cement works in Vlora, of the wood-working cooperative at Pogradec, and of many others. But this is only the beginning of the great work ahead of us. Therefore the party organizations, in the first place, must wage a fierce and persistent fight against all alien manifestations, against narrow departmental interests and against the spirit of laxity, which are observed here and there.

The struggle to raise quality is, at the same time, the struggle to increase production and raise the material and cultural level of the working people. Therefore, in the future the party organizations must display greater care for the organization of production, in order to ensure respect for and extension of state standards and technical conditions, for the establishment and application of advanced technological processes. The improvement of the quality is inconceivable without raising the level of all-round and systematic technical control ever higher, without enhancing the feeling of personal responsibility in people.

c) *We must further strengthen the regime of savings.* The fulfilment of the magnificent program of the Party for the construction of socialism requires the mobilization and systematic technical control ever higher, without establishment of a strict regime of savings in the people's

economy and throughout the state and social activities in our country.

The Party has educated the cadres and the working people that, while exploiting the great objective possibilities of the socialist order, they must discover and use the internal reserves of production for the further growth of financial resources, and must use them in favour of the development of the economy and for the improvement of material and cultural conditions of the working masses.

In this way it was possible to put into practice the instructions of the 3rd Congress of the Party for the increase of production, the reduction of costs, and the reduction of non-productive expenditure, providing the people's economy with savings above the plan. After the December 1959 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the struggle to economize everywhere, to manage the people's assets and money well, to raise socialist consciousness on the job to a higher level, has become especially vigorous. It is estimated that at the end of 1960, in the economic sector the reduction of costs exceeded the targets set by the 3rd Congress of the Party by 700 million leks. The new tasks which are put before our economy in the 3rd Five-year Plan require an even greater mobilization of our internal material and financial resources. Special importance, with regard to savings, must be attached to the rational exploitation of raw materials, other materials, fuel, etc.

The systematic reduction of the norms of consumption of materials and especially of imported materials, saving and replacing materials in short supply, must be a permanent duty of the economic and state organs. In this direction we still have great possibilities. The application of advanced methods and experience, improvement of the quality of raw materials, and the application of technical norms of the consumption of materials are important

factors which ensure economizing on material and monetary values.

In the struggle for the establishment of the regime of savings it must be kept in mind that non-productive expenditure must be reduced, turn-over must be speeded up, enterprises must increasingly meet their expenditure from their income, and unnecessary administrative costs cut.

The struggle for the establishment and further strengthening of the savings regime is closely linked with the work of the Party to inculcate in the workers the socialist consciousness of the need to protect the common property of the people. Damage to and mismanagement of socialist property must be considered a reflection of the class struggle. Therefore, besides the educational work, which must be intensified, we must never slacken our revolutionary vigilance.

The party organizations, the mass organizations, the managers of the economy, and all the workers must clearly understand that the struggle for the achievement of the planned targets is inevitably connected with the struggle for savings. The problem of further strengthening the savings regime must be made a problem of the masses and subjected to their check-up. The workers' initiatives for the reduction of expenditure and the strengthening of the savings regime must be supported and encouraged. The Party should continue to inculcate in the masses of the working people great respect for socialist property and instil in the working people the sense of strict frugality.

## 2. - THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE DURING THE 3rd FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Agriculture is the basic branch of the people's economy, which in 1959 accounted for 42.8 per cent of the national income. Proceeding from the great importance which agriculture has for the socialist construction of the country and from the fact that 62.7 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, the Party has always devoted special attention to its development, as it has to every aspect of the socialist construction in the countryside.

The 3rd Five-year Plan envisages a considerable rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people of our country. Industry in general will be extended, and especially the light industry and the food-processing industry. To a considerable extent, the successful achievement of these important tasks is closely linked with the increase in agricultural and livestock products. Therefore the measures taken for the rapid development of agriculture have an important place. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, *the main task in agriculture remains the increase of grain production. Along with this, other agricultural and livestock products must increase, too, on such a scale as to ensure satisfactory supplies for the people, to adequately fulfil the needs of industry for raw materials, and to increase exports.*

Measures must be taken so that in 1965 agricultural and livestock products will be increased over the 1960 levels as follows: bread grain 95 per cent, cotton 65 per cent, tobacco 112 per cent, sugar-beet 75 per cent, vegetables and potatoes 109 per cent, olives 181 per cent, fruit and grapes 90 per cent, milk 58 per cent, meat (live weight) 34 per cent, wool 44 per cent, etc.

On what does our Party base itself in putting forward such targets for the rapid upsurge of agriculture and the

increase of the agricultural and livestock products during the 3rd Five-year Plan?

*First*, on the new conditions created with the completion of collectivization, in general, on the results of the cooperatives up to date, as well as on the measures which will be taken for their economic-organizational strengthening during the 3rd Five-year Plan.

*Second*, on the level which the mechanization of agriculture has reached and on the measures envisaged for its further extension. We need only say that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the volume of mechanized work will be almost doubled, while the number of tractors available will be more than doubled. For this purpose, 2 billion 600 million leks will be invested, that is, nearly three times more than the 1st Five-year Plan and 8 per cent more than the 2nd Five-year Plan.

*Third*, on the draining and protection of a great part of the most fertile plains of our country, as well as on the extension of the irrigated area, which were carried out during the 2nd Five-year Plan. The work in this direction will continue on a large scale during the 3rd Five-year Plan, too, investing for this purpose 3 billion 693 million leks, or 18 per cent more than in the 2nd Five-year Plan, and 2,5 times more than in the 1st Five-year Plan.

*Fourth*, on the breaking in of more than 63,000 hectares of virgin land and on the waging of a more determined struggle by all the working people in agriculture to increase yields.

The drainage of land, thorough working of it, especially periodical deep ploughing 30-40 centimetres deep for field crops, the struggle for accumulation and good use of organic manures, the use of selected seeds, the carrying out of agrotechnical services on time, the fight against agricultural pests and diseases, the raising of the level of agrotechnical knowledge of the workers in agriculture and

the training of a larger number of specialized cadres and leaders for the agricultural cooperatives and for the needs of agriculture in general, all these measures must be supervised and be faithfully carried out by the state organs, by the party organizations and working people of agriculture because they are closely linked with the achievement of the targets put forward for agriculture during the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Under the 1st and 2nd Five-year Plans the breaking-in of virgin land and the extension of the area under crops was the task of first importance, while under the 3rd Five-year Plan along with breaking-in new land the main task is the increase of crop yields. *Therefore, without ceasing the struggle to break in new land, the main road for the development of agriculture and for the increase of agricultural products, under the 3rd Five-year Plan and later, is the unceasing increase of crop yields.* In this direction, if we work properly, there are inexhaustible reserves. With this concept of the importance of the increase in crop yields, during the 3rd Five-year Plan it is envisaged that the area under crops will be extended only 13 per cent, while the total volume of agricultural and livestock production will increase 72 per cent.

The targets for the increase of agricultural and livestock products in the 3rd Five-year Plan are set very high, but it is entirely possible to achieve them. Hence, on the basis of our conditions as a country with very limited arable land, it is necessary to take measures to go over everywhere to intensive agriculture.

The increase of mechanization, extension of the irrigated area and the drainage and protection of the plains create favourable conditions for the intensification of agriculture. With the exception of some mountainous regions, we must fight to get two or three crops per year from the cultivated area. For the irrigated lands this matter is beyond dispute,

but even in the unirrigated areas, if it is not possible to get two crops of grain a year, it is entirely possible, following grain or some other usual crops, to plant forage crops the same year, as the Party has always stressed. The state and agricultural organs, the party organizations and the working people of agriculture, especially the agronomists and specialists, must consider the taking of two and three crops a year from each hectare of land a very important duty for the development of agriculture and the increase of agricultural and livestock products.

The intensification of agriculture over a wide area, the taking of two and three crops a year from the same plots, the raising of more livestock for every 100 hectares of land, the increase of income for every hectare of land under cultivation, etc., are closely related to the exploitation of the great reserves of the land...

Comrades,

I wish to deal especially with the question of the agricultural cooperatives. Today they constitute almost all the agriculture of the country. To a large extent, the fulfilment of the targets of the plan for the rapid development of agricultural and livestock production depends on the successful running of the agricultural cooperatives. During the 2nd Five-year Plan, the Party scored an historic victory with the completion, in general, of the collectivization of agriculture, but we cannot relax and think that from now on the problems of agriculture will be easily solved, without great efforts and brain-racking.

The large economies which have already been created must be managed with the greatest thrift in order to become truly advanced economies, in which all their branches will be developed harmoniously. Our agricultural cooperatives are very far from such a standard. Therefore, while the

struggle of the Party and state organs in the countryside during the 2nd Five-year Plan was concentrated on the completion of the collectivization of agriculture in general, during the 3rd Five-year Plan *the main task is to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives economically and organizationally, so as to make them powerful and highly profitable economies.*

This is not a simple task, and it cannot be solved either by decisions and decrees, or by agitation and propaganda. It demands careful study of the situation of each cooperative, the conditions and possibilities they have to develop the different branches of their economy, as well as the perspective for each of them.

All these great problems must be studied in a complex manner. The direction of the cooperative or the development of its branches cannot be decided without taking into consideration the conditions of the soil and climate, the manpower and the working means, and the profitability of the development of one branch or another, etc. The harmonious development of the branches in the agricultural cooperatives should always be considered from the angle of the profitability of the cooperative and the tasks assigned to it under the state plan.

*Special care must be shown for the cooperatives of the mountainous and semi-mountainous regions.* Up to now they have a one-sided development. Their members get little income even when they put in a great number of work-days, although it often happens that they do not use all their manpower. These cooperatives must be given special on-the-spot assistance. Each economy must be thoroughly studied in order to determine not only the branches to be developed, but also the types of crops which can be best raised and bring greater income both to the cooperative and to the state.

Along with the work which must be done for the organizational and economic strengthening of the agricultural

cooperatives, during the 3rd Five-year Plan the state organs, especially those of agriculture, and the district party organizations must always keep in mind the perspective development of the villages, which must be not only centres of the agricultural economy but important inhabited centres, cultural and educational centres as well, which truly represent the new socialist village.

Seeing the future of our countryside in this light, now that agricultural cooperatives and their members, especially those of the lowlands, have good incomes, which may be used for construction work, building houses, etc., it is necessary that all these investments are well studied so as to serve as a basis for the village of the future.

*The work for the combination of the small cooperatives in larger units must be continued carefully during the coming years, too.* The Party must work for the combination of the small cooperatives into bigger ones, especially in the plains, but cooperatives larger than 700-1000 hectares of land must not be allowed. This would make their management very difficult and instead of bringing benefits, combination would damage the work. In the mountainous regions the combination of cooperatives must be done very cautiously, and only where it is seen as indispensable, when the cooperatives are very small and close to one another.

The combination of small cooperatives has great importance for the future of agriculture, for in this way the possibilities are created for better exploitation of the reserves which the agricultural economy has, the development of the branches of agriculture can be combined better, investments for the development of the economy are used more correctly and a better distribution of manpower and working means is carried out, many of the costs met by the small agricultural cooperatives of today both for administration as well as for other purposes, are reduced.

In each case we must take good look of the cadres who

will manage the enlarged cooperatives. Capable selected cadres, who have experience of work in the Party or the state, as well as some of those attending the higher economic schools or the Party School, must be placed at the head of the united economies. The raising and perfecting of the capacities for leadership of the existing cadres in the agricultural cooperatives remains an important task in the future, which must be attended to by the organizations of the Party and the state organs.

For the smooth running of the agricultural cooperative, the implementation of the Constitution of the cooperative, the organization of the work and fair payment for it, and the wide participation of all the able-bodied members of the cooperative in the collective economy are indispensable conditions. Now that we have accumulated the necessary experience, the time has come to introduce more widely, but with proper care, some new improved forms for the organization, remuneration, and planning of the work. Thus, for instance, the allocation of different funds, especially that of social aid, as well as the distribution of the income, must be done in such a manner as to encourage the cooperativists to increase agricultural production and their participation in work. In some cooperatives where the possibilities have been created, the provision of pensions for members, who are no longer fit for work, sick leave, assistance to mothers with many children, etc., can be started gradually. A compulsory minimum number of the work days not only per year but also per month must be fixed, too. The establishment of creches and kindergartens and collective bakeries must be organized better, the role of the representative bodies, especially in the enlarged cooperatives, of brigades, management councils and control commissions, must be raised. These and other problems must be thoroughly studied and properly reflected in the model Constitution, and in the Constitution of each cooperative. Along with these,

some other forms of remuneration, which are applicable under the different conditions of each cooperative and understandable to all, must be studied in detail and submitted to the coming congress of the agricultural cooperatives which should be held this year.

In the successful solution of all the problems of the economic and organizational strengthening of agricultural cooperatives, the leading cadres play a decisive role. The training and qualification of the cadres of the agricultural cooperatives remains one of the most important tasks. Therefore the work in the schools of the agricultural cooperatives, in the agricultural technical schools, in the Institute of Agriculture, as well as in the other educational institutions, must be improved.

The further development of agriculture as a whole, and particularly that of some branches which are still lagging behind, for instance, livestock farming and fruit-growing, is closely linked with a complex of important measures, the targets for which have been defined correctly in the 3rd Five-year Draft-Plan. *The proper utilization of the agricultural machines, the completion on time and the maintenance and proper use of the drainage and irrigation works, the successful fulfilment of the afforestation plan, economy in the use of timber, and protection of the land from erosion must always be the focal points of the attention of the working people of agriculture and the Party, and must be made the concern of the masses.*

The Party has always practised a correct Marxist-Leninist policy towards the peasantry. It will carry out this policy resolutely in the future, too. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, besides the huge investments which will be made by the state for the mechanization of agriculture, for irrigation and land improvement works, various kinds of aid for the development of agriculture worth billions of leks will be made available to the peasantry, for instance,

agrarian credits, chemical fertilizers, selected seeds, fruit-tree saplings, etc.

### 3. - THE TARGETS OF THE 3rd FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF THE WORKING MASSES

Guided by the fundamental economic law of socialism, during this five-year plan we shall take important measures to raise the level of material well-being and culture of the working masses, in order to make the life of the people better, happier and more prosperous.

On the basis of the increase of the volume of industrial and agricultural production, at the end of 1965, as compared with 1960, the national income will increase by 56 per cent. At the same time, the real wages of the workers and employees will increase by 30 per cent and the real income of the peasantry by 35 per cent. The increase of real wages is envisaged mainly through the increase of nominal wages and the reduction of the prices of retail goods. Hence the real income of the working people will increase, and in this way their purchasing power will be raised. Under these conditions *the working people of state and cooperative trade face very important tasks for the uninterrupted distribution of goods from the producer to the consumer. By acquainting themselves more thoroughly with the needs of the people, they must give further encouragement to industrial and agricultural production of ever higher quality.*

The party and economic organs must work harder in order to raise the level of the service, equipment and culture in trade, taking into consideration that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the circulation of goods will be 38 per cent higher. The following increases in goods will be sold to the people through the trade network: sugar 126 per cent, fats 68 per cent, meat 83 per cent, fish 124 per cent, beans 96 per cent, rice 118 per cent, vegetables 40 per cent, among

others, potatoes 122 per cent, sawn timber 73 per cent, cement 117 per cent, nails 73 per cent, glass 183 per cent, cotton textiles 61 per cent, woollen textiles 53 per cent, footwear 113 per cent, and so on. Greater attention will be paid to the extension of the production and selling of building materials, articles for children, and those which lighten the burden on the housewife. During the 3rd Five-year Plan the organs of agriculture, wholesale purchase and trade must ensure fulfilment of the needs of the population for vegetables and potatoes and cope better with the demands for meat and milk.

The victory of socialism in the countryside requires the activation of the consumer cooperatives as economic organizations of the masses so that they serve the members at the proper time and fulfil their requirements better.

The Party instructs the working people of commerce to be ready to put all their abilities at the service of the people. The time has come when the working people of commerce must master the skills of their profession better and improve their work. It must be well understood that our socialist commerce, as J. V. Stalin has said,

*«... is our work, a work which we have created, a bolshevik work, and that when they work honestly, the working people of commerce, including here even the salespeople in the small shops, are performing our revolutionary bolshevik work.»\**

*During this five-year plan foreign trade matters assume special importance.* The working people of this sector face great tasks. The volume of foreign trade will be up about 65-70 per cent compared with that of the 2nd Five-year Plan, of which exports 90-95 per cent and imports about 50-55 per cent. We shall continue to develop economic

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\* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 329-330 (Alb. ed.).

and trade ties with the socialist countries. Respecting the known principles of mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs, we shall develop trade with capitalist countries that wish to have such relations with our state.

Export goods must increase continuously in quantity and assortment. There are great prospects open to the export of minerals, cigarettes and tobacco, the products of the food industry, preserves, wine, and fresh fruit and vegetables. Our producers and the foreign trade organs must ensure that these products are of high quality. They must work to protect and raise the reputation of their factory's brand and this should become a matter of honour.

Reduction of imports should be the concern of all the working people of our country. All the economic, state and party organs must do better work in this regard. Those working in foreign trade must ensure the orders, contracts and the arrival of imported goods at the proper time.

During the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan we envisage further extension of the tourist bases, because the beauties of nature and the climate allow us to do this.

*Wide prospects open for the constriction and extension of the fund of housing during the 3rd Five-year Plan.* About 6 billion 500 million leks, or 75 per cent more than during the 2nd Five-year Plan, will be spent for this purpose. About 1,360,000 square metres of dwelling space will be built, which represents approximately the total housing of five new towns like present-day Vlora. A great and ever-increasing socialist asset has been placed in the hands of the working people. Therefore it is the duty of all to look after it like the apple of our eye.

*Important measures will be taken for the further extension of communal services.* During the 3rd Five-year Plan new water supply systems will be built and the existing network will be extended. The further electrification

of the towns, and especially of the villages, will take a great leap forward. Considerable funds will be spent for the tidying up and beautifying the towns and other inhabited centres. Without doubt our people will make their own contribution to the solution of the numerous communal problems as they have done up to date. The party organs will find the right way to organize the initiative of the masses in town and countryside to make our beloved Homeland flower.

*The Party will show even greater care in the future for the protection and improvement of the health of the people, to lengthen the life of man.* To carry on the good results which have been achieved, it is necessary to give more attention to improvement of the work in all sectors of health, and especially to hygiene and prophylaxis, for the propagation of health education among the working masses. In 1965 we shall have 6.5 hospital beds for every 1,000 inhabitants. The medical personnel will be greatly increased and at the end of the five-year plan we shall have one doctor for every 1,600 inhabitants.

The carrying out of this program will raise the standard of living of our people to a higher level and will create conditions to make the family life of every worker happier and more pleasant.

#### 4. - THE TRAINING OF CADRES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE DURING THE COMING FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The all-round development of our country on the road of socialist construction, the progress of technique and science bring out the first-rate importance of the need to raise the educational and cultural standards of the masses, the need to ensure cadres for all the sectors of the economy and culture. Therefore the problem of cadres, of training

them at a faster rate and in a proportional way for all the sectors, the development of education, the extension of the network of schools and strengthening them, the work for the educational, cultural, ideological and professional uplift of the working people, are among the most immediate and important problems, which are facing the Party today. To a large extent, the fulfilment of the tasks for the development of our economy and culture, not only for this five-year plan, but for the future also, is dependent on the successful solution of these problems.

The 3rd Five-year Plan will mark an important turn in the training of cadres because now possibilities have increased for coping with the great needs in this direction better and more quickly.

In setting the targets for the training of cadres the Central Committee and the Government have been careful to preserve correct proportions among the sectors of the economy and culture, keeping in mind the sectors most backward and most vital in this period, as well as the prospects of the development of various sectors in the future.

Thus, for example, the number of engineers will be much increased — from 870 existing today to 2,290. Whereas we had one middle or higher cadre for every 31 workers in industry and mining in 1955, today in the mines we have one such specialist for every 13 workers, and in 1965, despite the growth of the working class, we shall have one for every five workers, while for every higher cadre there will be two to three middle cadres.

Agriculture will have 1,150 agronomists as compared with 570 at present. In 1965, in general, we shall have one agronomist for every 600 hectares of land, whereas today we have one agronomist for every 1,200 hectares, and one middle agricultural technician for every 330 hectares, while today there is one for every 650 hectares.

Important measures have been envisaged for the training and qualification of cadres for the health service, education, science, arts, and other sectors of the economy and culture.

The solution of the problem of cadres, the carrying out of the tasks for their training and qualification, require that the whole Party and all the state organs take up the matter concretely.

The 3rd Congress of the Party also pointed out to the party and state organs that in the work for training cadres they should keep well in mind the disproportion between the high level of the equipment and the low level of our workers. Despite the results achieved, the disproportion in this regard continues to exist. The main reason is that the party organizations and the leaders of the enterprises show little care for the promotion of the workers through their practice to middle technicians, and for the qualification, in the first place, of those workers who play the most decisive role in the process of work and production.

The Party has always stressed that evening and correspondence schools for adults are a great reserve for the training of cadres and raising the level of their skills.

For the fulfilment of the needs for qualified workers and specialist cadres, and the raising of the educational and cultural level of the working masses in general, the source is the further development and extension of schooling for the people.

Among the various measures for the extension of education, *the most important link in the 3rd Five-year Plan is the extension of 7-year schooling and later 8-year schooling*, which ensures the necessary contingents for all the other categories of school. At the end of the 3rd Five-year Plan we must include in the 5th class of the 8-year schooling system 80 per cent of the children who complete their elementary schooling and create conditions for the implementation of the compulsory universal 8-year schooling within

the coming decade. The number of pupils in the secondary schools will be almost doubled.

Following the Education Reform of 1946 which profoundly democratized our school system and paved the way for the creation of the new socialist school, the reorganization of our school system, based on the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of linking lesson with productive labour, is the greatest and most important step in the field of education.

As the Plenum of the Central Committee<sup>6</sup> decided, the reorganization of the school will begin to be applied gradually from the 1963-1964 school year. But it is clear that our school should prepare itself and begin to proceed right now on the basis of the important principles of the reorganization laid down by our Party. The fulfilment of these tasks requires that the necessary economic, organizational, and pedagogical measures should be taken in time. The Ministry of Education should take measures right now for the drafting of plans, programs and text-books and for working out the documents and new instructions which will be needed for the reorganized school. At the same time the education organs and the party organizations, in cooperation with the working people in production, should be thinking about ensuring jobs in production for the pupils, and securing the technical and teaching personnel. It is necessary that the education organs, under the supervision of

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<sup>6</sup> This Plenum was convened in October 1960. It discussed the report of the Political Bureau of the CC «On the Reorganization of the School and the Further Development of the Education System», and taking into consideration the conclusions of the popular discussion that had begun in June that year about the theses of the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA, on this problem, decided on the reorganization of the school and the education system on the principles embodied in these theses: linking the school with life and lesson with productive labour.

the party committees, should carefully study the experience accumulated by the experimental schools and take measures to publicize this experience.

Parallel with the preparation for and putting into effect of the reorganization of the school, a very great immediate problem facing us is the improvement of the quality of teaching, which finds its expression in the increased real progress of the pupils. The poor progress of pupils in their lessons is another major problem. To some extent, this situation is a consequence of the rapid expansion and development of schooling in our country and can be explained by a certain backwardness of the development of schooling in depth and quality as compared with its development in extension and quantity. But the main causes of this situation should be sought in the work of the school, in the work of the teaching staff. The problem of the improvement of the pupils' progress can and must be solved, first and foremost, by the teachers themselves. Our Party and people have surrounded the teachers with special care and honour. They highly esteem the noble work that the teachers have done and are doing for the extension of schooling to the most remote corners of our country, for the communist education of the younger generation, for the dissemination of culture among the masses. But even more work is required from our teachers. The teachers should not forget that every hour of every day they are educating and training our younger generation, that they have in their hands nearly one fifth of the population of our country whom they must equip with culture. This lofty and noble mission is an honour for them, but at the same time it charges them with responsibility to the people and our Homeland. Therefore, from the rostrum of this Congress, we once again appeal to our teachers to rally to their job with all their strength in order to raise the level of their teaching and educational work, to assure a high rate of progress of the pupils in

their lessons, and to further strengthen our school. This task cannot be achieved all at once or automatically. Its achievement requires from the teachers even more persistence in their work and greater efforts to raise their own ideological and professional level.

In the complex of the training of cadres in general, the training of teachers is one of the most serious and urgent problems. This is truly the key problem, the decisive link for the solution of all the main tasks in the field of education. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, the number of the teachers will increase from 11,000 at present to 17,000. During the 3rd Five-year Plan about 21,000 persons will go through the teacher training system, while the two-year teacher training institutes alone will be attended by over 4,000 students. A large number of teachers must be trained especially to teach natural sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry and to give lessons on practical work and on general technical subjects. The difficulty of securing teaching cadres is connected not only with the number of them, but also with their respective educational level, because, as is known, we are very backward in this direction, and especially in the 7-year schools. Therefore, in 1965 the number of teachers with the necessary education in the elementary schools will reach 90 per cent, compared with 50 per cent at present, in the 7-year schools it will reach 63 per cent, as compared with 24 per cent at present, and in the secondary schools it will increase from 63 per cent at present to 90 per cent. The number of teachers with higher education will increase from 1,000 at present to over 2,000, that is some hundreds more than the total number of teachers in our country during the regimes of the past.

The training of these thousands of new teachers and the raising of their educational level to the necessary height, must be a major action, not only for the Ministry of Education and its organs at the base but also for the state

and the Party, for the youth organization, the trade unions, and the women's union.

The question of education in our socialist society is a general problem of the state and society, a matter for the whole people. Therefore, in the field of education the Party should create an overall united front of efforts and make this a problem of the parents and the entire society.

The socialist construction of our country, the further development of the material and technical base of production, the solution of the problems connected with the further development of the productive forces and the speeding up of the pace of training higher cadres *require greater and more persistent work on the part of our higher cadres and all the working people of science in order to extend the basis for the development of science in our country.*

The establishment of the University of Tirana created more favourable conditions for raising the training of cadres to a higher level and for the development of scientific work in broad fields of knowledge.

But despite the successes achieved in the field of scientific research, especially in recent years, the development of scientific work is not yet up to the level of the needs of the times and is proceeding at a slow pace, in comparison with the demands of the socialist construction.

In order to overcome this backwardness and to further develop scientific work on a sounder basis, the Central Committee of the Party recently approved the 10 to 15-year plan of scientific research in our country. For the further development of scientific studies, it is necessary that, parallel with the development of the humanitarian and agricultural sciences, the natural and technical sciences should be developed more rapidly also so that study of the natural resources of our country and their maximum utilization can be achieved.

In the field of natural sciences, research work should

be directed towards the chemical and the physical study of the useful minerals of our country, as well as towards their practical exploitation, towards the laws of the occurrence and distribution of chromites, copper, etc., towards the cataloguing of the useful plants and flora of Albania, etc.

The research work in the field of technical sciences should be developed in studying the regionalization and standardization of buildings, re-inforced concrete constructions, the hydro-energetic resources of the rivers and the modelling of the hydro-technical projects, as well as in studying the electrification of our country.

The further development of studies in the field of agriculture should be concentrated, in the first place, as it has been up to the present, on the problems of increasing grain production, of raising the yields and the qualities of industrial crops, as well as on the problems of fruit-growing, the fodder base and breed improvement in livestock farming.

In the field of medical sciences, the main task is the clinical study of the diseases that occur in our country and the measures to diminish or eliminate them.

In this phase of the development of the historical and philological sciences, an important task is the thorough study of the key problems of our history, of the Albanian literary language, the history of Albanian literature, etc. As has been stressed in various decisions of the Central Committee of the Party, the work should be extended in the field of the history of the material culture, especially in regard to the Illyrian and early Albanian cultures, the field of the history of arts and the preservation and restoration of monuments.

In the field of economic, juridical and philosophical sciences, research work should be concentrated on the main problems, such as the special features of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the People's Republic of Albania, on studying the birth and the development of our state and

socialist law, and the laws of the construction of socialist society in the People's Republic of Albania.

The organization of scientific work on a sound basis, while carrying out concentrated work and organizing complex studies, as well as the successful realization of the great tasks which lie before us in the field of science for the next 10-15 years require, first of all, the training of a large collective of scientific workers, especially in the field of natural and technical sciences, and work with perspective for the future establishment and organization of scientific institutes for special branches of science, as a main basis of the successful development of scientific research. Efforts should be made to achieve a better combination of all scientific forces with the material means at our disposal. Scientific work, which serves the construction of socialism at rapid rates, should be supported without hesitation by the leaders of the ministries and production centres, considering it as an important state task, which is organically linked with their concrete tasks for the construction of socialism.

The Central Committee of the Party is fully confident that our men of science, like all the working people of our country, will strive with might and main to push ahead with scientific work, to solve important problems of production and the socialist construction of the country. In their noble work, they will enjoy, as always, the unsparing aid and support of our Party and our people's power, so that our young socialist science will advance and flourish.

*The great economic tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the rapid pace of the construction of socialism, require the raising of the culture of the masses to a higher level, in order to achieve a greater and more conscious mobilization of the masses in the struggle for the construction of socialism...*

#### IV

### ON CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF STRENGTHENING THE PARTY

Comrades,

The decisive factor in all the successes we have achieved and those we are going to achieve in the future, is our Party of Labour, its organizing and leading role, its consistently correct policy. All our people, all our communists, are proud of their Party because it is only under its wise, far-sighted and courageous leadership that the most beautiful dreams of our working people have become and are becoming reality.

The great heroic struggle, the indefatigable and selfless work, tempered and steeled our Party, made it brave and indomitable, a capable leader that enjoys the complete trust of all the working masses of our country. The strength of our Party lies in its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, in its unity, in its indissoluble ties with the people who gave it birth and raised it. Our whole Party is rallied around its Central Committee to a man. The steel-like unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Party have always been one of the distinctive characteristics of our Party of Labour. Always, and especially at the most important moments of the history of our Party and people, the unbreakable unity of the whole Party and the entire people around the Party, the readiness of everyone to carry out the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party resolutely and without hesitation, has been displayed with its full vigour.

The whole Party has guarded the unity of its ranks like the apple of its eye, fighting with all its strength and without the slightest hesitation against every enemy that has attempted to violate this unity in the slightest. Towards those communists who have made mistakes but have recognized the error of their ways, our Party has displayed great care and patience. But towards the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, towards the deserters and those who have attempted to split our unity, the Party has shown itself stern and merciless, and it will always do so. In our unity lies our strength, in our unity lies our invincibility, in our unity lies the guarantee of all our successes.

The further continuous strengthening of our Party is one of our main tasks, because the Party is the leading, organizing, and guiding force of the whole life of our country, because, as the great Lenin said,

*«... in it we see the mind, the honour and the conscience of our era.»\**

The Yugoslav revisionists, who have built up a whole «theory» about the diminishing role of the Party and its «withering away» in the conditions of the construction of socialism, aim precisely here, to strike at the heart, the brain, the head of our movement. The fact that the imperialists and their lackeys, the revisionists, have aimed their main blows against the Party, increases our conviction that we must strengthen our Party more and more and increase its role as leader and organizer.

From the 3rd to the 4th Congress, the organizational work of our Party has been strengthened a great deal. In the all-round activity for the implementation of the tasks which the 3rd Congress of the Party laid down in this field,

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 303 (Alb. ed.).

the organizing role of the Party has increased, its composition has been improved, the level of the party basic organizations has been raised, the method of work of all party organs has been improved, and the organizations of the masses have been invigorated and activated better. All these things have assisted the generally successful fulfilment of the important tasks which the 2nd Five-year Plan set before our people.

But the new conditions, the majestic tasks which this historic Congress of our Party is putting forward, require that the level of the organizational work of our Party must be raised still higher...

## 2. - THE MAIN PROBLEM TODAY IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS OF THE PARTY IS TO STRENGTHEN THE ROLE AND RAISE THE LEVEL OF THE WORK IN THE PARTY BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

Always having a correct appreciation of the role of the party basic organizations as the foundation of the Party, during this period, too, the Central Committee and the district committees of the Party have paid great attention to the all-round strengthening of their work. Now the force of the party basic organizations and their role in carrying out all the tasks is felt everywhere. On the basis of the directives of the 3rd Congress the extension and distribution of the party forces have been improved. Now in all the sectors we have 188 party basic organizations more than we had at the time of the 3rd Congress, and in the production centres we have 6,082 more communists than at that time. *Thus we may say that today the extension and distribution of the party forces fully responds to the tasks facing us.* This fact and the constant assistance of the Central Committee and of the district and city committees, as well as the

struggle for the implementation of the line of the Party, have raised the level of the work of the party basic organizations still higher.

But bearing in mind the major tasks facing us, the need arises for further improvement of the work of the party basic organizations and an increase in their abilities.

First, we must further improve the work of the party basic organizations in the state enterprises and the cooperatives for the management of production. Now, for every basic organization working in production, new conditions have been created in connection with the new requirements laid down for the improvement of all quality indices of production, as well as with the great extension and development of the agricultural cooperatives. Therefore these organizations must carry out a more thorough-going and concrete work, in order to exert an effective influence on the growth and improvement of production. In this direction the work has begun well, but it must be continued and carried through to the end. Here the attention of the Party should be concentrated on three main directions: to draw in the collective opinion of the Party, and indeed of the non-party masses, in order to find the weak points in the work of the enterprise or of the cooperative, as well as to find the ways to eliminate them; to organize the work with people properly, to make the tasks clear to everybody, to work for the raising of their technical and professional abilities and for the assimilation of advanced experience, etc.; to ensure a more effective check-up by the party basic organizations on the activity of the administration of the enterprise.

By making the administrations of the enterprises face up to their responsibilities for the weaknesses which are observed, by not allowing them to tolerate these shortcomings and deficiencies, and by mobilizing the masses properly to overcome these difficulties, the successful fulfilment of all the targets of the plan will be ensured. Of course, care

must be taken to avoid the situation in which the party basic organizations displace and take over the functions of the economic organs and state organs. Such a thing would be very harmful both to the work and to the cadres, but they must be made to face up better to their responsibility for the performance of their duties, must be given assistance in carrying them out, and constantly checked up on.

The most important condition for strengthening the check-up by the party basic organizations on the activity of the administration of the enterprises, and in general, for enhancing the leading role of the Party in production, is to increase the interest of all the communists in the outcome of the work in the enterprise and the carrying out of all tasks.

Greater attention must be paid, also, to the improvement of the work of the party basic organizations in the state administration bodies and the cultural, educational and scientific institutions. A large number of communists are working in these organizations, and the work at the base is heavily dependent on their work. It has to be said that the deficiencies which lead to failure by various enterprises to fulfil the targets of the plan are often connected with the weaknesses of the central administration in the work of giving leadership and assistance to the base. Therefore efforts must be made to enhance the role of the party organizations of this apparatus for the overall improvement of its work. In this direction, the party basic organizations which are working in the government departments and other central institutions, as well as those of the local executive committees, or other administrative bodies at district level, must further extend the range of problems with which they deal, aiming mainly at the struggle against bureaucracy, at the strengthening of the work of concrete management, in order to give the base greater and more effective assistance.

In the work for the overall raising of the role and

level of the party basic organizations, first-rate importance should be given to strengthening the internal life of the Party. The sound development of the internal life in the Party should serve to temper the communists, to free them from their shortcomings, and divest them of the hangovers and mental attitudes of the strata from which they come, as well as to consolidate in them the lofty virtues of communist morality. The forge of the Party must temper those elements who enjoy the trust and great affection of all the working people with whom they live and work.

In this regard we should give first-rate importance to thorough and always principled discussion of issues which are raised in the basic organizations, and especially to the development of criticism and self-criticism.

Another very serious problem for the party organizations is the strengthening of revolutionary vigilance. We have a wealth of experience in the struggle against enemies both inside and outside the ranks of the Party. In particular, we have waged a consistent, principled and correct struggle against Yugoslav revisionism. In the struggle against the enemies our Party has waxed stronger and its members have been tempered. But the enemies have not ceased their activity, either against our Party and our country, or against the socialist camp and the international communist movement. And there is no doubt that they will continue this struggle as long as they live. Therefore, on this question we must not entertain any opportunist illusions. The protection of the Party from hostile elements is, in the first place, the duty of every communist, just as the struggle against any enemy of the Republic is the duty of every communist and every patriot of our country. Therefore we must raise the vigilance of the communists and the entire people to a higher level. We are strong and growing stronger from day to day, but this in no way allows us to close our eyes and sleep on our laurels. Experience teaches

us that any slackening of our vigilance, however slight, is a plus for the enemy...

5. - WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE WORK OF THE PARTY  
FOR THE FURTHER ENHANCEMENT OF THE ROLE  
OF THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

While working for the implementation of the tasks set by the 3rd Congress of the Party, all the mass organizations have made obvious improvements in their work for draw this period.

The trade unions, under the leadership of the Party, have made obvious improvements in their work in drawing the mass of the workers, engineers, technicians and officials enthusiastically into the successful solution of production problems, into the struggle to increase the productivity of labour, to reduce costs, to utilize the internal reserves, to increase production and to develop the initiative and creative activity of the working class further. During this period, there has also been an obvious increase in the concern of the trade unions about raising the political, cultural and technico-professional level of the mass of the working people, as well as about the improvement of their working and living conditions.

During this period, the Labour Youth Union of Albania, under the direct leadership of the Party, has done better and more effective work for the communist education of the youth, has extended the forms and improved the content of all its work in this direction, thus making a great contribution to the training of the new man in our socialist society, while making our youth all over the country a great force always ready to carry out the tasks with which the Party charges it.

The women's organization, under the leadership of the

Party, has successfully carried out the important task of drawing the masses of the women, in town and countryside, into production. Now the women's organization is effectively fighting for the raising of the cultural and professional level of the women, for their promotion to responsible posts. The Women's Union of Albania has been outstanding for its concern to know and study at first hand the special problems of women and to practise interesting forms of work and activities appropriate to these problems.

The Democratic Front, also, has made an important contribution to the political and patriotic education of the people, as well as to their mobilization in a number of economic actions in the public interest.

But the work among the masses, the regular and organized contact of the Party with them, is one of the main questions, a permanent task for us, therefore, in the future too, we must further strengthen the work of the mass organizations, as well as the work of the Party with them.

In the first place, we must take care that the mass organizations carry out properly their function as «levers» and «transmission belts» which link the Party with the masses. In this sense, these organizations must not only carry the line of the Party to the masses and mobilize them to carry it out precisely, a task which is being done better and which must be done even better still in the future, but they must also bring back their thoughts, observations and suggestions of the masses to the Party, continually and regularly, so that it hears their voice and demands, because this enables the Party to give better leadership, to always take account of the demands of the masses and to check whether decisions taken are correct.

*«... we can govern only when we express correctly what the people feel,»\* says Lenin.*

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 336 (Alb. ed.).

The education of the masses is one of the main tasks of the Party. Taking into account the differing levels and demands of each stratum of the population of our country, as well as the specific problems and tasks they are faced with, the educational work of the Party among them should be differentiated as well.

Notwithstanding all the great work done hitherto for the education of the working class, we must give greater attention to this in the future. The trade unions are schools of communism, therefore they must intensify their work for the ideological and political uplift of the workers, for raising the level of their consciousness, and for the mastering of technique. In the education of the working class we must concentrate our aim on educating it in the socialist attitude towards work and social property, in the spirit of collectivism, co-operation and mutual aid, in the spirit of innovation and incompatibility with every outworn practice, in the correct concept of personal and social interests, and the communist standards of behaviour in life and society. Among the masses in the countryside, the aim of our work should be the inculcation of socialist discipline at work, against laziness, the inculcation of a correct attitude towards the collective economy as the basis of the livelihood and future of the peasant, the correct scientific world-outlook, against superstitions, empty beliefs, and harmful customs, with the sense of the new against conservatism, for a more cultured life in the countryside. We must educate the youth with the standards of communist morality, with an irreconcilable attitude towards manifestations of bourgeois ideology, must enable them to increase their political and technical-professional knowledge, nurture them continuously with the glorious traditions of our people and with the heroism of our times, educate them with a socialist attitude towards work and social property, with love for the Homeland and unwavering confidence in the triumph of the cause of social-

ism and communism. Among the masses of women a more effective fight must be waged against fanaticism and backward customs, against underestimation of their strength, against a number of unjust attitudes which are sometimes maintained towards them by men, and which lead to violation of their rights and hinder them from taking a more active part in the whole life of the country. On the other hand, the work for raising the level of consciousness and the cultural and professional level of the women must be strengthened, with the aim that they themselves, and especially the girls, should fight more effectively for their rights and for their proper position in society.

Another important problem on which the Party must concentrate the attention of the mass organizations, and especially the Trade Unions of Albania and the Labour Youth Union of Albania, in the future, is the question of the discovery, study and dissemination of advanced experience in production.

In our conditions, when the workers know and feel that they are working for themselves, for the happiness of their children, many new initiatives emerge, which have as their aim the better organization of work in production, the better utilization of working time, increased production, reduction of costs, that is to say, the development of the economy and culture of our country at higher rates. The thing is to know how to seize on these movements as soon as they emerge, to support them and open the way to their full-scale development, to assist the implementation of them wherever the conditions exist.

In this direction, the trade unions and the youth organizations must give the Party a great deal of help. We can say that during the period between the two congresses good work has been done as regards the support and relatively wide dissemination of new and very important movements, such as that of brigades of socialist labour,

the «1+2» movement for the education of cadres, the recent movement for every worker to fulfil his norms, the movement to put in at least 300 work days and more in the agricultural cooperatives, etc. The party and trade union organizations of economic enterprises in the cities of Tirana and Shkodra, as well as the village organizations of the Party and the Labour Youth Union of Albania in the towns of Lushnja and Fier, which have done a better job in the direction of the study, support and dissemination of new initiatives, are particularly to be commended. But it must be said that in this direction we are still only beginning to work well.

It is often considered that the important progressive experience which is to be supported and spread is that of a few individuals, outstanding in the whole Republic, who have achieved record results. There is no doubt that the example of the heroes of socialist labour should inspire all the workers of our country. The indices achieved by them in the realization of the targets of the plan should convince every worker of what his work is capable of yielding. But we should not seek advanced experience only in the work of these few outstanding people. In every enterprise and cooperative, in every brigade and team, there are workers who successfully fulfil and overfulfil the tasks assigned to them, who organize their work well, who utilize their working time properly, who turn out products of high quality and who make great savings. To make all the members of the team or brigade work as these people do, to raise the mass of the workers in the brigades and teams to the level of the best — this is an exceptionally great reserve for the fulfilment of our plans.

Finally, in our work among the mass organizations the question of invigorating their internal life must concern us, mainly the question of enhancing the feeling of responsibility of every member of these organizations for the smooth running of the work as a whole. In this direction the crea-

tion by every organization of a broad network of activists, energetic people, conscientious and tireless in carrying out social duties, is of first-rate importance. The struggle for the carrying out of social tasks raises people's political consciousness, makes them ardent patriots of their country, indomitable fighters for the cause of the Party. Therefore great concern should be displayed for charging these activists with concrete tasks, as well as for their continuous education.

#### 6. - THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER - AN INDISPENSABLE CONDITION FOR THE SUCCESSFUL PERFORMANCE OF ALL THE TASKS FACING US

The establishment of the people's state power is the greatest victory scored by our people under the leadership of the Party. The people's power made our people masters of their own fate. Always basing itself on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has worked with all its might to strengthen, perfect and further democratize the people's power, in order to make it an ever more effective weapon both for the consolidation of the victories achieved and for the continuous advance of the socialist construction of the country.

Along with the all-round growth and development of our country, our state of people's democracy, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, has grown up and become perfected. As a result of the construction of the economic base of socialism and of the establishment of socialist relations in town and countryside, as a result of the liquidation of antagonistic classes, the growth of the working class, and in general, the rise in the consciousness of all the working masses of our country, the

socialist base of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been greatly strengthened and extended. Without doubt, these things have also brought about the development of the main internal tasks and functions of our state in keeping with the new conditions.

The further strengthening and rapid development of the socialist economy and the raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses remain links in the chain of tasks facing our state. In this direction, both the ability and the responsibility of all the state organs, from top to bottom, must be raised, for the timely and correct solution of the problems which emerge in this field of activity. The main economic-organizational, cultural-educational function of our state finds its expression here.

The other, equally important, task of our state is the defence of the victories achieved from any attempt of external or internal enemies against them. Here our state carries out its functions of the suppression of enemy activity and defence of the Homeland. In the future, too, these will remain very important functions of our state, although the field of action of the function of repression will become narrower in the future, because, on the one hand, the exploiting classes have been liquidated, and on the other hand, the development of the economy and culture, the constant rise in the well-being of the working masses and the great political-educational work of the Party steadily reduce the incidence of crime. The function of repression is maintained, also, because our country is surrounded by rabid enemies, the imperialists and their lackeys, who are doing everything in their power to eliminate, or at least to injure, the People's Republic of Albania. Moreover, the facts themselves show that in our country at the present period, the main enemy activity takes the form of espionage and subversion directed mainly by the imperialists and their lackeys. The Party has always taken account of this important func-

tion of our state, as well as of the fact that we are building socialism encircled by rabid enemies. Therefore we have paid special attention to strengthening the organs of the dictatorship, and we can say that, under the leadership of the Party, those organs have carried out the functions assigned to them very well and successfully. All the attempts of the enemies, from the founding of our state of people's democracy to this day, in whatever form they have been made, by all the external or internal enemies, have been discovered in time and have been dealt with and smashed as they deserved.

Our armed forces, our valiant army, under the constant leadership of the Party, has been strengthened and modernized and is completely capable of defending the People's Republic of Albania and the victories of our people. Our soldiers, non-commissioned officers, officers and generals, fully conscientious in the performance of their duties towards the Homeland and socialism, have become masters in the use of all kinds of arms, including the most modern ones which we possess.

The organs of State Security and the People's Police, under the continuous leadership and care of the Party, have been strengthened and raised in qualification to the level necessary for the performance of their tasks. Characterized by the party spirit and always vigilant, they have smashed all the attempts of enemies and other evil-doers. They have become the terror of the enemies and a very beloved weapon for the people, who support and assist them in all their activity.

Our borders have become impassable; they are guarded and defended with heroism and pride by our brave border guards, in close cooperation with the people. According to the teachings of the Party and under its constant care, the border forces, educated with fiery patriotism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism, have always honourably

performed their duties for the protection of the borders of the People's Republic of Albania.

In the future, too, our Party will continue to give increasing attention to strengthening the organs of the dictatorship. We must make our armed forces, our valiant army, even stronger. We must modernize and perfect all the types of arms. The Ministry of People's Defence, all the commanders, the political organs and the party organizations in the army must work with all their might to perfect the military art, to strengthen the political and educational work and all the work of the Party in the army, to increase the knowledge of the troops and the staffs so that all become real masters of their weapons.

We must strengthen the work of the Party in the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (security, police, and border forces), must enhance their professional capabilities, must ensure that their revolutionary vigilance is constantly at its peak so that they are always ready and capable of performing the duties assigned to them. We must constantly strengthen the ties of these organs with the people.

The tasks ahead of us require that the work of the central state organs and their apparatuses must be further improved. The time has come to increase the demands on the central apparatuses for better quality work, for a more profound and timely study of problems and more effective assistance for the base, both for the enterprises dependent on them and for the executive committees of the people's councils. The central apparatuses must free themselves from petty daily questions, must fight resolutely against the bureaucratic handling of problems, must engage more seriously in correct planning and supply, in check-up on the main indices, and deal with the demands and proposals of the base in connection with production, correctly and quickly.

The foundations of our people's power are the people's councils, beginning from the village and city precinct councils up to the district councils. Both during the National Liberation War and after Liberation, our councils have always honourably carried out the tasks assigned to them. Through the people's councils we have always secured an active and broad participation of the masses in the affairs of the state. Now the people's councils and their executive committees have become more deeply involved in matters of production, as well as in social and cultural questions.

The extension of the socialist sector of the economy both in the towns and in the countryside has greatly increased the responsibilities of the people's councils. On the other hand, the improvement of the work in the central departments, requires their being relieved of the direct management of a number of enterprises and sectors. To this end it is necessary to extend the competences of the local organs of power. Therefore we must greatly strengthen the work of the people's councils, especially in these main directions:

On the one hand, the organs and the organizations of the Party, as well as the state organs themselves should pay great attention to the organizational strengthening of the people's councils, to their regular functioning, to the full activation of the commissions and the broad masses of the council members, to the ever greater involvement of the working masses in state problems.

On the other hand, the method of work of the local organs of state power at all levels must be improved and their initiative must be increased, within the limits of their authority under the law.

The people's councils in the villages, in particular, must be given great assistance in the directions mentioned. With the collectivization of agriculture, a new situation has been created for the people's councils in the villages, therefore

they must be instructed on how to go about their work. With the uniting of agricultural cooperatives, state administration units covering two or more villages are being created. This process is correct and must continue, but the people's councils of those big villages face the task of looking after the work in the residential centres (the former villages), as well as production. The people's council is the sole supreme authority of the state power in the village, therefore it should know about and concern itself with everything. In this direction struggle should be waged to prevent the replacement of the people's councils, which sometimes occurs, either by the chairmen of the agricultural cooperatives or by the higher state organs.

The work of the people's councils in the localities must also be improved. In some zones, where the unification of the agricultural cooperatives has been completed, since only a few economic-administrative units are left under the charge of the localities, the latter have been dissolved. This is correct and should be carried through to the end. But in the places where the localities are still maintained, they should not be weakened or displaced in any way, but should be assisted and activated, in order to strengthen the work of the people's councils in the villages, to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives and gradually to proceed with their unification, which will eventually make localities redundant.

Measures should be taken to strengthen the people's councils of the towns, to gradually increase and extend their competences.

At the same time, the further strengthening of the people's state power requires the strengthening of the socialist law, too. In this field we have scored great successes. But in the future, too, great attention should be paid by all the organs to the correct and precise application of our laws. They are the laws of the people in power, therefore they are inviolable and obligatory on all. The organs

of justice and control must carefully supervise and demand complete respect for our socialist law, without the slightest laxity, just as they have done up to now.

Comrades,

The strengthening of the organizational and leading work of our Party is a permanent task incumbent on everybody: on every communist, on every cadre, on every party organization and forum. Therefore we must make every effort to raise the level of its work even higher, to strengthen and steel the monolithic unity of its ranks around the Central Committee and the unity of the masses around the Party more and more, in order to raise its glory to ever greater eminence.

## V

### THE STRUGGLE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades,

The successful performance of the tasks of the socialist construction is directly connected with the ideological work of the Party, with the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses, with the creative and faithful application of the principles of our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party has always devoted great attention to the education of the communists and the masses with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, because Marxism-Leninism is the compass which guides the Party in all its activity. It gives

people the possibility to know the laws of development of society, to have a thorough understanding of events and to act correctly in any situation. Therefore the study and the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable, not just for a limited circle of cadres of the party apparatus, but for all the communists, all the cadres, whether they are party members or not, in the most varied sectors of the economy, art or culture, the army or education.

Our Party has always been aware that any weakening of the ideology of the Party, any underestimation of it, as the great Lenin says, inevitably brings about the strengthening of bourgeois ideology which constitutes a serious danger to the future of socialism itself. Therefore the Party has always considered ideolo-political work one of the most important sectors of its activity.

In the period since the 3rd Congress, a series of successes have been achieved in the ideological work of the Party, The ideological work has helped achieve results in socialist construction, in the communist education of the masses, in tempering the unity of the Party, as well as in the all-round consolidation of our socialist state and social order.

During these years, good work has been done to carry out the task set by the 3rd Congress of the Party that the ideological work should be closely linked with life, should serve the struggle to increase production and raise the well-being of the working people.

In the ideological work of the Party, study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and the history of our Party, the struggle to unmask imperialism, knowledge and study of the tactics and the strategy of the international communist movement, the struggle against modern revisionism, and especially, against Yugoslav revisionism, have occupied an important place. In the struggle to unmask the enemies of socialism, as well as in the daily struggle for the construc-

tion of socialism in our country, our people have been tempered ideologically, the political level of the communists and the masses has been raised, and the militant character of the ideological work of the Party has been strengthened. During the whole period since the 3rd Congress, our Party has waged a resolute struggle to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and in this struggle its unity for putting into practice the general line of the Party has become indestructible...

## 2. - WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR WORK OF PROPAGATING THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE ITS PURITY

Today a bitter struggle is going on in the world between Marxism-Leninism and the bourgeois ideology and all its manifestations to capture the minds of men. Faced with the magnificent successes of socialism and the spreading of Marxist-Leninist ideas throughout the world, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the exploiting classes, wherever they are, are waging a furious propaganda struggle to spread the ideology of anti-communism in every way, committing monstrous distortions of Marxism-Leninism, grossly slandering the socialist social order, and falsifying the policy and aims of the communists. In these efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the right-wing leaders of social-democracy, those who revise Marxism, and opportunists of various hues are playing a shameful role as the assistants of the bourgeoisie.

*Under these conditions, the struggle on the ideological front to protect the purity of the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for a correct and profound explanation of the problems of present-day world development, to pro-*

*pagate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the correct line which the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued and continues to pursue in regard to these problems, assumes special importance.*

In order to have a correct understanding of the social phenomena and of the changes that have occurred and are occurring in the world today, our Party has always proceeded from the materialist conception of history, the class analysis of the ratio of forces, and from a thorough and objective study of the real situation existing today. This is the only correct method, the method which Marxism-Leninism teaches and the method which guards one from errors in political activity. Any departure from this dialectical method leads to metaphysics and idealism, leads to revisionism and opportunism, results in a back-to-front assessment of the different events and situations.

The main characteristic of all opportunists and revisionists, both those of the past and those of the present-day, is precisely the negation of these fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. This is also the source of all their distorted views, all their hostile and dangerous activity in the fields of ideology and practice. The great Lenin said that at the foundation of all the revisionist views lies the idea of the collaboration of classes with opposing interests. Revising the Marxist theory on classes and the class struggle, the revisionists declare Marxism obsolete, deny its fundamental principles, present all the major problems of our age in a distorted light, give up the ideological and political struggle against the class enemy and capitulate to him. Of course, in order to disguise themselves, because if they came out openly, no one would believe their nonsense, the revisionists try to peddle their views as the last word in «creative» Marxism. But their beautiful phrases can fool no one, much less the communists, the Marxist-Leninists, who when they judge any party or person, do not judge them

only by their words, by their attire, but chiefly by their deeds, by their work. They judge from the basis of whom these views serve, in the interest of which class are these views. In this matter the Marxist parties and all communists are guided by Lenin's teachings that:

*«People always were and always will be the stupid victims of deception and self-deception in politics until they learn to discover the interests of this or that class behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises.»\**

The present-day revisionists deny the chief contradictions of our times, behind which stand definite classes and social forces. Consequently, by speculating with allegedly Marxist phrases, the revisionists spread dangerous illusions on many important problems of our time. Thus, for example, when they speak of our epoch, they present it as an epoch of general peace and harmony, «in which the capitalist social system in its classical form is a thing of the past», in which it is possible to speak of a «general integration» of the whole world, even of the capitalists themselves, into socialism, and in which such problems as that of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, socialism and capitalism, between the forces of liberty and slavery, between democracy and reaction, between the forces of peace and war, have been totally eliminated. And if one thinks according to the revisionists' logic, this is quite natural, because according to them, as a result of the change in the ratio of forces in the international arena, capitalism and imperialism have undergone radical changes, they are no longer exploiters or aggressors, nor a source of wars and oppression. Indeed, the revisionist

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 19, p. 9 (Alb. ed.).

Kardelj even produced theoretical «arguments» to prove that the danger of war, in fact, emanates from the socialist countries and especially from China and Albania! That is the depth of absurdity to which the enemies of Marxism have descended, that is where their great zeal to serve their master, the imperialist bourgeoisie, to the maximum, has brought them!

In departing from the class concept of the analysis of the situation and wanting to deceive the masses, the modern revisionists indulge in demagogy when they talk about the policy of peaceful coexistence, or the problems of war and peace. They take a back-to-front view of these problems, through anti-Marxist spectacles. They see the policy of peaceful coexistence, the fundamental principles of which were first formulated by Lenin, as a policy of conciliation with imperialism, for the sake of which any kind of class struggle must be given up, according to the principle, «Don't fall out with your rich uncle», who has already been weakened and is going bankrupt anyway. According to the revisionists, the policy of peaceful coexistence extends not just to the relations among countries with differing social systems, but also to relations between classes within the capitalist countries, as well as to those between the oppressed peoples and the colonial exploiters. The revisionists preach that no ideological and political struggle should be waged against imperialism to expose the policy of war and aggression. These anti-Marxist concepts, which are completely contrary to the interests of the working class and socialism, are intended to impose an opportunist policy on the socialist countries and communist parties, a policy of begging permission and gentle handling, a policy of damaging concessions and compromises, making it possible for the enemies of socialism, the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie, to carry out their policy of war and terror, oppression and exploitation, more easily. However, the genu-

ine communist parties and socialist countries cannot follow the revisionist concepts and advice, but follow the immortal, ever-victorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour has struggled and will continue to struggle in the future, too, against the revisionist views on these matters and will always loyally apply the enlightening teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

In departing from the class stand, the present-day revisionists reject as «obsolete» the principled teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an indispensable condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism. The foundation stone of all the opportunist reasoning of the modern revisionists is the thesis that allegedly the modern capitalist state is losing its class character more and more each day, that allegedly it can serve both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat equally well. According to the revisionist logic, the system of bourgeois democracy can serve as the «juridical and political framework of the initial phases of socialist development». Starting out from such concepts, the right opportunists absolutize the peaceful road of transition from capitalism to socialism, and indeed, consider it the only possible road. They present this peaceful transition as an evolution, as a simple change in government, in which some people are replaced by other people.

The Marxist-Leninists do not deny the possibility of the peaceful road of transition to socialism, but they do not conceive it in the least as a negation of the class struggle, as simply securing a majority in the bourgeois parliament without smashing the old bourgeois state machine to its foundations and without replacing it by the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, capable of carrying out thorough-going socialist transformations and ready at any moment to resolutely suppress any possible resistance by the bourgeoisie. The Marxist-Leninists are guided in this

matter by the immortal teachings of the great Lenin, who says:

*«The opportunist gentlemen, including the Kautskyites, as if to deride the theory of Marx, 'teach' the people as follows: first, the proletariat must win the majority by means of universal suffrage, then on the basis of such a majority vote, must take state power and then on this basis of 'consistent' democracy (some call it 'pure'), organize socialism.*

*«Whereas we, on the basis of Marx's theory and the experience of the Russian revolution, say:*

*«First, the proletariat should overthrow the bourgeoisie and secure the state power and then use this state power, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a weapon of its class in order to win the majority of working people.»\**

On the other hand, the Marxist parties, as is mentioned in the 1960 Moscow Declaration, by no means consider the peaceful road as the only possible form of the transition to socialism. On the contrary, they do not forget even for one moment that the ruling classes never voluntarily give up power, and the experience hitherto teaches us this. Therefore the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties prepare themselves, at the same time, both for the peaceful road and for the seizure of power by an armed uprising, always keeping their guns loaded and the powder dry, so as not to be caught unawares in case the bourgeoisie uses violence against the working class which has risen in revolution. Lenin's teachings on this matter are clear and precise. He says:

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, p. 294 (Alb. ed.).

*«An oppressed class, which does not try to learn the use of arms, possess arms, this oppressed class deserves nothing better than to be treated as a slave.»\**

If you prepare yourself well for the armed uprising, you also create favourable conditions for taking power in a peaceful way.

This is the only correct Marxist-Leninist stand in such an important and vital matter for the working class and all working people, and this is the stand which has always been and is held by our Party. The revisionist theories on the «evolutionary and peaceful transformation» of modern capitalism into socialism are intended to divert the communist and workers' parties from the right revolutionary road, to divert the working masses from the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Their aim is to keep the capitalist order unharmed and perpetuate it.

The opportunist and capitulationist theses of modern revisionists in regard to the state and the socialist construction are also very dangerous and flagrantly in opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. While repeating the stale arguments that allegedly the socialist state in the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy are two things altogether incompatible with each other, accusing the socialist state of «bureaucratic despotism», and manoeuvring with the slogan of so-called «democratization», the present-day revisionists are advocating the «withering-away», the liquidation of the socialist state right now. To the Marxist-Leninist parties it is as clear as daylight that not only the liquidation of the socialist state, but even the smallest weakening of the organs of the dictatorship of the prolet-

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\* V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 400, Tirana 1974 (Alb. ed.).

ariat, its liberalization, at a time when imperialism, which never has and never will give up its aims and furious efforts to destroy the socialist order, is still in existence, would be suicidal for our socialist countries. The bitter experience of the counter-revolution in Hungary was the clearest confirmation of this.

For the Marxist-Leninists there is not and cannot be the slightest doubt about the fact that the socialist state, while being a dictatorship against the overthrown exploiting classes, enemies of the working class and imperialist agents of any type, at the same time ensures the most extensive democracy for the workers, for the people. These things are elementary to the Marxist-Leninist theory. Our Party has always considered the ceaseless perfecting of the socialist state order, the struggle against any kind of manifestation of bureaucracy, as one of its permanent tasks. But it never for one moment forgets that, as long as the danger of imperialist aggression and the subversive activity of imperialism against our country and the socialist camp exist, it is not by any means permissible, on the pretext of «democratization», to weaken the organs of the dictatorship the proletariat in the least. On the contrary, they must always be kept keen-edged and ready to liquidate any possible attempts by the internal and external enemy.

The experience of the construction of socialism in a series of socialist countries has confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory about the existence of a number of universal laws essential to every country which takes the road of socialist development. The successes of our country and every socialist country have been achieved precisely thanks to the correct implementation of these universal laws of socialist construction, while bearing in mind the concrete conditions and the special historical features of each country, as well as the interests of socialism as a whole.

Those who revise Marxism distort and deny these laws. The socialist state, according to them, must give up its economic organizational functions, because otherwise «bureaucratic» tendencies develop, the state is transformed into a force that stands «above society», etc. In order to escape all these dangers, they preach the decentralization of the management of the economy, the «self-administration of producers». While preaching the steady diminution of the role of the socialist state in the economy, the revisionists take a stand against the very important principle of socialist construction and the socialist state organization — the principle of democratic centralism — and try to replace it with the independent and unfettered development of economic forces, i.e., with petty-bourgeois spontaneity, which leaves the field free for anarchy in production.

Life, practice, has refuted all these modern revisionist views, which serve only the class enemies, seriously damage the cause of socialist construction and create the danger of the restoration of capitalism. Our Party has fought and will fight with determination against all these views, and rigorously adheres to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the construction of socialism.

During the past few years, our Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties have waged a successful struggle against the views of modern revisionists, as well as against their disruptive activity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement. But in spite of all the crushing blows and defeats it has received, revisionism has not been routed ideologically, it has not been utterly destroyed. Revisionism, as one of the forms of the influence of bourgeois ideology on the proletariat, as a reflection of bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, remains the main danger to the international communist movement.

A serious danger to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of peace

and peoples' liberation is the treacherous Titoite revisionist group, which is an aggressive and dangerous detachment of present-day international revisionism, an inveterate agency of imperialism, first of all, of US imperialism. Our Party of Labour has always waged a resolute struggle against the inimical views and actions of the Belgrade revisionists, considering this struggle an indispensable condition for the defence of the interests of our Homeland, the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, for the successful development of the struggle against imperialism and the preservation of peace. It has always considered this struggle its lofty internationalist duty...

It thinks that a resolute and uncompromising struggle must be waged against revisionism until it is utterly defeated. Any reduction of revolutionary vigilance towards it, any vacillation in the struggle, any weakening of the principled struggle against it under whatever pretext, inevitably leads to the revival and the activation of revisionist tendencies which seriously damage our great cause. Without mercilessly exposing revisionism, and first of all, the Belgrade revisionist clique, the exposure of imperialism cannot be carried out properly. Without making a dear-cut line of distinction between revisionist views and Marxism-Leninism, dogmatism and sectarianism cannot be combated successfully from a correct standpoint. The struggle for the complete ideological and political routing of this renegade gang is an internationalist aid for the Yugoslav people themselves.

While resolutely fighting revisionism, as the main danger, our Party has also fought and will fight any manifestation of dogmatism or sectarianism, which is likewise dangerous to the cause of socialism. During all its activity, the Party of Labour of Albania always has and will have this

matter in mind, because only in this way can we be guaranteed against any error in our great struggle for socialism and communism.

Our Party of Labour has always fought with the greatest determination for and has made its contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement on the steel foundations of Marxism-Leninism. Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, it has always been and is aware that the successes and victories of the struggle of the working class and peoples of other countries are part and parcel of our successes, that the solidarity and the aid of the international working class, the fraternal parties and peoples has been and is a very important factor for us in the achievement of our aims. Because of this, the Central Committee of our Party and all the Albanian communists are grateful to the international communist movement, the working class and the fraternal parties of the different countries, and assure them that we, on our part, will always remain loyal to and in solidarity with them, just as we have done up till now. Our Party will continue to fight, as always, for the further strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, for the development of internationalist solidarity and fraternal links with all the fraternal parties. While honestly and faithfully carrying out its internationalist duties, here in Albania, our Party will always hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of triumphant socialism.

Comrades,

The Party of Labour of Albania has traversed a difficult, but at the same time, heroic road, in the course of which it has grown up and become stronger. On this difficult road, in this stern struggle against numerous enemies, it

has been tempered, the unity of its ranks has been steeled, the links of the Party with the people have become unbreakable. On this difficult road and in this stern struggle, our Party, enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and educated with boundless loyalty to it, worked out its correct general line, gained the maturity to find its bearings correctly even in the most difficult situations, to show courage and determination whenever it has been a question of defending the interests of the Homeland and socialism, and safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism...

The history of our Party is the history of the struggle against and triumph over the internal and external enemies of our people, the history of the struggle and victory of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against internal and external opportunism and revisionism. Every communist and worker of our country must become thoroughly acquainted with this history. The study of the history of the Party should be in the centre of attention of the party propaganda. It must show clearly the difficult, heroic and glorious road of the Party, while bringing out well the correctness of the line pursued by our Party at every stage of its development, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its resolute and courageous struggle against the imperialist enemies and their revisionist hirelings.

Our Party has always triumphed and scored great victories in all directions, because it has always stood loyal to the vital interests of the people and has resolutely defended them, because it has always relied on the people, on their strength and creative abilities, because it has established close ties with the people and has united them strongly around its correct line.

The people, the broad working masses, our working class in alliance with the peasantry, comprise that decisive force which carried out the great political and social trans-

formations in our country, that liberated the Homeland, and today is building socialism. It was the broad masses of the people, workers, working peasantry, our youth and people's intelligentsia, who waged the glorious National Liberation War. The Party told them that everything, the independence of the Homeland and a better future was in their hands, and they rose to a man, filled the ranks of the army, and fought heroically. At that time the enemies were quite unable to understand wherein lay the strength of our Party, how it was able to organize the liberation war, to create a powerful army and liberate the country.

Later, when Albania emerged from the war, devastated and impoverished, encircled, or «isolated», as our enemies liked to say, they threatened and sneered at us, asking: What are you going to do now? What will you live on and how will you exist? But the enemies rejoiced too soon. They made their reckoning without the host, without our heroic people, who had taken their destiny into their own hands and had become the masters of their own country. Wisely led by their Party, our people rolled up their sleeves, and within a short time, successfully carried out radical socio-economic transformations, overcoming all the difficulties with self-denial and persistence, healed the terrible war wounds, accomplished the reconstruction of the country and prepared the conditions to begin the large-scale construction of the foundations of socialism in our country.

Even friends, who have visited Albania or who from afar have followed with interest the achievements of our country, are frequently amazed and ask: How could little Albania stand up to all those tempests, how could it emerge victorious in the unequal fight with the fascist occupiers and traitors, how can it resist the innumerable threats and pressure of the imperialists, chauvinists, and the Belgrade traitor clique, how does it overcome the difficulties and achieve successes one after another in all fields of

socialist construction? We reply that the decisive factor for the attainment of all our country's historic victories is the people themselves, their struggle and work, the correct line of the Party of Labour of Albania which has known how to make the masses conscious and mobilize them in the war for liberation yesterday, in the struggle for the defence of our independence and the construction of socialism today, the unbreakable linking of the people With the Party. We reply that another important factor is the support, assistance, and the friendship of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, the support of all the international proletariat...

Our people are brave, industrious, freedom-loving, loyal and progressive. Our Party, educated with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, also embodies in itself these lofty traditions of our people. Let us be sure, comrades, that with such a marvellous people and with our Party, unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in close friendship with the fraternal peoples and parties of the world, our country will march ahead, always ahead, for there is neither wave nor storm that can frighten it, there is no force in the world which can stop our victorious march to the triumph of socialism and communism...

Glory to our heroic people and their Party of Labour, the organizer and leader of all the victories of our people!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism, our triumphant science!

## **SLANDERS AND PRESSURE DO NOT FRIGHTEN US — WE DO NOT FALL ON OUR KNEES**

*From the conversation with the delegation of the  
CPSU which participated in the 4th Congress  
of the PLA<sup>1</sup>*

**February 20, 1961**

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* We listened with much attention to your words, Comrade Pospelov. In regard to the love and loyalty of our Party and people towards the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

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**1** After the 4th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha received the delegation of the CPSU, with which he had a conversation at the premises of the Central Committee. The first to speak was P. Pospelov, candidate of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU and head of the delegation, who said that the purpose of the request by the Soviet delegation for this meeting was «to talk about some issues which have to do with our comradely mutual relations.» After having said, «true, a great deal was said at your congress about strengthening the friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet peoples,» but that they had information that «the role of the Soviet Union is negated in Albania», «the Soviet specialists are not treated well», and that «offensive things are being said about the Soviet leadership», he committed a series of slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership and tried to exert pressure on it.

we have shown this in life with deeds. We desire close friendship with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Marxist-Leninist road. Do not think that we believe that this close friendship will be strengthened through the «holy spirit». We know that this friendship can be realized by implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism correctly and consistently. We have never wished and do not wish ill to the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we have loved the Soviet Union and still do. Let him who wants disbelieve these ardent feelings of our people and Party, we march on the road which Marxism-Leninism and our Party teach us.

There are people in the world who speak words of love for the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples. A wise saying of our people goes: «When the basket is full of figs, everybody becomes a friend,» whereas we Albanians love our friends both in weal and woe. If anything bad were to happen to the Soviet Union, if a difficult situation is created for it, we shall be among the first to spring to its defence and not the Gomulkas and Co. Nikita Khrushchev has told me that «Gomulka acts like a fascist,» while on the other hand Mikoyan has told me that «Comrade Gomulka is an outstanding Marxist-Leninist!» Gomulka uttered all those vile slanders addressed to our Party, our delegation and myself personally who were representing our Party at the Moscow Meeting. He said that we must examine the question of Albania within the Warsaw Treaty. You, yourself, stated here that Gomulka and others like him say many things against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership. Information about what he is saying comes to us from many comrades of other parties, but he and everyone else should understand thoroughly that we do not live under the shadow of Gomulka. I say that the words which such people utter, making the

accusation that our Party allegedly does not love the Soviet Union, have absolutely no foundation.

It is a fact that we have disagreements with the leadership of the Soviet Union at the present time. This is clear. When the occasion arose we told you our criticism frankly, just as our Party teaches us, just as Lenin has taught us. However the thing is that these criticisms were seen in a distorted way from your side, you took them badly.

At no time has it ever crossed our mind that we are «interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet leaderships, as you said. This is absolutely untrue. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are masters in their own house, therefore we have not interfered and do not interfere in the internal affairs of your party. Likewise, we do not allow the Soviet leadership to interfere in the internal affairs of our Party in any way. Every party is master in its own house.

But should these disagreements which exist between our parties be resolved? We think that they absolutely must be resolved, but only in a Marxist-Leninist way. For us there is no other way. This is in the interests of our Party and people, as well as in the interests of the Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union and the whole international communist movement.

We have also held bilateral talks to resolve these disagreements. The last meeting is that held between the representatives of our two parties in Moscow.<sup>2</sup> Mikoyan, Kozlov and Andropov were at this meeting from your side.

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<sup>2</sup> This refers to the joint talks which were held in Moscow on November 20, 1960, after Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers' parties. These joint talks were held between the delegation of the PLA, which was comprised of Comrades Mehmet Shehu and Hysni Kapo, and the delegation of the CPSU. The meeting was held at the request of the Soviet leadership.

The instructions which the Central Committee of our Party has given us are that we should march ahead, on the Marxist-Leninist road. For us there is no other road. You may have your opinion, but we have our opinion, too. Our opinion is that the disagreements which have arisen between our two parties cannot be resolved within one day. It would be deceiving ourselves to think that they can be settled within one day. Therefore we must put our common will to it and resolve the disagreements gradually, in the correct Marxist-Leninist way, in complete equality. This is the way in which they must be overcome.

However, Mikoyan and Kozlov received the comrades of the delegation of the PLA insolently, indeed they went as far as to say to our comrades, «You will see what difficulties will occur in your party and among your people with this change you are making in your relations with the Soviet Union!» It seems to us that the attitude of the Soviet leaders towards our hand of friendship was wrong and judgement of the issues on their part was, likewise, very wrong. They should have known our Party and people, the line and the feelings of our people and Party. The relations between our two countries cannot be treated in the way they treated them.

Let us take the economic aid. In the opinion of Kozlov and Mikoyan the whole problem rested on this. This was apparent especially in the attitude maintained towards our economic delegation that went to the Soviet Union. This delegation was kept hanging about in Moscow for whole months. Our people go to Moscow, wander round and round and are unable to conclude anything with you, because of the attitude you maintain towards them. Do you think we do not understand your contemptuous attitude? Comrade Mehmet [Shehu] was right when he said, a little while ago, that when the Yugoslavs come, you conclude the talks within ten days! Likewise, the War Minister of In-

onesia went to Moscow, and you immediately gave him large credits for armaments, while little Albania, which is looking down the wolf's mouth, with which you have signed agreements, and which is led by a Marxist party, is neglected.

The Soviet Government also puts in doubt the aid in credits the Soviet Union has granted us for the 3rd Five-year Plan, on which official acts have been signed. Things have reached such a point that the Soviet Government, through an official note, has sought to compel our Party and Government to send a top level delegation to Moscow to «reconsider» these agreements. Naturally, to our Party and Government, such an attitude on your part is unacceptable, unfriendly, and not right at all.

We have set out all the reasons why we refused to hold this meeting in a very comradely letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But it must be pointed out that, immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, the letters which our Central Committee has sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have all remained unanswered. This is neither fair, friendly, nor correct. You said that you have answered our letters, but we say to you: Have a look because perhaps they are tucked away in the drawers of your offices, for we have received no reply whatever. Even the simplest rules of relations between parties require that a letter must be answered by letter<sup>3</sup> but, I repeat, we have received no reply from you.

No answer is being given from your side, likewise, to the letters of our Government about many other problems, particularly about problems of the army, which are linked

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**3** The Soviet revisionist leadership avoided answering the CC of our Party by letter, because it did not want its official replies to remain in the archives of our Party.

with the defence of our country and the training of the army, based, of course, on the agreements we have with the Soviet Government. We think that on all these issues, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government should have replied, either positively or negatively, to our Central Committee and Government. We need one another's assistance and this assistance must have a thoroughly internationalist content.

There are rumours that we Albanians are allegedly not satisfied with the aid the Soviet Union has given us! We have said and continue to say that the Soviet Union has given our people aid. We have never concealed and shall never conceal from our people the assistance the Soviet Union has provided and continues to provide for us. I want to point out also that we consider valuable and very necessary the aid the Soviet Union has granted us for the 3rd Five-year Plan, for the further development of the economy of our country. We need help in the future, too, but we do not beg this help. We seek help from anyone only on a Marxist course. I told Nikita Khrushchev to his face that we do not violate principles, that we are even prepared to tighten our belts, but we must live like Marxists. If the Soviet leadership does not want to grant us aid, we cannot force it to do so.

The aid of the Soviet Union to our country is important not only from the economic aspect, but also from the political aspect. We want the Soviet leadership to avoid making such a mistake to the detriment of Albania, it should reconsider this matter. Therefore we ask you once again to transmit our views to Nikita Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders. It is not right that you make it a condition that we must eliminate the political and ideological disagreements first, and then you will provide aid for us. We have jointly signed the agreement on credits, not just in principle, but we have even detailed it for all the objects. On this basis

the Soviet specialists came here, the designs were drawn up, etc. While now you are asking us to go to the Soviet Union to reconsider the agreements once more! Why?

At the Moscow Meeting you used the tactic, in contacts, indeed, even in the corridors, of convincing various delegations that the Albanian leaders do not want to talk with you. Now, too, you are continuing this tactic, but this does not hold water. There is no need to repeat ourselves, we have told you clearly why we do not come to you. Tell Nikita Khrushchev that our stand remains the same.

Tell Nikita Khrushchev, also, that we are not opposed to top level meetings on any question whatever, with the approval of both sides. But the Soviet Government demands that a high level delegation of our Party and Government should go to Moscow to «reconsider» the question of credits. The question arises: what credits? These credits have been accorded us under a protocol signed for both sides by top level leaders. For this purpose our Central Committee and our Government sent Comrade Mehmet [Shehu] and me to Moscow. Later the credits were detailed, it is stated there how they will be used, the times at which they will be accorded, as well as the projects to be built. Thus, for us, the problem of credits is considered settled. We have a note of the Soviet Government in writing and there can be no quibble here about what it says. Then why should we go to Moscow? Should we have gone to Moscow before the Congress of the Party just about the credit of 70 million rubles, of which you have notified us officially? This was not reasonable. We informed you officially about this, too. We had no agreement about this, therefore we appointed a deputy prime minister for talks, while from your side the Minister of Foreign Trade, Patolichev, was appointed. As you told us prior to the Moscow Meeting, he was to come to Albania for talks, but he did not come. Then we assigned a deputy prime

minister to go to Moscow on these matters, but even today you have not replied to us as yet. We would like to know why have you not given us an answer?

You say many things against us because you base yourselves on the sayings of this one and the other. But if we, too, were to act in this way, then we could bring out whole books. But for the sake of the friendship between our peoples, the gossip to be heard high and low must be checked up carefully and in a friendly spirit, both by us, as well as by your side. What have many Soviet people said about our leadership and about me? What have they not said! Many of these people have highly responsible positions in your country, too. The criticism our Party makes of the Soviet leadership is thoroughly principled. Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, and other Albanian leaders never abuse the Soviet Union. Pointing out mistakes and faults of some Soviet leaders does not mean that we are speaking against the Soviet Union. I say this here, we have proved it in practice and we shall prove it whenever it may be necessary. We say without reservation that the Albanians are close and loyal friends of the Soviet Union and for the sake of this friendship we must settle everything in the Marxist-Leninist way, not in any other way. If there are comrades in the Soviet leadership who continue to speak ill of, to slander our leadership or our Party, they are making a grave mistake.

You say that you have the course set for you by the Moscow Declaration and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We, too, base ourselves on the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of last year, indeed, we implement it consistently, but as far as the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is concerned, we stated frankly at the Moscow Meeting on which matters we are not in agreement. But, instead of accepting the comradely criticism we make of you, you make

the accusation that we are ruining the friendship with the Soviet Union! It is unnecessary to say what a great and sincere friendship we have had with the Soviet people. It is the Soviet cadres and leaders who have dynamited the friendship that existed between us. We stated also at the Moscow Meeting that it was the former ambassador of the USSR to Albania. V.I. Ivanov, in the first place, who ruined the situation. It was he who upset things. Let this be known also to the newly appointed ambassador, Josif Shikin, who has the possibility to exert all his efforts so that together we can improve the abnormal situation that has been created between our two countries. For our part we shall do everything possible in this direction. We want to believe that the comrade ambassador, too, will act in this way, because for him, too, it is not only a duty, but also an urgent need, that our relations should constantly improve and the disagreements be gradually eliminated in a Marxist-Leninist way.

Now let us come to some other issues you raised. For our part we do not accept your accusations concerning the Soviet specialists in our country. You are «surprised» because we «checked up on the drawers of the geologists' desks». I shall explain to you how things stand in this matter which you have also made the subject of a government note. Our people, who exercised control over the preservation of secrecy, did not do this in a demonstrative way. nor with the purpose of humiliating the Soviet specialists. In our state there is a rule established by the Party, according to which controls must be carried out from time to time. You, too, certainly have such a rule, indeed, we have taken this experience from you. The aim is that the state and party secrets must be protected. We carry out such check-up two or three times a year over all the state and party apparatus. This was a normal control of this type. You know that our people are not angels, but

yours are not angels, either. However, it has been observed that there are some among our people, as well as among yours, who leave documents on desks, indeed, there have been Soviet comrades who have even hung documents on walls. We are living in encirclement. We have sworn enemies all round us, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Italian neo-fascists. We have information that the espionage agents of imperialist states have been activated in Albania. Therefore our Party and state take the strictest care that secrets are protected. From this check-up carried out in the oil enterprises, a report was sent to the Central Committee, by which it was informed that the comrade in charge of the Soviet oil specialists had been notified in advance about this check-up, he had been told the purpose for which it was being carried out and had agreed. If you like, we can give you his name.

We have not made an issue of these things but I can tell you something else which has a very much graver character. The Soviet personnel have a plan of work. However, one Soviet geologist, instead of working on the basis of the plan set by the government, was drawing maps of a scale other than those required of him, and when our comrades and his Soviet comrades asked him about this, he replied: «I am working on this map for a Soviet academician!» What are these things? Some specialists have complained to the comrade ambassador about the check-up we carried out, but have they told him the fact that one of the Soviet geologists has declared to our people, «you are trying in vain to keep these documents secret, for they have them both in Leningrad and in Belgrade!»? How does he know that these documents are also in Belgrade, and how have these secrets reached there? Therefore we shall reply to your note on this question officially.

One day, a Soviet army officer, who is working at our base in Vlora called together our officers and told them

that «the statement which Enver Hoxha made about the plot against Albania<sup>4</sup> is a bluff!» We want to take the opportunity to tell you that this plot is not a bluff, but an exceptionally dangerous thing. Albanian and world opinion will learn about the aims and dangers of this plot. The rulers of Greece and Yugoslavia, together with their agents in Albania, civilian and military, and in collaboration with the US 6th Fleet, organized this plot to attack Albania. But our organs uncovered it and all the plotters are in the hands of our organs of justice and will render account. Now the trial is coming to an end and when this affair is over, we shall, without fail, inform the Soviet Ambassador, J. V. Shikin, about it in detail.

As to the question of the naval base in Vlora, I can tell you that for our part there is no problem whatever there now. Indeed, even before there has not been any problem from our side. We wish that it will be like this from your side, too. We fully agree that our comrades of the Ministry of Defence and General Andreyev<sup>5</sup> should talk about this matter. You ask that these talks be held in my presence. I am willing to listen not only to a general like Andreyev, Hero of the USSR, but even to a rank-and-file Soviet sailor, for we consider the Soviet people our brothers, friends and comrades, but I think that my presence is not absolutely necessary. We want harmony with and love for the Soviet men to reign at the naval base, because this base is needed

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**4** This refers to the counter-revolutionary plot which was being prepared by a secret anti-state organization at the head of which were veteran agents of the Intelligence Service. Their plan was combined also with an armed intervention on the part of the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the US 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. As was proved, the Soviet revisionist leadership also had knowledge of this plot, which it had reckoned to exploit for its own purposes.

**5** At that time representative of the United Command of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty, in Albania.

for the interests of our entire socialist camp, and not just for us. We told Nikita Khrushchev this, too.

But I can also say something about the question of the base. You are not in order there with the plan of construction work, armament and the handing over of objects. All the plans and decisions that have been taken for the construction work at the base and for the supply of materials have been suspended by your side. It seems to us that such a question should be reconsidered as quickly as possible on the part of the Soviet Government.

The issue raised here by Comrade Pospelov, that one of our people has allegedly spoken to the representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia against the Soviet leadership, is not true. However, we shall inquire into it. How is such a thing possible when we have been and are in complete agreement with what Nikita Khrushchev said, that if Cuba is attacked, the Soviet Union will launch missiles against the aggressor to defend Cuba? Therefore we think that this is a slander. Why do I say this? I say this because Barak<sup>6</sup> has come to the 4th Congress of the PLA with very bad aims and he behaves with contempt towards our Party and our people. Since he is visiting us, he is our guest and we respect him according to our traditions. You, Comrade Andropov, may tell him these things, because we shall not tell them him here, but when some meeting of international communism is held, I shall not fail to tell him. Barak should understand clearly that we are not afraid of him.

We observe that Barak is treating the members of the Political Bureau of our Party with contempt. We had

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<sup>6</sup> Rudolf Barak, ex-member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, first deputy to the chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, had come to the 4th Congress of the PLA with hostile intentions.

thought that, as the representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, he should greet our Congress after the representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. But, when a comrade of ours begged him to say when his speech of greeting would be ready, not only did Barak not deign to tell him, but he asked him scornfully: «And who might you be?» Our comrade, towards whom Barak behaved in this way, displayed his modesty and said nothing for he was his guest, but when Barak asked him: «And who might you be?», although he knew who he was, he could have replied that «I have 15 decorations on my chest which I won in the war against fascism, and I have wounds on my body,» and then could have asked him: «But you, who are you?» However, our comrade did not do this because he had him as a guest in his home and he respected the customs of our people.

Thus, towards these gestures of Barak, our comrades have maintained the greatest composure. Barak kissed the delegate of the Communist Party of Greece, when Comrade Mehmet Shehu, following the decision adopted by the Political Bureau, rightfully described him as he was. Whom did the delegate of the Communist Party of Greece call a provocateur — Mehmet Shehu, the most glorious general of our Army, to whom our Party gave the order to defend the southern borders of Albania against the Greek monarcho-fascists and Van Fleet, who had hurled themselves like wild beasts against the Greek partisans! And the representative of the Communist Party of Greece comes to the Congress of our Party not as a friend, but to say that he does not agree with Enver Hoxha concerning the question of Venizelos, this enemy of Albania, who has been and is for the partitioning of our Homeland. It is not for nothing that we say these things; we know only too well who are the Greek monarcho-fascists whom we have for neighbours. Therefore Barak should not be hasty because he was still in

his swaddling clothes when we knew them. The father of Sophocles Venizelos, Eleutherios Venizelos, put Southern Albania to the torch, while the representative of the Communist Party of Greece comes to our Congress and defends them. Then, what is this stand, is it not a provocation?

The Central Committee of our Party told your ambassador in Tirana: If you are loyal to your homeland and your party, you must report to them correctly even something unpleasant. You must hide nothing from the party and the government, otherwise you have followed a policy destructive to your party and homeland. We considered Ivanov a close friend, but he did not deserve our trust.

We want the disagreements between our parties and countries to be resolved in time and in a Marxist-Leninist way. We shall struggle to the limit of our possibilities to strengthen our unity. We shall never give either occasion or cause for this unity to be damaged, but will work to make it stronger day by day. We shall defend our views on the basis of the Moscow Declaration, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, regardless of whether others may think that we are allegedly ignorant of Marxism-Leninism. That is what the Italian comrades, for example, think. When Nikita Khrushchev was in Albania, he said, making allusions against Tito, that it was not true that the Albanian comrades did not know Marxism, indeed even children were Marxists in Albania. Whereas the Italians have told us: «Read Marx and Lenin!» We tell them that not only do we read our glorious teachers, but we work and fight on the basis of their teachings.

But we are not making an issue of these things. We can play politics, too, but we do not indulge in diplomacy with the Soviet comrades. Whatever we have to say we say it openly. Bear this in mind, comrade ambassador, between us we shall not use diplomacy, but we shall speak frankly and in a comradely manner.

I shall tell you one thing. Owing to your stand we shall be compelled to reduce our food rations and the firing practice programs in our Army, but we shall not surrender. You saw what the Congress was like and if we take this measure which is imposed on us by you, our soldiers and officers will ask why has this measure been taken. Then, what must we do — not speak? No, we shall not shut our mouths. We shall tell our men and women that the Soviet leading comrades want to force our Party and Government to their knees, that the Soviet leadership is breaching the signed agreements, acting in a unilateral manner, and refuses to help us, and we shall issue the call: tighten your belts, stand vigilant in defence of the Homeland and the socialist camp, endure it! Our Party and people have a very high level of understanding of these things.

You are gravely mistaken when you say that we deny the role of the Soviet Union. We never have denied and do not deny the role of the Soviet Union and the blood shed by the Soviet Army for the liberation of the countries occupied by the German nazis, including Albania, irrespective of the fact that the Red Army did not come to our country. You know who denies the role of the Soviet Union. We entirely disagree with Barak and his ilk who say that the state power in Czechoslovakia was seized without bloodshed, whereas in reality, the sons of the Soviet people shed rivers of blood for the liberation of Czechoslovakia. Hence, we are in total disagreement with this view of Barak which was expressed in our Congress. If it were not for the Red Army, which was commanded by J.V. Stalin, Czechoslovakia today would not have Karlovy Vary where we chanced to spend our summer holidays.

Who armed the Czechoslovak workers who came out in boulevards in 1948 and took action against the coup d'état, which was being prepared? It pains us deeply when the role of the Soviet Army which saved the peoples

is denied and we say this openly. We have said this directly to Nikita Khrushchev and Mikoyan.

There are political and ideological disagreements between us, but we do not interfere in your internal affairs and we likewise allow neither Khrushchev nor anybody else to interfere in our internal affairs. Do not try to split our leadership, as your former ambassador, the representative of the government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Albania, has done.

*Y. ANDROPOV:* At this meeting we are not on equal terms with you. Here you are the leaders of your Party, while we are only a party delegation, thus, people without authority. I say this because Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke to us about a number of questions ranging wider than we had intended. However, we shall report these matters to our leadership.

*COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU:* Do not forget to tell Khrushchev what your men have said about Comrade Enver Hoxha. What friendship are you talking about, when you subject the delegation of our Party to espionage processing, when you have put all sorts of bugging devices in our embassy in Moscow? You should be the first to show us that you want to strengthen our friendship, but when you commit such unfriendly acts, when you reduce economic aid to our country, when you suspend supplies of armaments to our army, how can you expect an approach from our side?

*COMRADE HYSNI KAPO:* How do you consider these actions? Why is it that you have not sent many goods, items of machinery, armaments, etc., which should have arrived in Albania 6 months ago? In our economic or military agreements there are time schedules fixed for the deliveries. Then why have these agreements been violated by your side?

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* If the Soviet leadership

understands us correctly and nurtures for our people and our Party that great sincere love which the entire Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have, any disagreement between us will be put right. We made the other issues clear at the Moscow Meeting. There we stated things as they are. You say that we blackened Khrushchev at that meeting. I say that I criticized him for his mistakes and faults, whereas you interpreted our criticism wrongly, as though I was slinging mud at the Soviet Union. We say to you. read my Moscow speech once more with greater care.

I believe we have finished. Please transmit our greetings, as well as our views, just as we stated them here, openly and sincerely, to all the comrades of your leadership.

*Works, vol. 20*

**THE SITUATION DEMANDS POLITICAL CLARITY,  
STRONG UNITY AND GREAT MOBILIZATION  
OF THE MASSES**

*Speech to the first secretaries of the district party  
committees and some leading cadres of the  
apparatus of the CC of the PLA*

**May 30, 1961**

I want to bring you up to date about recent events. I am not going to begin with the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, because you have been informed about that, and indeed many of you know about what happened at the recent meeting of representatives of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in Moscow on March 28-29, this year.

The main purpose of the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty was to attack the Central Committee of our Party and our Government. This was the aim of Nikita Khrushchev and company, while the agenda of this meeting said that a report was to be delivered on the moral-political state of the armed forces of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and about their armaments. In fact, however, these questions were not discussed. The problem of the armament of the armies of the Warsaw Treaty member countries had been discussed previously at various meetings

with the military representatives of those countries, and indeed, the lists of the requirements of each army, as well as the sources and countries from which they were to get these armaments, had been decided. Thus, the question of the armament of the armies was only formally included in the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty and in fact, was not discussed at all.

The representative of our Party and Government also took part in the discussion at this meeting. In his contribution he dealt with the international situation, the moral-political state and the armament of our army, presented the views of our Party and Government in connection with the measures that should be taken and made proposals for the further strengthening of the socialist camp and our armies.

Apart from the speech of our representative, all the other speeches were nothing but attacks against us, and not one leader of the other socialist countries who spoke, dealt with the problems on the agenda. They went on the attack and asked why the representative of Albania had nothing to say in connection with the letter which the Commander of the United Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal Grechko, had sent us.

You ought to know this was a letter delivered at the last minute, which is a practice of the Soviet leaders at all international meetings; their aim is to put the other party in a difficult position by giving him insufficient time to examine the material carefully. But we immediately understood the dirty aims of Khrushchev and company and we were able to give Marshal Grechko the reply he deserved, orally and in writing, at the proper time.

Grechko's letter demanded that we agree to relinquish all rights to our base of Vlora and all its hinterland, as he puts it, which would be placed under the control of the Soviets; that the armed forces of the Albanian navy should be withdrawn from this territory and all the war-

ships, and auxiliary ships, etc., should be taken over by the Soviet crews.

We replied to this letter politely, always keeping our tempers, because this is the characteristic of Marxist-Leninist correctness. Thus, our letter had been written in a quiet tone, in a friendly spirit, and was based on the Marxist-Leninist principles, on proletarian internationalism and the agreements signed between our two governments. Therefore, we replied that this proposal was not acceptable to us, because, in the first place, it was neither friendly, internationalist, fraternal, nor based on the agreements we had. We replied to them that our naval forces had proved, at all times, from any point of view, to be capable of running any kind of warship. Finally, we stressed that Grechko's proposal had no foundation and pointed out that the reasons that he put forward for taking these measures were all fabrications and slanders. The only «reason» which Grechko put forward in his letter for the measures he proposed, was the allegation that life had been made impossible for the Soviet navymen at the Vlora naval base. According to him, such bad conditions had been created for the Soviets at the base that they could see no solution other than that we Albanians should leave our base and the Soviets take it over, because, according to them, this was the only way to avoid any incident! One «incident», according to them, was that a policeman at the Izvor River, while checking a bus, on which three Soviet women were travelling, told them that, since they were going to Vlora, they should have their passports with them, because not being known, they might run into some difficulty in the city. This interference of the policeman has allegedly caused tension in relations and hurt the «pride» of the Soviets. This «incident» is allegedly one of the decisive reasons why the Soviet side should take over all the ships. Apart from this, the letter contained a series of other slanders about

quite trifling things, which are entirely unfounded, because they have never occurred but have been deliberately fabricated by them.

It is clear to us that these stands of the Soviet leadership, which are being maintained following the Bucharest Meeting, have their own political and ideological basis. Before Bucharest there was not the slightest disagreement between the two sides, especially at the base, where there was complete harmony. However, after Bucharest, all these tales were concocted by the Soviet leadership, by the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, and especially by the Soviet officers who have been sent to the Vlora base precisely for hostile purposes.

After our speech at the Warsaw Treaty meeting, all began to attack us. When Khrushchev got up and asked the Albanian representative why he did not speak about the Soviet letter, we replied that this was not the place to speak about it, because we had come to this meeting for other purposes and not to reply to the correspondence between ministries of defence. However, this was the business they had prepared themselves for, therefore, what didn't they say against us: «You have put yourselves outside the Warsaw Treaty», «you are anti-Soviet», «you Albanians are against unity», and so forth. There are too many of these attacks to mention them all. But the answer they got was so correct and stern that Khrushchev was obliged to get up to speak twenty times, because all their facts and arguments were baseless and these stands clearly revealed the falsity of their position, which is anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian, unfriendly and not in the least internationalist.

In the end, after all had spoken again and again against us, and we accepted none of the accusations, they came up with the decision that the Vlora base should be handed over to the Soviets and linked directly with the

Soviet commander of the united forces of the Warsaw Treaty, and they put this question to the vote. They all approved this decision. Ours was the only vote against and we described this as a decision without any basis and entirely devoid of internationalist spirit.

Apart from this, other attacks and interference against us took place at the March meeting of the Warsaw Treaty, especially over the trial which was to be held against the traitor Teme Sejko and his accomplices who were organizing a counter-revolutionary plot and an armed intervention, co-ordinated with the US 6th Fleet, the Greek monarchofascists and the Yugoslav revisionists, apparently because this trial upset them greatly. At this meeting, the trial of these traitors was made a major problem. According to them, this trial was a fraud, a frame-up, because Albania had not been attacked by anyone. Therefore, according to them, a commission should be set up to verify the documents of our investigation. Khrushchev, Gomulka, Zhivkov and others spoke in this spirit. They hammered away at the «fact» that we «had not informed them about this problem». Of course, we rejected this view, too, and replied to them as they deserved.

It is a characteristic fact that the leaders of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty had gone to that meeting with plans to blackmail and threaten us, so we would not condemn the spies and traitors we had captured and whom we had declared we would bring to trial. To achieve this aim they tried to intimidate us with the liquidation of the Vlora naval base. By using the dismantling of the Vlora base as a means of pressure, if we brought these traitors to trial, they openly defended the traitors to our Party and our Homeland. This is the meaning of their pressure and threats. Only they know why they defended these traitors and spies. However, we are very clear on the issue. We are very clear about the fact that Khrushchev defended Panajot

Plaku. This traitor sent a letter to Khrushchev in which he sought the liquidation of the leadership of our Party. Khrushchev also defended the traitors Dali Ndreu, Liri Gega, Tuk Jakova and others, in a word, all the traitors to our Party. We know also that Khrushchev talked with Sophocles Venizelos and agreed to communicate to us his views on the so-called question of the autonomy of «Northern Epirus».

We know these things, therefore, we have criticized Nikita Khrushchev openly, in a Marxist way, over these stands. The question could be asked: Why were they rankling over our bringing of spies and traitors to our Party and our Homeland to this recent trial? They know the reason. Why did they want to intervene and examine the dossiers on our traitors? They know this, too. But one thing we know is that we must always be vigilant. Time and history are remorseless. They will bring these things to light and will explain why the Soviet leadership has taken the traitors to our Party and state under its wing.

They do not frighten us at all with the pressure they are exerting over the Vlora base, because we are on the right road in all directions. The existence of the Vlora base serves the defence, not only of Albania, but of the whole socialist camp. That is the purpose for which the Vlora naval base was set up, and this is reflected in the historical documents signed by the two sides. The facts have shown that our men that have worked at the Vlora base can run the ships very well. And these who are working at the base today have become very capable at their work, indeed, more capable than many of the Soviet personnel who had been sent here allegedly to instruct our men. In regard to courage, too, the Albanian people, the communists, officers and soldiers have displayed this when the need has arisen.

Therefore the decision adopted at the recent meeting of

the Warsaw Treaty was an act which violated all the recognized norms of relations between states, which violated the interests of the socialist camp, and which damaged and endangered the defence of Albania and the camp as a whole. We have expressed this view bluntly to the Soviet leaders and all the leaders of the other socialist countries of Europe; therefore a heavy historical responsibility falls on them, on Nikita Khrushchev, first of all, but the others have just as much responsibility as he.

Time will show, and is already showing, what foul crimes they are committing. In the future it will show up more of the dirty deeds of the revisionists even more clearly. Stopping at nothing, they continue on their anti-Marxist course, trying to complicate matters as much as possible. Only the cool-headedness of our Party has made it possible to avoid unpleasant actions so far.

After one of its meetings, the Soviet leadership sent a letter signed by Kosygin to the Central Committee of our Party. The second part of the letter speaks of the aid the Soviet Union has provided for Albania. This whole section is not pervaded by the friendly, fraternal, internationalist spirit, but by the anti-Albanian aims of the revisionist group headed by Khrushchev. The conclusion emerges from this part of the letter, too, that the aid that our country has received has not served to persuade the Albanian leadership to bow to the views and decisions of this revisionist group. In a word, according to the Khrushchev group, the aid which the Soviet people and CPSU have provided for us should be taken as a factor to make one obedient and submissive to its Trotskyite revisionist views.

This letter was also full of slanders concocted about the Vlora base, including the «incident» in which our policeman had asked three Soviet women travelling on a bus to carry their passports with them, this was allegedly a «major tragedy» for them, therefore this letter demands that the

Albanian Government, which is charged with full responsibility, should apply the decision of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty.

We replied by letter to the Soviet Government, especially on the question of this decision. Once again we repeated our views calmly, proving all our facts, and told them that the decision of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty was unacceptable to us and that there was only one solution, that the Vlora naval base must remain in the hands of the Albanian army. There was no other solution. This means, we stress in the letter, that the agreement signed by the two sides should be carried out.

How was the agreement being carried out? On the basis of the agreement, all the warships run by our officers had been completely handed over to us, while since August of last year, the other ships should have been handed over to our crews, because they were instructed, trained and fully ready to take them over.

However, after the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet side, on various pretexts such as «the time still has not come», etc., were not handing over the ships on the basis of the agreement. We pointed out to the Soviets that our sailors were fully capable of taking over the ships and running them, because they had been learning for several years and were better trained than those they had sent us and who had been in the navy for only one year. It is self-evident that their aim was to avoid handing the ships over to us, because, if things had gone according to the agreement, they would have been handed over long ago.

After the decision of the Warsaw Treaty we demanded that the status quo should be maintained. We stated this to them categorically. We told them, also, that if they wanted to apply the agreement reached earlier, according to which the ships were to be handed over to our crews once they were trained, they were free to leave. Even the

Soviet authorities themselves had said, one year or so ago, that the «Albanian crews are trained».

A long time after our reply the Hungarian Government, to be in solidarity with the decision of the Warsaw Treaty, sent us a letter in which they advised us, in impermissibly strong terms, to apply the decision of the Warsaw Treaty. But the worst of all is the letter from the Germans, signed by a certain Willy Stoff, Deputy-Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, who is nothing but a fascist, indeed, even a fascist would not have written such a letter. In this letter Willy Stoff openly defends the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists and accuses us of provoking the Yugoslavs and the Greeks. We shall give this document, which we have in hand, the reply it deserves. The Bulgarians sent us a similar letter. So far the others have sent us nothing.

In our reply to the Soviet Government we proposed that if the status quo, which we wanted to be maintained, was not acceptable, a commission should come from the Soviet Union to discuss the ways and measures for the liquidation of the Vlora base, which they wanted. They accepted our proposal and the commission came. But even the persons who made up this commission began many provocations. Our Party required all its cool-headedness to cope with their provocations.

In the commission we again presented our theses in a friendly way, while they stuck to their theses. They said to us: «Either agree to apply the decision, or we shall leave them base.» And they demanded that we hand over to them all the means, even down to the bolts and planks which have been used for the barracks. Our representatives replied in the spirit of the letter which we sent them, that if they did not accept the just view of our government. then they should take the eight submarines and the floating dock which had Soviet crews, while the others

which had Albanian crews would remain here because they were the property of the Albanian people. We pointed out to them that even the eight submarines and the floating dock which we told them to take were the property of our state, too, and in fact this is the case. They became our property by agreement, whether they have been given free or we have paid for them with money. This is from the legal aspect. But from the moral aspect, also, right is on our side, because Albania is a socialist state, a member of the Warsaw Treaty, and a member of the socialist camp. In this sense we have a common aim. Some might object and say, «But these things have been given the Albanians free.» Our reply is that they are not lollipops or toys, but means for the defence of the People's Republic of Albania and the socialist camp. Our slogan is: one for all and all for one. For our Party this slogan has a great internationalist meaning and we adhere to it.

The way Khrushchev and those who follow him reason, they could demand to take away the factories and combines the Soviet Union has given us, but only crooks, in the full meaning of the term, could do such things. The present-day Soviet leaders headed by Khrushchev are just such crooks, therefore to expose these revisionists means to defend the Soviet Union.

We have defended the peoples of the Soviet Union and are still defending them, especially in the situation they are going through, because Khrushchev and his group are enemies, not only of the Albanian people, but also of the Soviet peoples. We will always distinguish the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin from these renegades from Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet revisionists are well aware of whom we speak against, but to conceal their anti-Marxist actions, they say that the Albanian leaders are attacking the Soviet Union, throwing mud at the CPSU, etc. They want to

present our course and our just, stern criticisms, which are aimed against this group of revisionist enemies, as if they are aimed against the fraternal Soviet people and the CPSU. We know, also, that the anti-Marxist activity of this group is aimed, not only against socialist Albania, but against the whole of international communism.

They are quite clear about the course we are following but they distort it with hostile aims and slander us. Yesterday, for example, a driver of the Soviet navy ran over one of our seamen, who is in a very serious condition. The commanders of the Soviet ships, other Soviet citizens, and the driver who committed this crime, himself, have signed the affidavit about the occurrence of this event, while the Soviet Embassy, in its note in reply to our note, says this is not true. We have sent many notes about such things and they have replied in this way. What filthy scum has come to the top!

Thus, in connection with the Vlora base, we informed them which ships could leave, while the others would not shift. They made all that fuss and pressure. But does Mount Tomorr quake under the rain, the wind and the tempest? No, it does not quake, but stands firm, like a granite rock. And in the same way, the leadership of our Party and Government did not budge from their decisions. When they saw that they could get no further, they departed with their submarines which they had not handed over and with the floating dock. However, they have left about one hundred and fifty men here, no doubt as a pretext for disputes. We told them that these men, too, should be withdrawn as quickly as possible from Albania, that they had no reason to stay longer here, because they were sitting idle and this was nothing but a stay with evil aims. And in fact such actions as that which their driver carried out, could still occur.

We know that it is not the sailors at the Vlora base

who are to blame but the leadership. How is it possible that they have gone so far as to instruct the sailors to steal everything they find? Thus, they are leaving behind no curtains, fans, electric lamps, porcelain articles, etc. So true is this that their own commander has told our command that he does not know what to do with his men. He has told them a hundred times not to act like this, but they have been corrupted. Their rear commander, a colonel, has tried to appropriate things which belong to our state. When he is asked why he, a communist, is doing these things, he replies without a blush that he is going to take these things for himself because that is what others are doing.

But why are they committing all these base acts? Of course, to hatch up some accusations against us, in order to have as many as possible so-called «facts» against us. But despite all these dirty provocations, our cadres, from the most senior officer to the rank-and-file sailor, have orders to keep their tempers. They have all proved to be at the necessary level, to be party people. They see that these stands are unworthy and they make a very bad impression on them. We understand that the Soviets are doing these things as an excuse to send us note after note. Thus, their most senior military representative in our country at present comes and complains to our command that an Albanian sailor has allegedly searched the pockets of a Soviet sailor, that another Albanian sailor has allegedly not allowed a Soviet sailor to go out on the beach, or that the parcel that a Soviet sailor was taking out of the base was allegedly searched. It seems that they are gathering up their belongings to leave. This is the best solution in the existing situation, which we did not want, but which the Soviet revisionists themselves have created.

The hostile Soviet actions at the Vlora base are carried out by orders of the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership, but nevertheless, there are good people at the base who give our sailors the keys to even the most delicate appara-

tus of the submarines, advise them where they must be careful and how to look after and maintain them, and say that we have been and are friends, etc.

Our Party has said, and still says, that Vlora will always remain a strong base for the defence of our Homeland, the PR of Albania, and the common interests of the peoples of this zone. This has been, is and always will be the unalterable principle of our Party. Nothing can shift us from our course. Let the Soviet leaders go further if they like. And they have gone further in their stands against us. Since the Soviet leadership was to withdraw the ships of the naval fleet at the Vlora base, it made no sense for us to leave the students and officers of our navy to continue their studies in the Soviet Union. Therefore our government ordered our military attache in Moscow to send back our officers and men who were studying in the Soviet naval colleges. Our military attache went to the Soviet command and informed them of the decision of our government. The only thing they said to our attache at the Soviet command and informed them of the decision of hurry. He immediately replied that he had this order from his government and he was carrying it out.

Thus, our military attache went immediately to Leningrad where, after informing the command of the Naval Academy, he gathered all our students there and explained the matter to them. All of them were unanimous that they were under the orders of the Party. When the Albanian military attache went to the other Naval Academy, they confined all the students in their rooms, under guard, and did not allow the attache to meet them. However, the students overcame the obstacles and met the representative of our state, who gathered them together and told them how matters stood. He told them that the order of the Party was that they were to return to Albania. All of them, to a man, responded to the call and on this occasion the place echoed

with speeches and slogans about the correct road of our Party. This made a powerful impression on all the Soviet officers and students, who wanted to know why all these unjust things were being done to the Albanians, why the Albanians, whose conduct and stand was so good and who were working at the lessons so well, were confined. This created a great commotion which everybody heard. To defeat our men, the Soviet command doubled the guards, but the majority of them declared openly that they refused to confine their Albanian comrades. These guards were replaced with others, but they too refused. The director of one of the naval academies refused to treat in that way our officers and students who were studying there. On the contrary, he lined them up and personally accompanied them to the cinema. At another academy, they told our officers, «You will come back to us again.» Thus, things went so far that they tried to hold our students by force by lying to them that a counter-revolution, like that in Hungary, had broken out in Albania, and so on. When our military attache was carrying out the order of our government in Leningrad, and the chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Army telephoned him and told him to return to Moscow, he replied, «I carry out the orders of my government and not yours.» They expelled our military attache and, as a counter-measure, we expelled theirs.

Naturally, we lodged an immediate protest. During those days the commissions of the two sides were meeting in Tirana on the question of the Vlora base, but we suspended the work of our commission and informed the Soviet side that if the hostile arbitrary measures against our officers and students who were studying in the naval academies of the Soviet Union did not cease, the meeting could not be held. Thus, they were obliged to annul the measures against our people and, apart from this, they made false statements that they had no intention of keeping our naval officers

and students in the Soviet Union and would take measures to return them to Albania. It was only after this that the Albanian and Soviet commissions continued their talks about the Vlora base. The Soviet leadership was obliged to alter its stand because of the resolute stand of our Party and government, as well as of the lofty patriotism, great determination and fearlessness of our communists, officers and students.

Our people who were studying in the naval academies in the Soviet Union maintained an exemplary stand. As soon as they received the instructions of the Party, they were ready to face any sacrifice so long as the order of the Party was carried out, without the slightest wavering. The Khrushchevite clique who are organizing unparalleled hostile acts against our country, who have ruined the friendly, fraternal relations between our two countries, were put in their place by the stand of our men. But they must understand that with the Albanians, with the cadres of the Party, they will achieve nothing in this way, because they will find themselves facing a blow which will smash their heads. And, in fact, with the act they committed against our naval officers and students they have exposed themselves, because this act has created a sensation in the Soviet Union, especially in the cities where our men were studying and where they were on the best of terms and well-behaved with their professors and Soviet colleagues, as well as with the people.

As you see, the situation created in our relations with the Soviet Union is difficult. We are going through situations in which it is necessary to keep our heads cool. Now it is clear to us with what sort of people we are dealing. All those events, which are becoming ever clearer, have occurred between our two countries. They convince us even more that the present Soviet leaders, headed by Khrushchev, are not only on the wrong road, but have gone a long

way down the road of hostility to the socialist camp and especially to the PR of Albania. They have done everything in their power against us and are ready to do anything else they can, but they will be smashed. They have lost and are bound to lose, even if they go further in their stands. They may take some decision to expel us from the Warsaw Treaty. Let them take even this decision: they will bear great responsibility. They cannot destroy the feelings of the Soviet peoples and those of the other socialist countries for us. This they will never achieve, however unrestrained their propaganda against us. Their propaganda against Albania will never be implanted in the masses of the communists and the peoples of their countries. This is so not only in principle, but in the concrete reality, too.

We have hundreds of students and other specialists who have contacts with rank-and-file Soviet people and communists, and have explained to them these stands of our Party and those of Khrushchev and his revisionist group. These people are able to judge these stands of ours, and the overwhelming majority of them fully approve the correct line of our Party. If they did not approve it, the Soviet leadership would have allowed the reports of our 4th Congress to circulate freely in the Soviet Union, but the fact is that these reports have been blocked by the censor there. The Soviet security service has been mobilized all over the country to gather up the reports which are circulating from hand to hand. If these reports had an anti-Marxist content, as the Soviet leaders slander, why not let them circulate, because as such the Soviet workers would not touch them. However, the report of the 4th Congress of our Party is Marxist-Leninist and unmasks the line, the stands and the aims of the Khrushchev group. Those who have read it have fully endorsed it. Now that the recent international events are taking place, those who have read the report once,

want to return to it again, because, as they say, «it is a realistic analysis of the international situation.»

An article published recently in the newspaper «Isvestia» says: «How Long will Hitler's Generals Be Allowed to Go on Arming?» This is a smokescreen which these people are putting out to cover themselves, because it is the international communist and workers' movement which is raising the question how long the arming of West Germany will continue. It is known that Kennedy has made statement after statement to organize espionage and sabotage against the socialist countries...

We are certain, also, that nothing positive is going to emerge from the meeting which Khrushchev is going to hold with Kennedy, because we are all clear about Kennedy's pacifist and liquidationist views. The Soviet diplomats everywhere are saying that all the international problems will be solved with this meeting. This is a great fraud, a terrible bluff. How can it be claimed that Khrushchev is going to this meeting to decide the important international problems, when in fact he is going to talk with Kennedy about questions which pertain only to the Soviet Union and the United States of America? We know that from this meeting, too, only hot air will emerge. This does not mean to say that we are not for peace. We are resolutely for peace, but not on the road on which Khrushchev and all those who are singing in harmony with him are proceeding. This is not the way to peace. However Khrushchev is trying to create a favourable situation until the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, which is to approve the party program, is over.

This is how the relations between our two countries and parties have developed, while from the economic viewpoint all aid and credits have been suspended. Khrushchev announced this at the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty and all the others repeated it. They have raised the ques-

tion of aid and credits in a detestable anti-Marxist way, as if they, along with Ulbricht, are keeping us alive. They say, «You will receive this aid if you submit to us.» But such a thing will never occur. We do not want this kind of aid because the Albanian people and their Party are among those who can live even on a mere crust.

The Czechoslovak leaders, also, have taken Khrushchev's road. But whatever they do, they will lose. We are on the right road. True, we have suffered from these actions, but we have learned a great deal. The Soviet revisionists and those who follow them did not believe the last trial we conducted and wrote nothing about it in their press. Well, let them not write, tomorrow they will see what will emerge; the time will come when the Soviet, the Bulgarian and other peoples will learn what these enemies and traitors were. For us, the important thing is that in this situation our people are united around the Party like a closed fist, that the unity of our Party is like steel, that the people and the Party are politically, ideologically and morally uplifted and united as one around the CC of the Party and the Government. This constitutes the invincible strength of our Homeland.

No intrigue, no hostile work of Khrushchev and his henchmen can be successful, much less overthrow our Party. We shall have difficulties, but we shall win, while they will lose. It was and is important that we keep our people informed. In these situations the clarity of people on these matters has meant that our unity has been strengthened, that we have not allowed the enemies' slanders against us to take root and create confusion in the minds of our people, a thing which might lead to a tense situation later in the Party and among the people.

We have always kept the Party informed and have told it how the truth stands. This has tempered our people and brought about that even the waverers, or those who do

not have a high ideological level, understand these matters correctly and fight against this great anti-Marxist activity which the enemies, the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Italian neo-fascists, as well as the revisionist group of Nikita Khrushchev are carrying on.

The activity of this group has not come to an end, but as always we are keeping cool. This is not a simple matter. Only a Marxist-Leninist party, tempered in struggle and difficulties, can keep its head cool. A party which is on the right road cannot be shaken. Ours is such a party which in these situations has always acted correctly, in a Marxist-Leninist way and, therefore, it has become tempered.

The present situation demands, first of all, that we safeguard our unity. This has decisive importance. The enemies of our Party attack its leadership alleging that it is anti-Soviet. This is their catch-cry. Taking advantage of the great love which our Party has for the Soviet Union, they are trying to create doubts in people's minds and present the question as Koço Tashko did, that he who loves the Soviet Union must defend Khrushchev. But unmasking Khrushchev does not mean in any way that we are against the Soviet Union. We say that a leadership which is against socialism, which acts against the interests of the camp and the international communist movement must be ruthlessly exposed. The people love their leadership when it proceeds on the right road, but when it takes a crooked course nobody follows it.

If our leadership were against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism, against the freedom and independence of the Homeland, then why would our people love the Party so much? The people love the Party precisely because it is marching unhesitatingly on the Marxist-Leninist road, because it is building socialism successfully and defending the interests of the Homeland and the peoples. The mem-

bers of the Khrushchev group are trying to raise doubts among weak individuals with their propaganda.

We love the Soviet Union, but we are not going to allow the Khrushchev group to carry out hostile activities against Albania without slapping this back in their faces, of course, without breaching the norms and rules which exist in our relations. We think that the time has not yet arrived to write about these matters in the newspapers, but in the international meetings of parties we will maintain a stand based on the correct line of our Party, hence, will express the views of our Party. If these views are contrary to those of the group of Nikita Khrushchev, this does not upset us.

We are going to speak about these correct views to the people of our Party, because our opponents do not hesitate to slander us to their people. They are sending letter after letter to the party organizations, but their arguments are weak and no one believes them. In these letters they write, «Enver Hoxha threw mud at the Soviet Union», «Enver Hoxha is against the Soviet Union», «the Party of Labour of Albania has taken the anti-Marxist road».

Hence, we must arm our people well, must inform them correctly and thoroughly so that they know what to do. Not only must we members of the party be able to differentiate between the Soviet Union and the glorious Party of Lenin, on the one hand, and this enemy group headed by Khrushchev, which has raised its hand against a socialist country, on the other, but the people, too, must be educated to be able to make this differentiation. We are with the peoples of the Soviet Union, even in their present difficult situation.

We must bear in mind that questions are being asked everywhere, but it should not be assumed that they are being asked for evil purposes. Our people are political and that's what we want them to be. However, if they are to be political, things must be made clear to them. We should

not hesitate to present the arguments to them just as they are. Whenever the opportunity presents itself, we should explain the situation, both to party members and to non-party people. We are going to tell the people and all those who ask what Khrushchev's aims are in regard to the Vlorë base and, in the first place, we shall tell the Party so that it is thoroughly informed. If someone asks a question in the street, in a group, or meeting, he should be given an answer, naturally a prudent, objective one, without heat and in the Marxist-Leninist way.

It is natural that people ask you: What is the situation with the Soviet Union? We must tell them that a group of revisionists are at the head of the party and state there and the peoples of the Soviet Union are going through a difficult situation. Of course, the Khrushchev group have powerful means of propaganda, but it is not all that easy for them to strangle justice and the voice of truth, the voice of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, etc.

Therefore, in this situation, our Party must be on its toes to defend the interests of the Party and the people, to protect and defend its people. You must be careful in dealing with people, comrades, because in this situation the enemy pressure is great, imperialism with all the power of its propaganda is exerting great pressure on us, the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists are exerting great pressure through their propaganda, and their attacks on us are numerous and unceasing. All this pressure could cause trouble among people with weak nerves, many of them might give way. Therefore they must be kept close, advised, corrected, assisted, cured and encouraged to advance.

The enemies want those individuals, who cannot keep their nerves in this situation, to be rejected from our ranks. The Party knows how to act against enemy elements, but all

who make mistakes must not be lumped together, especially the good elements of the people and the party members. There are some who do not properly understand these difficult moments and whose judgement is unclear. With these individuals, or with communists in this position, we must behave like the doctor with patients suffering from influenza, typhoid or tuberculosis, striving to the end to cure them.

But we fear nothing, because our Party is strong. You comrades are party leaders in the districts. You live with the masses day and night and see for yourselves that never before has there been such great mobilization and enthusiasm among the people and the communists, such lofty patriotism, not sentimental but concrete, in the work and the struggle to carry out tasks and overcome difficulties. This shows the great strength of the Party and our people. It is at difficult moments that you recognize a person's worth, and amongst our people patriotism has been raised to a very high level, a thing which shows how capable and tempered our Party is. Therefore we must work even better to temper the Party more and more, to further strengthen its unity, must make the masses of the party members clear, must tell them how the situation is developing, must not hide it from them, but must tell them objectively, just as matters have occurred, without exaggerating or minimizing things, and we must ensure that together with the Party, the people are clear, too.

It is self-evident what decisive importance the fulfilment of our plans in all directions has, not only in the economy, but also in the sectors of education, culture, etc., in order to cope successfully with the attacks they make on us. We must contribute all our strength, heart and soul, must toil in all directions in order to fulfil and overfulfil the plans in reply to the attacks they are making on us from all sides. Our people are wonderful, active supporters of the correct line of their Party, and ready to make any

sacrifice, therefore we must know how to mobilize them correctly to carry out the plans. If we do this well, we will fully deserve the great trust the people have in the Party.

Besides the self-sacrificing work, the revolutionary enthusiasm and the readiness of the broad masses of the working people to carry out the economic plans, we shall also have all the necessary aid of the People's Republic of China. The first groups of specialists have started to come from China and, together with our specialists, they will study the places where the plants and factories envisaged in the 3rd Five-year Plan will be built.

It is a very interesting and encouraging fact that once the Soviet specialists left, from wherever they were, our people took the work in hand and, when certain amendments in the plan were made, the collectives and our specialists have written letters to the Central Committee with the request that the plans should not be reduced, thus expressing the belief that they are capable of ensuring the full realization of the plans set. Hence, we are sure that the 3rd Five-year Plan will be fulfilled in all directions.

We have very friendly relations with the People's Republic of China, not only in the ideological field, but also in political and economic matters. All our political problems have found full endorsement from many other parties, too. We have the support and backing of all the revolutionary peoples of the world.

We shall strive, as always, to eliminate the tense situation with certain parties, but only on the Marxist-Leninist road. We will make no concession over principles. We demand that Khrushchev and those who follow him abandon the anti-Marxist, hostile activity they are carrying out against Albania, in particular. We have been and are for friendship with the Soviet Union and all the countries of people's democracy. For our part, we shall do nothing to exacerbate relations with those countries, but this does not

depend on us. This depends on them. Up till now, we have seen no sign in this direction. On the contrary, every day they send us notes with tendentious aims of slander, but we reply to their notes and put matters in order.

Now, comrades, you will go down to the base and people may ask you questions. Bear in mind that matters must be explained correctly, as they are in fact. It must be thoroughly understood that our relations with the Soviet leadership are no longer what they were in the past and for this the Soviet leaders are to blame. Today, the Soviet leadership is carrying out extensive espionage activity against our country. The situation is no longer that in which everything, everywhere, was open to Soviet people. Therefore, when they go about the country, our comrades must be careful and vigilant. Now we can no longer give those who are diplomats, who make visits around our country, everything they ask for. Previously they have known a great deal about our internal matters; we have kept nothing secret from them because we considered them friends. Now we are in no way obliged to give them information, to tell them how our industry is going, how our bread grain is, etc. We can tell them, after all, how the branch of the Albania-USSR Friendship Association is working, but here, too, we should let them know that we do not accept control over its activity, for the reason that when our ambassador goes to a meeting of the USSR-Albania Friendship Association, which is held once a year in Moscow, they do not even allow him to speak to deliver a message of greeting, until he is obliged to insist on the right to speak. When they change their views and attitude towards our Party and country, then we shall see what we shall do.

Of course, we must behave correctly with people from the Soviet Union, but, when they ask provocative questions, the proper answer must be slapped back in their faces. When their questions are for purposes of surveillance and

information, that is, of a purely espionage character, they must be told openly that such information is not available to them. You should say to them, «This is as far as you can go.» When you see them do unworthy things towards our people in the way of blackmail, threats, pressure, etc., expose them.

Teach our people to fight and take a correct stand towards all hostile actions, and at the same time to struggle to strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union. And this attitude towards these individuals in no way weakens our friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. By acting in this way we are on the right road.

That is all I had to say. These are the questions I wished to bring to your attention.

## **LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER COUNTRIES<sup>1</sup>**

**September 6, 1961**

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, meeting on September 5-6, 1961, after having carefully examined the letter which the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary, the Rumanian Workers' Party, sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on August 3, 1961 from the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, through the secretariat of this meeting, sends them the following reply:

From the above-mentioned letter, as well as from the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania which went to Moscow to take part in this meeting, we learned with indignation about the impermissible, profoundly unfriendly attitude, without precedent in the history of the inter-

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<sup>1</sup> This letter was addressed to the Central Committees of the CPSU, the CP of Czechoslovakia, the SUP of Germany, the UWP of Poland, the CP of Bulgaria, the SWP of Hungary and the Rumanian WP.

national communist movement, which was maintained there by the authors of the said letter towards the Party of Labour of Albania. In recent times, beginning from the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, and the First Secretaries of some communist and workers' parties of socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, have followed the anti-Marxist practice of placing the Party of Labour of Albania in positions of inequality, discredit and discrimination. This dangerous practice reached its culmination at the meeting of August 3, 1961, where, under the pretext that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was not taking part in the meeting personally, even the most elementary norms of relations between the communist and workers' parties were brutally violated, and the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania was ousted from the meeting by means of an arbitrary decision. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania considers this act, unheard of in relations among Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties, as brutal interference in the internal affairs of our Party, as a blatant violation of the principles of consultation, equality, and independence of the communist and workers' parties, which have been clearly defined in the Moscow Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties. The undertaking of such an action towards a fraternal party, such as the Party of Labour of Albania, clearly demonstrates that its authors are deliberately going further and further down the road of exacerbation of relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, that they have entered a road from which there is no return, which heavily damages the supreme interests of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist move-

ment and the interests of the Warsaw Treaty, a road which can bring joy only to our common enemies.

In its letter of July 22, 1961, addressed to Ulbricht, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania had explained that it was not possible for the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, to take part personally in the meeting of August 3, 1961. The pretext contained in the letter of August 3, addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, alleging that the delegation appointed by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania for that meeting, which was headed by a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, with that composition, was not «competent» to take part in the discussion of the problems concerning the preparations for the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, is entirely without foundation and in contravention of the Leninist organizational rules. In the communist and workers' parties the Leninist principle of collective leadership exists. And our Party of Labour rigorously respects this principle. Consequently, if it is impossible to send its first secretary, the central committee of any communist and workers' party, hence also the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, has the full right on any occasion and for any meeting to appoint another fully empowered representative, and to authorize him to present the view of his party and assume full obligations and responsibilities on its behalf for the decisions taken collectively as a result of equal, comradely consultations. For the same reason it must be pointed out that neither Khrushchev nor Ulbricht nor any one else is in a position, and neither is it up to them, to determine whether the delegation appointed by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to represent our Party at the August 3 meeting was or was not «competent». This is an internal question

of our Party and, in conformity with the well-known principles of the independence of every communist and workers' party, only the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, as the supreme collective leading organ of the Party, has the right to decide which delegation or leader of the Party will represent it at this or that meeting of fraternal parties.

In its letter of July 22, 1961, the Central Committee of our Party declared with the greatest clarity that its delegation headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia had full power and authority from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to represent the Party of Labour of Albania with the most complete competence at the meeting of August 3, 1961, in connection with the German problem which was on the agenda. Therefore we consider the decision of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Rumanian Workers' Party, not to allow the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania to take part in the said meeting, unlawful, an unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labour of Albania. Likewise, the accusations made against the Party of Labour of Albania, with regard to Comrade Enver Hoxha's non-participation in the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in March this year, are also interference in our internal affairs.

We also reject the baseless accusation made in the August 3 letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, which alleges that the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania ignores the collective opinion of the fraternal communist and workers' parties and that allegedly for this reason, in November 1960, the

Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu «walked out» of the Meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers' parties in a «demonstrative fashion». It is well known that the Party of Labour of Albania, just as all the other fraternal parties participating in the Meeting of November 1960, signed the Joint Declaration which was adopted there. The Party of Labour of Albania has consistently implemented and continues to implement the Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties of the year 1960, just as it has implemented and continues to implement the 1957 Declaration of the Moscow Meeting. Where then is this «ignoring of the collective opinion of the fraternal parties»? Those who have been and are brutally violating the principles of the Declaration concerning the relations among the communist and workers' parties and among the socialist countries ignore the collective opinion of the fraternal parties; the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Rumanian Workers' Party, who maintain arrogant and unfriendly attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, as is proved by the stand they maintained towards the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the meeting of August 3, 1961, ignore it. As to the departure of the Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu from the final sessions of the November 1960 Meeting, it is well known that this was done because they had to be present in their Homeland for the National Day celebrations of November 28 and 29. Moreover, they left when the general discussion at the Moscow Meeting had come to an end, when the only business still going on was with the commission for the preparation of the text of the Declaration, on which the over-

whelming majority of the participating parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, etc., were not represented by the heads of their delegations. Besides this, many fraternal parties at the November 1960 Meeting were not represented by their principal leaders, while some days before the departure of the Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, Comrade Novotny left the meeting, but despite this nobody has even thought of making accusations against these parties and Comrade Novotny, over this thing, and this is right. Why then, is a different attitude maintained in the case of the Party of Labour of Albania? Is this not a gross violation of the principle of equality, a blatantly discriminatory attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania?

From this it is clear that all those things contained in the letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and which were said at the Meeting of August 3, 1961 against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, are nothing but pretexts invented to justify the impermissible discriminatory attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania, to deny it the right to take part in the meeting and to present its correct viewpoint there concerning the German issue. By their unjust decision the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Rumanian Workers' Party, committed an unprecedented crime: they denied the Party of Labour of Albania, which has always loyally defended and continues to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the allied and fraternal

Albanian people, a member of the Warsaw Treaty, their lawful right to have their say with regard to the just solution of the German problem; they trampled underfoot every Leninist law and principle governing the relations among fraternal parties and socialist countries.

Apparently, in order to hide this crime from the world, to conceal the injustice done to the Party of Labour of Albania, at the end of the proceedings of the Meeting of August 3, 1961, an announcement was made in to the press, which falsified the reality by implying that the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania also, took part in this meeting. But, however these actions may be justified and concealed, it remains a bitter and undeniable fact that they are seriously harming the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and their authors are thus taking upon themselves a grave responsibility before the peoples and history.

And that is not all. In continuation of their reprehensible actions towards the Party of Labour of Albania, they unscrupulously violated every Leninist norm of relations among fraternal communist and workers' parties; they did not even inform the Central Committee of our Party about what took place during the meeting of August 3-5, 1961, and the measures adopted there. Up to date, neither the decisions taken at this meeting nor its minutes have been sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. Such an action towards a fraternal party cannot be described otherwise than as a dishonest and entirely unjustifiable effort to exclude the Party of Labour of Albania in fact from effective participation in the discussion and solution of the major problems which are concerning the international communist and workers' movement, the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty today, such as the German problem.

But they went even further. As it emerges from the

decision of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic of August 12, 1961, concerning the measures for the strengthening of the control on the border with West Berlin, apart from the August 3, 1961 Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, at which the Party of Labour of Albania was unlawfully prohibited from participation, a meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty has been held, too. Not only were the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania not invited to take part in this meeting, but they were not even informed of the holding of such a meeting. The Central Committee of our Party considers this a blatant violation of the legal rights of the People's Republic of Albania, which is a worthy and equal member of the Warsaw Treaty. The organizers of this unprecedented act, which has the aim of putting the People's Republic of Albania effectively outside the Warsaw Treaty, took upon themselves a heavy responsibility as underminers of the unity of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp. With profound regret we are obliged to observe that this is not the first time that, in their relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, some leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with Khrushchev at the head, and some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe, have violated the agreements existing between our parties and countries in a flagrant manner. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania most resolutely protests over these unlawful and profoundly anti-Marxist acts, which bring great harm to our common cause.

The letter, which the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Rumanian, Workers' Party addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, contains a series of attacks, false arguments, and the basest inventions against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders, that cannot be left without the reply they deserve from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania are accused of allegedly being afraid to take upon themselves the responsibility for the settlement of so complicated a question as the German question. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government, the Albanian leaders have never been and are not afraid of their responsibility as allies and members of the Warsaw Treaty in any situation. Although a small country, encircled all round by savage enemies, without a common border with the other socialist countries, the People's Republic of Albania has stood like a granite rock on the Adriatic coast, has successfully coped with the countless plots, provocations and blackmail of the imperialists and their tools, and has carried out its obligations as a socialist country and member of the Warsaw Treaty to the letter.

The stand of our Party and Government on the German question is known to the whole world. It is contained in many official documents that have been published in the press. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have always resolutely supported the efforts of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic for a peaceful solution of the German question. The view of our Party and Government has been and still is that the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement on this basis of

the problem of West Berlin, too, are indispensable measures, long overdue, and in the interests of the People's Republic of Albania, the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries, in the interests of peace and security in Europe. We have been and are for the earliest possible solution of these problems, because any dragging on of them is to the advantage only of our enemies. You all have the speech that the delegation of our Party was to have delivered at the August 3 Meeting, which it sent on August 3 to the delegations of all the communist and workers' parties participating in this meeting. It shows that our delegation was authorized to declare, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, that «in any situation and at any moment of danger we shall fight to the end beside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, regardless of any sacrifice, we shall be in solidarity to the end and shall do our duty honourably, on every occasion, as we have always done.» This has been and is the view of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, irrespective of the ideological disagreements which exist between our parties.

Who, in fact, is afraid of the responsibility for the solution of the German issue — we who have been and are for the earliest possible settlement of it, or those who have retreated on this issue and dragged it on until today? Khrushchev himself publicly declared, in November 1958, that after six months the realization of measures for the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin and for its transformation into a free, demilitarized city would begin. But six months went by, another two years have gone by, and the situation in West Berlin is still what it was. There is another fact, too, which we cannot fail to mention here. Only a few months ago, at the March 1961

Meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, Nikita Khrushchev reproached the Party of Labour of Albania with allegedly pursuing an incautious and hard-line policy in connection with the German question, while four months later the Party of Labour of Albania is accused of being afraid, that it seeks to avoid the responsibilities stemming from the solution of the German question, etc., etc. Are these declarations not a little surprising? Is it not clear that some leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe who support them in their efforts to smear the Party of Labour of Albania, in order to distort its correct policy, resort to all sorts of arguments, be they invented or borrowed from the arsenal of the enemies of the People's Republic of Albania and the socialist camp, be they even contradictory to one another? But the sun cannot be hidden by a sieve. The stand of the Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania is clear to everybody. The various calumnies and accusations, wherever they may come from, cannot deceive anybody, apart from the naive and those who want to be deceived.

To us it is astonishing and monstrous how such slanders can be emitted from the mouths of the leaders of some socialist countries and communist parties against another Socialist country such as Albania and a Marxist-Leninist party such as the Party of Labour of Albania, that they are allegedly «striving to prepare the ground for rapprochement with those who oppose the peaceful settlement of the German problem». The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania firmly and indignantly rejects this base insinuation and considers it a grave insult to our Party and people, who have fought heroically against fascism and nazism, who have given so

many proofs of their determination in the struggle against imperialism and its tools, who have unflinchingly resisted every threat and provocation by the enemies of socialism, who have mercilessly exposed all those who, deviating from class positions, have sunk into the slime of opportunism and preached conciliation with our enemies. It appears that since their false accusations of sectarianism and extremism against the Party of Labour of Albania did not work and could not deceive anyone, now they are trying to spread all sorts of inventions that the Party of Labour of Albania is seeking rapprochement with the enemies of peace and socialism. But, faced with the correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party, a stand which is so widely known that we do not take the pains to document it in this letter, these new accusations, too, will suffer the same fate as the previous ones — they will fail ignominiously. Those who accuse and slander the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership are unable to bring forward even one fact that could prove what they say, whereas we are in a position to bring out many documented facts which clearly show their vacillations from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against imperialism. We have never had illusions about our enemies, we have not embraced and kissed them, we have never flattered them or patted them on the back, and neither have we ever kowtowed to them. Our Party and Government have always maintained a resolute and principled Marxist-Leninist stand towards the enemies of peace and socialism, have sternly and constantly unmasked imperialism and its policy of war and aggression. They have been irreconcilable towards the class enemies. The efforts to cast aspersions on the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, on the entire Albanian people, are disgraceful attempts which will never be successful. They are refuted both by the

entire history of the Party of Labour of Albania, as well as by life and present-day reality itself.

The authors of the above-mentioned letter of August 3, 1961 are trying their utmost in every way to find any sort of pretext for further anti-Marxist and utterly unfriendly actions against the Albanian people, their Party and Government. The accusations made against us that allegedly the People's Republic of Albania does not carry out its commitments as a member of the Warsaw Treaty, that it does not inform the United Command about the state of the Albanian Army, that it pursues a line which is in opposition to the interests of the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and to the principles of proletarian internationalism, are concoctions from start to finish. In fact, we have carried out to the letter all the existing agreements, all the duties with which we have been charged by the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces. We have carried out all its orders and instructions about military training and all the measures envisaged in the joint plans of the Warsaw Treaty armies. Regularly, every year and every six months, at the times set and with all the details, we have notified the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty about the moral-political and material-technical situation, the combat and technical-operational readiness of our army. Such, for example, are the latest reports given verbally and in writing to the Commander-in-chief of the United Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal Grechko, in October 1960, and on March 27, 1961. It is not we, but precisely the United Command and the Soviet Government that have not carried out their obligations towards the army of a Warsaw Treaty member country, such as the People's Republic of Albania. Immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet Government cut off all the military supplies in food and clothing, technical equipment, armaments and other means for the Albanian Army,

thus, unilaterally and without any warning, violating all the previously signed agreements, such as, for instance, the agreement concluded between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on September 28, 1949, the protocol of February 26, 1959, the protocol of February 3, 1960, etc., including also the flagrant violations by the Soviet side of the agreements of the years 1957 and 1959 regarding the Vlora naval base. Completely contrary to the common interests of the defence of the socialist camp, the Soviet leaders and all those leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe who approved their proposal, liquidated the Vlora naval base, thus taking upon themselves a grave historical responsibility, not only before the Albanian people, but also before all the other peoples of the socialist camp. The plan of principal measures of the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty about the operational and combat training of the Albanian Army for the 1961 school year has not been carried out. It has been violated without any reason or warning. The United Command has categorically cut off the dispatch of military literature to Albania and does not give the Command of the Albanian Army any information whatever about what is going on in the armies of other Warsaw Treaty member countries. Despite the repeated requests of the Albanian authorities, made in the report sent to Marshal Grechko on March 27, 1961, at the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in March this year, and on other occasions, that the Command of the Albanian Army should know what are its duties and the armies with which our army would act together in case of war, at least in the initial stage after it begins, up till now no answer has been given and no measure has been taken, so that the Albanian Army still does not know its duties in the context of the joint strategic and operational plan of the Warsaw Treaty

armies. The request of the Albanian side, presented in the above-mentioned report of March 27, 1961, in the context of the reciprocal exchange of experience, that the Albanian Army, too, should take part in joint exercises to the extent and with the composition that are judged reasonable, has likewise remained without an answer.

From what has been said above, it clearly emerges that the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania have always fulfilled their obligations in a correct manner, both towards the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and towards the United Command. Whereas, on the contrary, the leaders of the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and the United Command have not fulfilled their duties towards the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian Army, towards a socialist country and member of the Warsaw Treaty.

The same thing can be said, also, with regard to the political activity of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania. In its entire practice, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has regularly informed the other Warsaw Treaty member countries about all the important issues of foreign policy, through their diplomatic representatives in Tirana, for whom it has provided all facilities for the exercise of their activity. The accusations made against the leadership of our Party and Government in this direction, too, are sheer inventions which are made with the purpose of making our relations even worse.

But all these unjust actions, baseless accusations and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, will never attain their aim, they will never be able to turn the People's Republic of Albania from the rigorous and consistent carrying out of its internationalist duties as a socialist state and worthy member of the Warsaw Treaty. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania once again

declares that, despite the obstacles and difficulties being created for us every day, with our means and possibilities, we shall keep our armed forces in full readiness in order to perform honourably and with precision our duty as an ally for the defence of the interests of the socialist camp in this region, and as far as we are concerned, we shall keep the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty and all the socialist countries informed. At the same time, we demand and shall demand that the United Command and the governments of the socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, also fulfil to the letter their obligations towards the People's Republic of Albania and its Army, as an equal member of the Warsaw Treaty. The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that the reciprocal obligations of all the Warsaw Treaty members must be carried out to the letter and by everybody, without any discrimination.

In the August 3 letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, it is stated that the Party of Labour of Albania «considers the carrying out of its obligations which stem from the Warsaw Treaty to be a heavy burden,» etc. One can really deplore the authors of these declarations placing themselves in a ridiculous position. How could a small country like Albania, which is building socialism in the conditions of the capitalist savage encirclement, under the continuous pressure of the conspiracies, provocations and threats of the imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, and the Yugoslav revisionists, find it a burden to be in the Warsaw Treaty? Who could be more interested in the Warsaw Treaty than the small Albanian people, who are living and working right in the wolf's mouth? Therefore the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania indignantly rejects both the conclusion contained in the August 3 letter, according to which the Albanian leaders allegedly «consider the carrying out of the obligations which stem from

the Warsaw Treaty a heavy burden», as well as the formula repeated in many documents aimed at the Central Committee of the PLA that allegedly «the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have placed themselves outside the Warsaw Treaty». The objective at which the authors of such calumnies aim is more than clear, but irrespective of this, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA declares that the People's Republic of Albania has been and is a worthy member of the Warsaw Treaty, which has honourably upheld and upholds all the responsibilities stemming from this membership.

The accusations that allegedly the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders are disrupting the unity of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the socialist camp by their actions are lies and are made with sinister aims, as a cover for the unfriendly activity which has been carried on against our Party and people by the leaders of some communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe for some time. It is precisely this activity, and not the attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is undermining the unity and compactness of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp. Despite the injustices done to them, despite all the slanders and many kinds of pressures and difficulties which are being created for them, at no time have the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders given any cause for our unity to be weakened. On the contrary, they have fought and are fighting to strengthen it, they have not provided and do not provide the enemies with any weapon whatever with which to attack our unity. It is precisely certain leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with Khrushchev at the head, and of the other communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe, headed by Novotny, Ulbricht, Gomulka, Zhivkov, Kadar and Gheorghiu-Dej, who, by their acts against the Party of Labour of

Albania and the Albanian people, acts which are becoming more publicly known day by day, are providing our common enemies with weapons to attack both our unity in general, and the People's Republic of Albania in particular. It is they who deliberately carried over the ideological disagreements between our parties to the field of relations between our socialist states, by imposing the economic, political and military blockade on the People's Republic of Albania. It is they who, from the discussion of these problems through party channels, launched into public discussion of them, as Ulbricht did in his notorious statement after the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, or as the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria has done in its own party. It is they, who, instead of working, as the Moscow Declaration says, to gradually eliminate the disagreements that existed and the negative phenomena that had been observed in the relations between our parties, preferred another course: the course of the further exacerbation, the course of pressures, the one greater than the other, the course of unprincipled attacks and countless provocations against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania. It is precisely they who are weakening and undermining the unity and compactness of the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty, with the unprecedented decision they took at the August 3 Meeting to deprive the plenipotentiary delegation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania of the legal right to take part in the meeting and express the view of our Party about so important a problem as the German problem, and precisely at a very delicate moment of the international situation, when it is more necessary than ever that we are united to a man, facing the US and other imperialists who are threatening us with war. Hence, it is not the Party of Labour of Albania, but certain Soviet leaders, with Khrushchev at the head, and leaders of other socialist

countries of Europe who, with their anti-Marxist and by no means friendly acts, are weakening and undermining the unity of the socialist camp, the international communist movement and the Warsaw Treaty countries, thus pleasing only the enemies of peace and socialism...

Why then is the leadership of our Party being slandered so zealously? What purposes do the authors of the monstrous charges and attacks against it aim to achieve? Their purpose is poorly disguised, because everything is more than clear: they do not like the present leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and they are striving in every way to bring it down. But let them be sure that they will be quite unable to achieve this aim, just as the imperialists, or the Yugoslav revisionists were unable to achieve it and never will.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has declared more than once, and we repeat in this letter, too, that the fact that the Soviet leaders and those of the other socialist countries of Europe are pursuing a completely erroneous political course in their relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, a course which brings harm, not only to the Albanian people and the construction of socialism in Albania, but also to the interests of the socialist camp itself and the Warsaw Treaty, to our unity which is more than essential particularly at present, worries and saddens us greatly. They have taken the dangerous course of deliberately exacerbating and complicating our disagreements and they are going further down this road. Our Party of Labour has said and we repeat that if there are some who think that in this way, through pressures and unjust actions, through blockades and economic, political or military restrictions, our Party can be conquered, that views with which it does not agree can be imposed on it, they are gravely mistaken. Therefore, the Central Committee of the

Party of Labour of Albania repeats once again the call made in its letter of July 6, 1961, addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to give up unfriendly actions towards and pressures on the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, the conscious exacerbation of our relations, anything that only creates artificial obstacles to the strengthening of our unity and friendship. This, and this alone, is the way to the resolution of disagreements and strengthening of our unity.

But we observe with profound regret that their hot-headedness and arrogant attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania, which by no means conform to the principles of proletarian internationalism, hinder N. S. Khrushchev and the leaders of other socialist countries of Europe from carefully weighing up the proposals in our letter of July 6, which indicate the only correct way to resolve our disagreements. Instead of correcting their wrong attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania and undertaking real steps to improve our relations and strengthen our unity, they make a show of strength against a small fraternal people, such as the Albanian people, by means of blockades, blackmail and economic, political and military pressures. But it is known that the argument of strength is a sign of weakness, it cannot change lies into truth nor replace principles. We remain unshaken, because we have an invincible strength, the strength of the truth, the strength of principle, the strength of Marxism-Leninism. Proceeding from their distorted positions, the Soviet leaders and those of other socialist countries of Europe who support them in their unprincipled fight against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, may take any decision against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, against the Albanian people, but any such decision will be wrong and will not achieve its aim.

In the future too, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania will honourably carry out their duties as a Marxist-Leninist Party and a socialist country just as they have done up to now. This has been our line. This will be our line in the future, too.

For the Central Committee  
of the Party of Labour of Albania

First Secretary

*Enver Hoxha*

*Works, vol. 21*

## **AN UNPRECEDENTED ACT OF HOSTILITY AGAINST THE PRA AND THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE<sup>1</sup>**

*Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»*

**December 10, 1961**

On the urging of Khrushchev, the Soviet Government has decided to withdraw the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana and demanded the departure of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow. This unprecedented act of hostility against socialist Albania and the Albanian people is an action unheard of in the history of the relations among socialist countries, a heavy blow against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. Such an act is an insult to the feelings of profound fraternal friendship which the Soviet communists and the Soviet peoples nurture for our Party and people, and rightly revolts every Albanian and every honest person in the world. By taking this action, Khrushchev gladdens only the enemies and gives them weapons to discredit the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state and their traditional policy of friendship among the peoples. This shows what depths Khrushchev has reached in his hostile feelings towards the PLA, the PRA and the Alba-

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<sup>1</sup> This material appeared as an editorial in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» under the title «An Unprecedented Act in the Relations among Socialist Countries».

nian people, who have been and are loyal friends of the Soviet Union.

The twenty years of the activity of the PLA and the 17 years of the existence of the PRA are the clearest evidence of feelings of friendship and boundless love for the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union. The friendship of our people for the Soviet Union has been forged by the PLA in the flames of the struggle for freedom, national independence and the building of socialism. It has been consecrated with the blood of the valiant sons of the Soviet peoples and the Albanian partisans who fell in the common struggle against the common enemies. The PLA has educated its members and all the working people of the country in the spirit of boundless love and unshakeable loyalty towards the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet peoples. The PLA and the Albanian people have always considered the friendship with the Soviet Union, its internationalist support and aid, as the important external factor for the liberation of the country, the construction of socialism and the defence of freedom and national independence, and for this they have been and are grateful. The relations of the PRA with the Soviet Union have always been more than exemplary, and there have never been black clouds between our two countries. In the interests of our common cause, the Government of the PRA has supported and backed up the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its proposals and steps for the solution of the important international questions in the interest of peace and the security of the peoples, with all its strength. The Albanian-Soviet friendship is not a result of some diplomatic combination, but a profound people's friendship, which has its source in our common course of socialism and communism, in our common interests and aims, in the struggle against imperialism, in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism.

It is astounding and even incomprehensible to any honest person how Khrushchev could go so far as to sever state diplomatic relations with a small, friendly and fraternal country, with a socialist country, which is fighting undauntedly, in the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist encirclement, which is holding aloft the banner of socialism on the shores of the Adriatic, which at every moment and in all circumstances has demonstrated its boundless loyalty towards the great homeland of Lenin with deeds. This attitude towards socialist Albania cannot fail to cause astonishment, at a time when Khrushchev is so loudly advocating the policy of rapprochement and collaboration with all states, even with the most reactionary ones, which are carrying on a consistently hostile policy against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, at a time when Khrushchev is extending his hand and striving to create close ties even with the most reactionary multi-millionaires, with various princes and kings, not to mention his rapprochement with and embracing of the Yugoslav revisionists and the cordial greetings and congratulations he sends to the Pope of Rome. From these facts not only every communist, but every honest person in the world will be convinced of the degree of hostility of Khrushchev's act against the PRA, and they will see whom this act serves in reality.

The pretext Khrushchev found for the withdrawal of the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana was that allegedly the Albanian Government was carrying out a hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and exacerbating the relations between the two countries, hindering the normal activity of the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, and creating an intolerable situation for the Soviet diplomats, etc. All these «serious» causes which drove Khrushchev to such an action are without foundation from start to finish, they are slanders and inventions which are refuted by

the real state of affairs. Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with the press and the reality in our country sees that in it there is no word, no expression, not even the slightest trace of hostility towards the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it is Khrushchev and his followers who invent slanders and tales in order to sow enmity and hatred against our people. Proceeding on this course, a few days ago, it was alleged in an article of the newspaper «Pravda» dated December 2, 1961, written by Andropov, that an editorial of the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» published on the eve of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU wrote that the Albanian leaders «would not develop their relations with the Soviet Union from now on, except on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems». This is a falsification and distortion of the truth. Such a thing has never been said in any issue, article or editorial of «Zëri i popullit» or any other Albanian newspaper. These are the fabrications on which Khrushchev bases his «arguments». What hypocrisy! He hurls at us the false accusation that we are allegedly for relations of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and he is very angry about this, whereas he himself in fact goes very much further even than his own fabrications, to the point of closing the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and ousting the personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow, an action which has nothing in common with the internationalist principles of relations among fraternal socialist countries, nor even with the principles of peaceful coexistence, about which he makes so great a fuss.

As to the pretext that allegedly an intolerable situation has been created in Albania for the Soviet diplomats and the normal activity of the ambassador, such a slander is not even worthy of denial. Khrushchev and his group, like the Soviet diplomats themselves, know very well that, in reality, the conditions created for them to carry out their

activity in Albania surpass the usually accepted norms, that the Soviet ambassador, for whose work great obstacles have allegedly been created, particularly in recent times, has not been in Albania, but in Moscow, since August 19, 1961. It is truly astonishing that Ambassador Shikin has noted from Moscow the obstacles created for him in Albania recently!

Khrushchev's pretext that allegedly the Government of the PRA has violated the norms of international law by requiring the reduction of the personnel of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana cannot stand either. Why did the Government of the PRA demand that the personnel of the two embassies should be placed on a basis of reciprocity? It is known that since the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960, Khrushchev has systematically and deliberately pursued the policy of pressures and blackmail, with a view to bringing the PLA and the Albanian people to their knees and subjugating them. Violating the previously signed agreements, he suspended all the credits that the Soviet Union had accorded our country, withdrew all the Soviet specialists from Albania, almost completely suspended our trade relations on a clearing basis, cut off the bursaries of all the Albanian civilian and military students who were studying in the Soviet Union, cancelled all the plans of cultural and technico-scientific collaboration between the two countries, established the strict blockade of silence and political isolation towards the PRA and the Albanian people, violated the agreements in the field of military relations, in a word, established the «cordon sanitaire» around the People's Republic of Albania. And after all this, is the demand of the Government of the PRA that the personnel of the two embassies should be put on a basis of reciprocity from the numerical viewpoint not completely justifiable and fair? In these conditions what would about 80 people of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana do, when the sphere of

their activity has been reduced to the limit, taking into account the unilateral restrictive economic, cultural, and political measures adopted by Khrushchev towards the PRA?

The real cause that impelled Khrushchev to this extreme act is not the trumped up accusations he takes as a pretext. The real cause must be sought in the revisionist views of Khrushchev and in his anti-Marxist efforts to impose them on the other parties by any means. Beginning from the Bucharest Meeting, and particularly after the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, at which the PLA openly expressed its opinion and courageously criticized the opportunist views and anti-Marxist actions of Khrushchev in a principled way, in retaliation for this and with a view to silencing our Party, to subjugating it and giving a lesson to anyone that would dare to oppose him, Khrushchev extended the ideological disagreements to the field of state relations and began to behave with the PRA as towards an enemy country. After having systematically implemented the economic blockade, the blockade of silence and political isolation, etc., one after the other, in order to force our Party to its knees, at the 22nd Congress he went so far as to publicly level the basest slanders and accusations at the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders and make a blatantly counter-revolutionary call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Albanian Party and state, thus brutally interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign socialist country which is a friend and ally. And after having failed in all these attempts and being unable to attain his aim, he committed this further hostile act against the PR of Albania by cutting off diplomatic relations. The closing down of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the demand for the withdrawal of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow is a logical conclusion to the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian

course which Khrushchev has been following for some time now towards the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people. But by this unprecedented act of hostility Khrushchev further exposes himself, not only before the Albanian people and the Soviet people, but also before the entire international communist and workers' movement, before world public opinion.

This act, unprecedented in the relations among socialist countries, sheds light on the anti-Marxist concepts of Khrushchev about the equality and independence of communist parties and socialist states, be they small or big, about their indisputable right to have their own viewpoint and express it freely. On the lips of Khrushchev, the Leninist principles of equality, independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of one another are nothing but deception, for in fact the PLA needed only to express its viewpoint on a number of questions of the present-day developments in the world and the international communist movement, in opposition to Khrushchev's revisionist concepts, and all the stones rained upon it and all methods were used, up to those which the imperialists and the other most reactionary forces have used and continue to use.

What does Khrushchev reckon to achieve with this new hostile act against the PRA? Pursuing the same course and the same aims as before, with this act, too, he aims to intimidate and subjugate the PLA, to shift it from its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist positions, to shake the confidence of our people in the PLA and its leadership, to upset the feelings of friendship of the Albanian people towards the Soviet Union, to undermine the friendship and love of the Soviet people for the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people, to create new difficulties on the road to the building of socialism in Albania. Undoubtedly, Khrushchev goes even further in his reckoning. On the international plane he aims to threaten and warn any

other party and country that would dare to oppose his views and actions, which are doing great harm to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

But Khrushchev is trying in vain. He will never attain these aims. The Albanian people are linked with their Party like flesh to bone, because from the experience of life itself they have become convinced of the wise leadership of the PLA, its correct line, its boundless loyalty to the cause of the people and socialism, its policy of sincere friendship with the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the PLA, the Albanian people have scored historic victories in the course of these twenty years: they liberated the country from the fascist invaders and established the people's state power, reconstructed the war-ravaged country, liquidated the centuries-old backwardness and achieved great successes in the construction of socialist society, defeated every provocation and conspiracy of the imperialists and other enemies of our people, and defended the freedom and independence of our Homeland. Today the unity of our people and Party, tempered in struggle and work, is stronger than ever. There is no intrigue and pressure, conspiracy and blackmail that can damage this steel-like unity. In the face of it, all the efforts of the imperialist enemies and modern revisionists will fail ignominiously as they have done so far.

The attacks, slanders and hostile actions of Khrushchev, including his latest act, will not affect the pure feelings of friendship our people nurture for the fraternal Soviet peoples, for the genuine Soviet communists...

The Albanian people and the PLA will march resolutely on their right road of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. The temporary difficulties will not stop us. We are sure of our future. The targets of the 3rd Five-year Plan will be fulfilled and overfulfilled, irrespective of the obstacles which Khrushchev and his

followers are trying to put in our way. Socialist Albania will live unbowed and will prosper with every passing day. A reliable guarantee for this is the patriotism and the revolutionary spirit of our people, the correct leadership of the PLA and the internationalist aid and support of our friends, the international solidarity of the working people.

The Albanian people and the PLA know no fear. They are not afraid of the pressures and blackmail of Khrushchev and his cronies. Just as it has done hitherto, the People's Republic of Albania, as a socialist country, will have as the foundation of its foreign policy its efforts to strengthen the friendship and fraternal collaboration with the socialist countries, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the future, too, our Party and Government will unwaveringly continue their determined, principled struggle to expose the war-mongering and aggressive plans and actions of US-led imperialism, will fight modern revisionism, and will always keep their revolutionary vigilance at a high level. Our Party and Government will consistently pursue their policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different political and social systems, will fight for the relaxation of tension in the relations among states, and will make their contribution to the peaceful solution of the problems which exercise the minds of the peace-loving peoples. As before, our Party and people will unreservedly support the sacred struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation.

Utterly disgusted, the Albanian Party and people protest with deep indignation against the new act of unprecedented hostility by Khrushchev against the People's Republic of Albania. They are deeply convinced that they are on a correct course, and that the Soviet peoples and communists are with them against this act, which will prove fatal, not to us, but to the Khrushchev group itself.

Our Party is fighting for a great cause, for the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to preserve and strengthen the sound unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement against modern revisionism, against the opportunist, revisionist distortions and disruptive actions of Khrushchev, for the triumph of our common cause of socialism, peace, and the freedom of the peoples. On this course, marching shoulder to shoulder with the sister Marxist-Leninist parties and the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, as well as with all the revolutionary forces of the world, our Party and people will score complete victory over the imperialist and revisionist enemies. Marxism-Leninism cannot be vanquished! Socialism and communism will triumph!

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## **THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS EXPECT CHINA TO COME OUT OPENLY AGAINST KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM**

**April 3, 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 its 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 to 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.**

## **OUR INTELLIGENTSIA IS RAISED AND DEVELOPED IN THE BOSOM OF THE PEOPLE**

*From the speech at the meeting with the representatives  
of the intelligentsia of the capital<sup>1</sup>*

**October 25, 1962**

Dear Comrades,

First of all, allow me to extend the greetings of the Central Committee of the Party to you, the intellectuals of our country, and in particular, to the intellectuals of the capital, who are a powerful and militant detachment of our glorious people's intelligentsia, an important support for our Party of Labour and the people's power. Personally, I am very happy to be among you, my old and new comrades, co-fighters for the attainment of the great ideals of socialism and communism.

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**1** On the invitation of the Rectorate of the University of Tirana on October 25, 1962, Comrade Enver Hoxha had a meeting with the teaching staff, scientific workers and students of the University and higher institutes of the capital and other representatives of the intelligentsia.

OUR INTELLIGENTSIA HAS BECOME A FORCE WHICH  
PLAYS A MAJOR ROLE IN THE SOCIALIST  
CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY

At one time the Albanian intellectuals were so few in numbers that if they had been gathered from all parts of the Homeland they would not have been able to fill this hall, while today there are so many that this hall cannot hold even those from the city of Tirana. Our intelligentsia has now become a major force which plays an important role in the socialist construction. However, tomorrow our country will have even more cadres and the role of the intelligentsia will increase from day to day. Precisely to strengthen this role the plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA which met in July this year and examined the question of the further improvement of the work for the training and qualification of cadres, took important decisions. The leadership of our Party has created a fine tradition that, whenever there is an important problem to be examined and solved, it consults with the masses and the cadres, draws them into concrete discussion of the question and then puts its decisions to them again so that they assimilate them, enrich them and put them into practice. Indeed, even in the plenums of the Central Committee, apart from its members, frequently many party or non-party cadres from the districts, centres of production, different institutions, etc., people with a wealth of experience, with a new spirit, with a party spirit, take part. The Central Committee of the Party acted in this way also in the case of the preparation for and the holding of the plenum on the question of cadres. Therefore, the decisions of this plenum were the fruit of the work of a broad collective and the summing up of the experience of this collective, based on the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, and are

intended to assist the further strengthening of the Homeland and prospering of the life of the people.

This is further testimony to the close party-cadres-people linking which exists amongst us. In fact, there is such an integral, steel unity of thought and action amongst all the living forces of society and their leadership, the Party, in our country, that we have every right to be proud. And this is because it is based on their individual and common interests and aims that are illuminated by the immortal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and which have the objective of constructing socialism and communism. Comrades, if today our People's Republic has become a powerful socialist state, an outpost of socialism on the shores of the Adriatic, a fortress impregnable to the attacks, plots and intrigues of imperialists and modern revisionists, this is due, first of all, to this unity of the whole people with the Party. Likewise, if such great successes have been achieved in our country in all fields of the construction of the new life that Albania has completely changed its appearance, if many difficulties and obstacles have been faced and overcome one after the other, fulfilling and overfulfilling the majestic plans of construction every year, these things, too, are due to the steel unity of one and half million people around their tested leadership, the Party of Labour. This unity is the guarantee that the glorious name of our Homeland will be raised higher and higher and the guarantee that every decision the Party takes will certainly be turned into reality.

Our people's intelligentsia, also, is linked with its Party and people like muscle to bone. We do not say this for our own self-satisfaction but because such is the reality. And the best evidence of this is what it has done, its tireless work during the period of the people's state power. Even better evidence of this is its unshakeable will and determination that in the future it will do even more, a hundred

times more than it has done up till now. This is not an isolated phenomenon, but a mass phenomenon, which includes all the cadres and every field of life. Without doubt, this is one of the most majestic victories of our Party. There is no more legitimate joy and pride than to see that the Party has brought up thousands of loyal and capable cadres, who spare nothing, neither their sweat, nor their blood, if need be, for the people and the Homeland, for socialism and communism.

It is understandable that this situation of our intelligentsia is a result and reflection of the great revolutionary transformations that have taken place in our country. It reflects very well the development, the results, and the triumphant march of our cultural revolution.

Yes, comrades, in our country, a revolution, unprecedented in the history of our people, has been carried out, a magnificent revolution, which put an end to the feudal-bourgeois and fascist regimes and overthrew their economic and social order. The creation of the state of people's democracy, the nationalization of industry, the banks, etc., the socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture are links in the chain of the socialist revolution, which consolidated the state power and the new socio-economic order of the working masses, the socialist society. However, this was an all-embracing revolution, and for it to be complete, it could not fail to penetrate all the pores of our life, to affect all fields of it, to be a unified combination of the different sectors of human activity. Precisely for this reason, right from the start, our Party, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, gave the signal to carry out the cultural revolution, too, as an integral part of the socialist revolution. You remember very well how we set about it, by conducting the struggle against illiteracy among the partisan ranks and, after Liberation, extending it to the most remote corners of our Homeland. Do you

recall the hero of Maxim Gorky's story, the peasant Danko, a son of the people, who tore his heart from his chest and raised it high like a torch to illuminate the people's way through the darkness and led them out into light? Just like him, the People's Teacher Ndreç Ndue Gjoka from Mirdita went from cottage to cottage and turned his blood into light in order to open the eyes of the sons and daughters of his people. Without the socio-economic transformations we could not have carried out and continued the cultural revolution, but, on the other hand, without this revolution we could not have carried these transformations through to the end and gone further ahead in the socialist construction. One aspect of the development of the cultural revolution is precisely the creation and development of our people's intelligentsia.

All of you know Stalin's slogan: «Cadres decide everything»<sup>2</sup>. This does not negate in the least the primary and exclusively decisive role of the masses in the development of society, for in the final analysis the role of cadres assumes the above significance when they express the aspira-

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<sup>2</sup> J. V. Stalin put this slogan forward under definite circumstances, in order to solve the great tasks in industry, agriculture, transport and the army, for the successful fulfilment of the 2nd Five-year Plan in the 30's.

Hence, the slogan «cadres decide everything» is not a principle, nor a strategic slogan, but a tactical slogan.

Here is what Stalin says in connection with this question:

*«... In the past we used to say that 'technique decides everything'. This slogan helped us to overcome the technical dearth and create a very broad technical basis in all branches of activity, to provide our people with first-rate equipment. This is a very good thing. But it is not at all sufficient. To set equipment in motion and utilize it thoroughly requires people who must master the equipment, skilled cadres who can handle and utilize this equipment according to all the rules of the art... If in our marvellous plants and factories, in our sovkhoses and kolkhozes, in our transport, in our Red Army there were sufficient numbers of cadres able to handle this equipment our country would have*

tions of the masses and when they rely on the practical activity of the masses in their work.

Therefore, each class creates its own intelligentsia. The working class does this, too. And it does this not for the sake of tradition, but because this is one of the fundamental tasks and conditions in order to carry out the political, economic and cultural revolution. Our Party was clear about this problem right from the start, therefore it went about it correctly. Of course, we rejected the opportunist Trotskyite theories that we must «first train the cadres and then act», and we trained the cadres, our intelligentsia, in the heat of the revolution, in the course of work, parallel with the solution to more pressing problems. Once few in number, our intelligentsia gradually grew and carried our cultural revolution ever further with the power of an avalanche. And the efforts and sacrifices of our working class to create its own intelligentsia, our wonderful intelligentsia, were not in vain.

We have a new intelligentsia, entirely new in its composition, in its world outlook, and in its age...

You, comrades, know that during these eighteen years after Liberation for our Party and people the road has not been strewn with roses. On the contrary, it has been full of obstacles and difficulties which had to be overcome. From the past we inherited poverty and backwardness in all fields of life, the war left us colossal devastation and damage, the internal and external enemies hatched up all sorts of plots and sabotage against us, our march

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*achieved an effect three or four times greater than it has today. That is why, today, we have to put the stress on the people, the cadres, the working people who master the equipment. That is why the old slogan 'technique decides everything' which represents a period already passed when we had dearth in technique, should be replaced today with a new slogan, the slogan 'cadres decide everything'. This is the main thing today.»* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, pp. 7-8 (Alb. ed.).

forward itself was accompanied with the difficulties of growth.

All these things called for principled and persistent struggle, blood and sweat, required great sacrifices from the Party and the people. In the first years after Liberation, our people had to tighten their belts, to drive tunnels with their bare hands, since there were no other means, to lay and relay the rails of the railways, since the Yugoslav technicians sabotaged them and we had no technicians of our own, they had to foil the Greek provocations of August 2, 1949, and hundreds of other provocations and plots organized by external enemies, to battle and wipe out the bands of wreckers smuggled into the country from all sides, they had to build combines, to drain marshes, to break in new land, to bring in new equipment, to cultivate new crops, they had to set up industry and collectivize agriculture, to build the economic base of socialism. And they did all these things. Their efforts were not in vain. But while we were short of food and the people had to battle against difficulties, wreckers, etc., the Party did not forget schools, cinemas, theatres, libraries and museums, but on the contrary struggled to set up more of them, sent every one it could of the sons and daughters of the people to do higher studies in the Soviet Union and other countries. Our working class and the peasantry deprived themselves of food for all these things but they did not allow the intelligentsia to go short of anything and created the most favourable conditions possible for its creative work and life.

And what came out of all this? As a result of the Marxist-Leninist line and the far-sighted work of the Party, our cultural revolution was successfully accomplished, assisting the whole development of the country; a large army of cadres was created — today new Albania has not 380, but 6,000 cadres of higher training, not about 2,000

but 21,600 cadres of medium training, besides 95,000 skilled workers. At one time, out of every 18 citizens only one had any hope of getting any schooling, whereas today one out of every 5 people is going to school. I make no mention of the University, the institutes of higher learning, the Opera and Ballet Theatre, etc., which you know about. Today we say to our friends and our enemies: wait just eight years, and you will see that by 1970 we shall nearly treble the number of higher cadres, reaching the figure of 16,500, will nearly double the cadres of medium training, reaching the figure of 40,600, and nearly double the number of skilled workers, reaching the figure of 175,000. These conclusions and decisions of the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Party are not empty words, comrades, but precise facts and calculations which life is confirming and will confirm in the future<sup>3</sup>.

Hence, we Albanian communists and patriots know how to create and how to dream. But our dreams are noble and realistic. In the past Naim and Sami Frashëri, Çajupi<sup>4</sup> and Migjeni<sup>5</sup> dreamed of seeing Albania as a «first lady», with a «university»; they burned themselves out to attain this. But the tyrants prevented them from seeing their dreams materialized in life. However, our brave partisans and all the patriots of new Albania, with their Party of Labour at the head, armed with the immortal science of Marxism-Leninism, not only took over the dreams of their forefathers, but they spun even bolder dreams, and with their blood and sweat made them a reality. And this is what we shall do in the future, too.

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<sup>3</sup> In 1978 the number of cadres with secondary professional education reached 98,476, whereas that with higher education 40,528.

<sup>4</sup> Poets and thinkers of the Albanian National Renaissance.

<sup>5</sup> Albanian revolutionary poet of the 30's.

### WE MUST AND CAN DO MORE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

However, comrades, the truth is that we must do still more in the direction of the development of cadres, of mastering science, and the scientific uplift of our country. In this field, the world has made great advances. However, we are living in this world, and what is more, we are building socialism and tomorrow will be building communism. For this we need, among other things, cadres, technology and science. As is known, science has surged ahead with an impulse unprecedented in the history of mankind, and wonderful results have been achieved. The great scholars of various epochs and nationalities, of different schools and views, have brought mankind incalculable blessings, have opened up, some more and some less, such paths to knowledge that today electricity has become the motor of our new world. All applied science today is based on electricity and we may well say that the greater part of the activity of the daily life of mankind develops and works under the symbols of the force of Volta, Ampere and other scientists who, so to say, brought it up «on the bottle», and now it has become a colossal force, which has given birth to another colossal force, atomic energy, one of the greatest discoveries of all times. The development of science is the work not just of a few geniuses, who have shone like brilliant stars through the history of mankind and whose studies and inventions are the foundation of the ever ascending development of science, but also of those thousands and tens of thousands of various working people from all parts of the world, who have dreamed, studied and put into practice, all sorts of combinations, thus creating the endless chain of modern science.

During the history of mankind, the development of sci-

ence in general, or of certain sciences in particular, has been hampered for a time by catastrophes or powerful obscurantist trends. You know the great catastrophe the Roman Empire was to science, in particular to that of the Greco-Alexandrian period, when scientific development was brilliant with the names of Archimedes, Euclid and others. The obscurantism of the Middle Ages strangled science for a long period, weighing on it like a heavy tomb-stone on which were engraved the dictatorship of Aristotle and the name of St. Thomas of Aquin, to whom science was the Bible, Aristotle and magic. The aggressors during the First World War and, especially, the Hitlerite fascist aggressors during the Second World War dealt science heavy blows and revived mysticism, as occurs in times of crisis, when pyres of books are burned in city squares.

We must recall these lessons of history, because in our times, too, US imperialism, the Bonn revanchists and their allies are on the prowl, torch in hand, or more precisely, with atomic bombs in their hands, to set the world ablaze and use this colossal development of knowledge and science to the detriment of the peoples and the moral and material wealth they have created. We must stay the hand which these criminals have raised against mankind and civilization. Wherever they are, wherever they live and work, the men of science must be vigilant and united, and fight to ensure that the fruits of their creative thinking, of their daily work and experience are not used to the detriment of mankind. Science has had and should have a universal character, and not only should its development not be the monopoly of certain individuals, of a handful of powerful states, or a few big concerns, but it should be put entirely at the service of mankind, at the service of peace, and not at the service of war and the exploitation of man.

To science we owe achievements of inestimable value

to mankind, to science we owe the liberation of the spirit and mind from superstition. Every step forward taken by science, through struggle and efforts, both collective and individual, drives one step back that dark and irrational mysticism, which in the course of history, and even today, in the epoch of electricity, of Marxism-Leninism and of atomic energy, comes forward and opposes reason. There is no greater absurdity and nothing more anti-scientific than to think that science is an isolated epiphenomenon, as some Western so-called «scholars» or lackeys to the Vatican do.

The epoch we are living in is the epoch of the triumph of socialism, the epoch of the glorious ideology of the new society, Marxism-Leninism, which put the values created by man generation after generation in their proper place and armed the men of its epoch with a powerful and unerring weapon that makes the different branches of science advance with such great impetus.

We are a small country, with marked backwardness in the scientific field, we do not have the material possibilities of many other countries of the world. From our dark past we have not inherited a galaxy of scientists who could leave the imprint of their genius and their tradition on universities and faculties, or on the practical development of their experiences in the field of industry, agriculture, medicine, physics, chemistry, etc. Like everything else in our country, the development of science is new. In this respect everything is just beginning, but on a good course, on the right course, and we are seeing the fruit of it. Our country today is covered with schools, we have our University and our higher institutes, our laboratories, our factories, our mines, our state farms and agricultural cooperatives, and along with all these, we have trained cadres, still young, still with no great knowledge or extensive experience, but full of determination

and energy, a reliable basis for the brilliant future of science in our country. In some branches of science, such as that of linguistics and literature, we have produced distinguished men and scientists of international stature, like Sami Frashëri, Naim Frashëri and others, whose work is well-known; we have produced men of great merit like Professor Refat Frashëri, known all over the world in the thirties for his medical studies and works, especially in bacteriology; and we have specialists of our time who have worked or are still working and striving today, with scientific methods and attaining brilliant results, like Professors Aleksandër Xhuvani and Kostaq Cipo... Our economists, philosophers, jurists, and specialists in other fields are making studies of great value to our country and our new society.

It is a special pleasure also to see that we have distinguished doctors, old and young,... who have not only dedicated all their energies to the protection and improvement of the health of our people and the training of hundreds of new cadres, but with their exact diagnoses and their complicated operations, are proving that they do not lag behind their distinguished colleagues of other countries.

We have mathematicians, physicists, chemists and others, who have embarked on serious studies of a high scientific level,... who will advance science in our country.

These cadres are capable, and they have given proof of this, of discussing important scientific questions at international scientific meetings and forums, and of attracting the serious attention of foreign scientists for the richness of the scientific exposition of their theses...

Excuse me for speaking about this at such length, but I am not doing this to make a few of our intellectuals and specialists conceited, a danger which does not exist, since they are as modest as they are capable, nor to say that science

in Albania has made great progress, so that we come out of this meeting satisfied, with the idea that we have achieved everything. No, on the contrary, I am saying those things to make it very plain that we are backward, very backward, but also to stress that our cadres have advanced and that great perspectives have been opened up to them, that even greater possibilities have been and will be created for a still greater development of science in our country in the future.

Conceit and self-satisfaction are two evils which we must combat, because they hinder our progress in the domain we are speaking about, but excessive modesty also — with this I mean that there may be people who say, more or less, «We are a small nation, trailing along behind, science has long been advanced in the other countries of the world, there are big brains there, others have invented everything», etc., etc., is not correct, either, since it gives birth to pessimism, hinders the widening of knowledge and the development of intellect, holds people back and prevents them from making the necessary efforts to advance.

Now we may speak with pride of the noble features which distinguish our cadres and all our intelligentsia, today, characteristics which must be developed and strengthened in the future, too. First, we have an intelligentsia of a high political and ideological level, a patriotic and revolutionary intelligentsia, capable of coping with any situation and always being up to the level required to handle the national and international tasks facing our Party and people. Second, we have a talented intelligentsia capable of solving the most difficult tasks of the socialist construction, the most complicated problems in the economic, social, educational and cultural fields. Third, we have an intelligentsia linked closely with the people, which is raised and developed in the bosom of the people, which

is nurtured by the people's genius, and which fights for the good of its people. All this is borne out by life, all this constitutes our objective reality, on which our Party bases itself in its judgements and actions.

Of course, Nikita Khrushchev and his group could not agree with this evaluation. As you know, he has always underrated the capabilities and creative possibilities of our people, which are expressed, among other things, in the inventions and rationalizations by our working people, of which we are proud. You know, too, that Khrushchev and his followers have more than once declared that, allegedly, it was they who created our intelligentsia. But this does not impress us. In regard to the inventions, rationalizations, proposals and the unprecedented upsurge in this direction, which burst out with particular force following the attacks on our Party by Khrushchev and the exposure of his betrayal to Marxism-Leninism, in regard to this, we are proud of it, and have every right to be proud of it, of course without becoming swell-headed about it and resting on our laurels. We are proud, not because we have made and are making unprecedented inventions of world importance, but because our cadres, fighting in the difficult conditions of the hostile capitalist encirclement and revisionist blockades, are making colossal efforts in providing the people with what they need. These efforts are very important, since they strengthen the People's Republic of Albania, which has risen heroically against this sworn enemy of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement — the modern revisionism of the Khrushchev-Tito group and Co. Besides, it is not only we who are making inventions which others have made earlier, nor is it precluded that we may make our contribution to the development of world science.

It should not be forgotten that the experiments of Oersted and Ampere seemed like amusing games and that

is how they were described in their time, but they contained the germ of modern electronics. Recall the contempt of the so-called realists for Rutherford's laboratory experiments through which atomic energy was discovered, recall the deductions about astronautics of Tsiolkovsky, a teacher in a remote village, which were considered dreams à la Jules Verne, but thanks to which the secrets of the cosmos are being attacked and discovered today. The facts show that many great inventions which have revolutionized science have been made by ordinary working people, too. If we investigate, even as dilettanti, the history of a number of scientific problems, which are now very much the «in thing», from Lumiere's invention to that of the worker Zenobe Gramme, the development of photography, cinema, television, etc., we will see that, in the course of work in industry, in the factories, various engineers have invented astonishing things. The same thing may happen with us, too.

As regards the other claim that they, Khrushchev and Co., allegedly trained our cadres, that is not true at all. Our cadres who studied in the Soviet Union did not go to Khrushchev's private estate, but to the great Homeland of the October Revolution, where they knew how, and we are proud of this, too, to absorb the great culture of the glorious Soviet peoples, the immortal teachings of Lenin and Stalin, which, with great ability, they are putting at the service of the Homeland and the cause of socialism in general, and they rejected with disgust and fought manfully against the hostile views of this revisionist and his followers. Indeed, when Khrushchev got control of things, as you know, far from helping our students and cadres, he closed the doors of the higher schools and scientific institutes to them, just as he did in all other fields.

That, briefly, is how things stand with the development of world science, with its difficult path, its present vicissitudes and our possibilities. The work of our intelli-

gentsia for the development of science, culture and the economy of the country is glorious. That is how the Party and the people evaluate it. However, as I said before, this should not make us rest on our laurels. Our cadres should see their results closely linked with the essential need to strengthen our Homeland more and more from every point of view. Therefore, they must always have the feeling of commitment to the struggle to attain new and still greater results, in conformity with the needs of carrying socialist construction further forward.

#### THE TRAINING AND QUALIFICATION OF CADRES — AN IMPORTANT TASK

Proceeding from these needs, our various institutions and cadres must undoubtedly concentrate their main attention on the two principal aspects of one great problem, the problem of cadres, on the training and the further qualification of cadres, on increasing their numbers and their quality, as well as on perfecting them. Thus, whereas formerly we considered the question mainly from the quantitative aspect of increasing the numbers of cadres, without neglecting the problem of their quality, as we had to ensure an indispensable minimum of them as quickly as possible, at the present stage we should consider both sides of the problem, increasing our concern for quality during the training of a cadre and laying particular stress on his further qualification and improvement after his training.

What does the Party require of the cadres of the capital, and our intelligentsia in general? That they should take up these two fundamental problems today, more seriously than ever before:

*First*, concerning the question of the training of cadres, they should keep in mind that the preparation of specialists

of higher schooling depends on their work, not to mention the great role they play, also, in training lower and middle cadres, when they work as teachers or specialists in production. The objectives which the Party has set will not be achieved easily, but they can and will be achieved. The teaching staff of the University and the other institutes of higher learning must make all-round efforts to further improve their work in order to train specialists of higher learning well. This is the key to success in all our work. Such a thing will lead to the reduction and, eventually, to the elimination of shortcomings which are created during the training of cadres, for it is a fact that not all our teachers and scientific workers have a sound theoretical and practical training, the scientific level of their lectures is not yet up to the mark, etc. Doubtless, this is due also to objective reasons, such as the newness of our higher schools, the limited experience of the majority of our teaching staff, and the inadequate material-laboratory base. However, these difficulties must be overcome through their tireless efforts and work. Likewise, it is necessary to devote special attention to the teaching departments so as to raise to a higher level their leading role in solving organizational and methodological problems, in giving aid to the young cadres, in encouraging the students to do independent work. It is especially important for the best possible training of specialists that through their diplomas the students should work on concrete themes and that practice in production should be very well organized. Since I mentioned practice, I want to stress that it should not be underrated, without, however, going to the other extreme, of engaging in practice at the expense of theory; the future specialist needs the two, both theory and practice. Therefore, the proper proportioning of subjects must be looked into, both where such a thing has not been done and where the need for a re-examination of it is felt.

The question of improving the teaching-pedagogical work, which I emphasized above, presents itself, not only in training higher cadres, but also in training middle and lower cadres. Both this and other questions should be examined and solved with initiative and efforts in the concrete sphere of the activity of each cadre or institution.

But it is evident that the students, the young people themselves, will play a primary role in the training of cadres. Therefore, I address myself especially to our wonderful studious youth, calling upon them to embrace science zealously — science in general, mathematics in particular, not just for the reasons I mentioned, but also because science, mathematics, dear young men and women, has its own romance, its own poetry, its ever youthful drive, so closely linked with the younger generation.

Now that I am speaking with such enthusiasm about science, especially mathematics, perhaps the youth may laugh, as I myself laughed when I was young, for I must admit, comrades, that I did not like mathematics very much and I believe that the lessons in mathematics in the secondary school gave me a few grey hairs. But the truth is that mathematics has its own great poetry, it is passionate, and is not so «unmanageable» as may be thought. Ask the teachers of mathematics, ask the physicists and chemists, the teachers and your fellow-students in these branches. They will convince you better than I. They will attract you to these branches, will enthuse you, and they should enthuse you.

But someone may ask: Comrade Enver, you yourself said that you were not fond of mathematics, whereas now you are almost waxing poetic over it. I am going to tell you, my young comrades, that it was the Party that taught me, that the struggle, the work with which the Party has charged me, show me day by day the great role played by mathematics. The present development of natural sci-

ences is ever more firmly based on higher mathematics. Today not only are physics, chemistry, astronomy, the atom, etc., closely linked with mathematics, but it must be said that an exact science is more perfect when it is expressed completely in mathematical form. We have all heard of the amazing electronic computers. The wonderful brain of Inodi<sup>6</sup> did not imagine such a thing. Others came after him and created the mathematical «brain» machine. Hence, am I not right in saying, dear young comrades, that mathematics is a marvellous science, and if I were able to return to your age, if I were back at school with the mind and capacity you have today, I would take up mathematics.

Therefore, the young men and women of our country should study the sciences en masse and in an organized way, in a scientifically organized way, and study them not superficially but thoroughly. The University of Tirana must become the centre for this, but every other possibility existing in our country should be exploited, too. Apart from this, you should be familiar with the discoveries and studies of foreign scholars, and should strengthen your contacts with the academies and universities of other countries.

Nikita Khrushchev, who is a revisionist and has anti-scientific views, tries to present the development of science in the Soviet Union as a triumph of the period since he came to power. He and his followers strive to obscure the continuous efforts over forty-five years of Soviet science and the Soviet scientists, who toiled, laid the foundations, created in the conditions of scientific socialism, who worked and created under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, enlightened by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by Lenin and Stalin, who with their genius illuminated the path they traversed.

Khrushchev hinders the true friends of the Soviet

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<sup>6</sup> Italian calculator (1867-1950).

Union from drawing upon the great benefits of Soviet science, but he is generous towards his revisionist friends and the scientists of the capitalist countries.

Could it be imagined that in the present epoch of the rapid progress of science, the atom, the conquest of outer space, the triumph of socialism, a group of individuals would be found at the head of the first socialist state who would close the doors of schools, universities and science to the sons and daughters of socialist Albania, to the sons and daughters of a small, heroic and education-loving people? The anti-Marxist renegade group of Nikita Khrushchev and those who follow him perpetrate such a scandalous action. Not even in the countries where the bourgeoisie rules has such a thing occurred!

Only chauvinists, obscurantists, megalomaniacs, those who despise the peoples and the masses, those who are alien to the great cause of the proletariat, can act in this way and think that the small nations, small peoples, have no place in the brilliant sun of science, that they are destined to live under the shadow of the «mighty», tailing along behind the «mighty»; that knowledge and ability find room for development only in the «heads and nature of the chosen elite», among a few big, powerful nations and states.

However, even at its peak, the savagest clerical reaction of the Vatican was quite unable to check the advance of science and knowledge. The piles of blazing faggots did not stop Giordano Bruno from raising his voice for the truth, did not stop Keppler from developing his brilliant theory, nor did they stop Galileo Galilei from saying, «But still, it moves.» Then, how can the brakes be put on science and knowledge today, to prevent others, including us, from mastering and developing them?

Let me remind you of what the feudal Fejzi Alizoti<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Sounding the alarm about «the danger of overproduction

prattled about knowledge, education, as being a privilege of the wealthy classes only. But the revolution in our country eliminated any trace of the Fejzis and brilliantly proved the opposite of what they predicted. However, the Fejzi Alizotis have not been wiped out everywhere. They revive wherever the seed of revisionism germinates and these other Fejzi Alizotis, as empty-headed as he was, turn up again just as strong, just as savage, but decked out in different clothes and spinning words of rare demagoguery.

Thus, nothing will stop our studious youth from absorbing knowledge, science, with great eagerness, from becoming masters of their own fate, masters of their own Homeland, and making their modest contribution to world science.

Second, this refers to the uplift of the existing intelligentsia and the enhancement of its role in the socialist construction, further qualification should be the continuous preoccupation of all our cadres. The solution to the task of training cadres, of which we spoke above, is also largely dependent on this.

We must look at the problem realistically, as it is, and solve it in a Marxist-Leninist way. The further development of our country, the construction of socialism and communism in Albania, as everywhere else, is linked with the development of science. Therefore, it becomes our task to study the sciences, to gain as much as possible from advanced world experience.

Our cadres should assimilate world science with the greatest eagerness. Of course, in this world science, there is some rubbish, but it is for this reason, too, that our Party

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of intellectuals», which allegedly came from the three general secondary schools that existed in the whole of Albania, in 1935 Fejzi Alizoti declared in Parliament, «I am convinced that this money we spend on schooling is wasted.»

has armed our scientists, old and young, with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, to cleanse it of that rubbish. When I say that we should go all out to study, especially science, I am addressing the school and university teachers, pupils and students, doctors and engineers, agronomists and musicians, in short everyone.

The teachers, professors, doctors, etc., should understand the decisive role of study, of improving themselves. From the university teachers to the agronomists in the fields, the engineers of all categories, all of them should not only study, should not only apply, but should also invent and rationalize.

Comrades, everyone who graduates from the higher school and becomes a specialist in a certain branch quite rightly feels a great satisfaction over the fact that he has passed an important stage of his life. This is what happened with us, this is what happens today and will happen in the future, too, with others. Yesterday you were a pupil or student, today you become a cadre, a teacher, a leader. But when you start your independent life, working in your sector and encountering the most varied problems — many of which are new and unknown to you, but which it is up to you to solve, when you come across general problems which are worrying the entire people, or questions outside your profession but necessary to you, when you are associated with cadres of other sectors — in all these cases, along with the fact that you are a cadre, the teacher of others, you feel that you do not know everything, that you always need to learn something more, something new. Everyone feels this, all the time. Therefore, while being a cadre, one is, at the same time, a pupil, a pupil all one's life. Thus, a double obligation emerges: for oneself and for others, for society. In order to be able to give, you must be constantly absorbing something more than what you have, you must acquire general and vocational culture,

which are boundless, just as life with all its problems and aspects is boundless.

What is the way out? I repeat, the main thing, undoubtedly, is continual study. However, we often hear cadres complain or justify themselves: we are up to our necks in our day-to-day work and have no time for study. It is true, comrades, that our cadres in general are very heavily burdened, that there is a heavier load of daily work on their shoulders than the cadres of developed countries have to carry, or that our future cadres will have. It is our lot to have to carry somewhat more, to fight in a more difficult but more glorious period, when the path is being opened to our people's march towards the highest peaks of science and towards communism. This struggle tempers people, the cadres. Therefore, we can and must cope with this burden too — continual study, which in the final analysis will lighten the overall burden of work...

#### IN WHAT DIRECTION SHOULD WE AIM OUR STUDIES?

After all this has been said, the question arises: In what direction should we aim our studies? It seems to me that the matter is not so simple that it can be answered in a few words: wherever the need is greatest. Since we are a country which is developing later than many other countries and our needs are many, those engaged in studies, the research workers and our scientists are expected to have their say in all fields. But this is impossible, in the first place, because our forces, whether in men or in means, are so few.

In regard to concrete sciences, the technical and natural sciences, this is clearer and easier to define. Our country has set out on the road of rapid development to create the material and technical base of socialism, the industrializa-

tion of the country and the intensification of agriculture. The development of mines, the electrification of the country, the extension of construction, the creation of the different branches of industry, such as the engineering, chemical, light and food-processing and other industries, the development of agriculture such as all types of grain, industrial crops, live-stock farming, etc., not only require more engineers, agronomists, technicians and qualified workers, but raise before us a series of important problems which have to be solved, if we do not want our development held up. Hence, it seems to me that the overall theme of studies, of the research and scientific work is already defined, it should be concentrated on the solution to problems raised by our socialist construction. I do not believe that anyone could imagine that we will be dealing with the problems of the outer space, the quantum theory, cybernetics or automation, etc. just now. It is quite right to say that we shall concentrate mainly on those problems the solution of which will open the way to the further development of industry, agriculture, construction, the exploitation of mines and the country's energy resources, etc. I do not believe, either, that anyone could imagine that in this initial stage we shall engage only in matters of an historical character, for example, the development of artisan production in the past, how the roads and bridges were built formerly, etc. This is not because these studies are not valuable and we do not need them, but because there are many other problems worrying us today, for example, how can this or that raw material be used for industrial products, how can we build the roads and bridges better, more quickly and cheaply today, etc. But does this mean that we have to take up only problems of immediate practical importance? Such a narrow concept is not correct, either. If we say that we are going to engage mainly in the solution of those problems raised by our socialist construction, we mean not only the problems

with which we are concerned today, but also those of the perspective, concerning the future development of our country. Therefore, we must work today for today, and we must work today for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.

As you know, the Central Committee and the 4th Congress of the Party have approved extensive plans of scientific research work for the University of Tirana and for the Agricultural Institute which envisage studies and projects of major value to our country. To this end, a great number of specialists of the most varied sectors have been and will be drawn into carrying out these plans. Thus, the creative thinking of our intelligentsia will be further developed, it will reach a higher professional level, and the people will see the fruits of its creative work. The fundamental task of this prospective plan is that, without slowing the rate of development of the social sciences, the natural and technical sciences must be developed more rapidly, so as to study and to exploit to the maximum the rich natural resources of our country. This plan constitutes a broad field of studies, research and work, as demanding as it is glorious. Such, for example, is the chemical and physical study of the valuable minerals of our country, the exploration, discovery and practical exploitation of new deposits of oil, natural gas, phosphorites, clays, silicates, metallurgical minerals, etc., the cataloguing and valuation of the useful plants and flora of Albania, the geophysical study of our country, standardization of buildings and reinforced concrete structures, the study of the hydro-power resources of rivers, of dermatomycosis and brucellosis, and the defining of measures to restrict or eliminate them, etc.

I am convinced that it is clear to everyone that these problems are now so numerous that nobody could imagine that only a small group of scientific cadres of the University or our best technicians should be engaged in solving

them. I want to stress that all our cadres, from the most highly qualified scientific cadres to the specialists employed in the departments today, the engineers and technicians of the enterprises themselves, the agronomists and middle technicians and qualified production workers, should be engaged in this work. Their co-ordination, the collaboration of different scientists on those problems, which are linked with more than one science, are of colossal importance for these studies.

Apart from this, there is another thing that should be kept in mind, that we have not only the University, the higher institutes, as big and important scientific centres, but also our industry, mines, transport, agriculture, where engineers and qualified workers work in factories, fields and laboratories, and create marvellous things which enrich science. Today, especially, there is such enthusiasm at work that simple people cannot sleep at night as they strive to penetrate the secrets of technology and science to push production forward. The finest proof of this is the results of people's consultations, where 10,500 proposals were made, of which 7,000, worth 500 million leks, were given preliminary approval. One hundred and fifty of these proposals are for the setting up of new factories, departments and work-shops, while thousands of others are for the production in the country of numerous items of machinery, equipment, spare parts, etc., which are imported from abroad. Here the cadres can and should find great support and an inexhaustible source of inspiration for their work and creations.

Let us deal concretely with one of the most important fields of the economy, in which a considerable part of our specialists have been concentrated and which is occupying a great deal of the attention of our Party and Government right now. I am referring to agriculture. You know that the 4th Congress of the Party set the task of passing from

an extensive to an intensive agriculture. This task was not set arbitrarily, but following a thorough scientific study of our conditions and needs on the road to socialist construction.

However, you understand that to do such a thing is not easy, it is not just a matter of words. Here science and high level agrotechnics play a primary role, because in order to raise productivity, scientific solutions to a series of problems are required and a number of measures must be applied in practice. Such, for example, are the correct distribution and rotation of agricultural crops, taking into account the zones, the soil and the previous crops, the study and application of deep ploughing according to soil types and crops, the increase and correct use of fertilizers, the struggle against excess moisture, erosion and drought, irrigation, reproduction of the varieties of seeds best suited to the various regions, sowing at the optimal time and ensuring the optimal number of plants per hectare, cultivation methods, the fight against plant pests, diseases and weeds, and the organization of harvesting, threshing and storing of crops without waste. But these are not simple things, these are science. I have not begun to speak about the internal reserves in agriculture which should be exploited, about the struggle which should be waged to get 2 or 3 crops per year from the land, etc. We shall concentrate our attention, in the first place, on grain and industrial crops, without neglecting the others. Grain is the people's food, industrial crops are the food of industry. We rejected Tito's prattle about planting only sunflower in our country, because he would bring us wheat from Voyvodina. Likewise, we rejected Khrushchev's «advice» to plant only fruit-trees and grape vines, because he would supply us with wheat from the production of the newly broken-in land, since in his words, «the mice in the Soviet Union eat as much as you want», although when our people were in need

he refused to supply us with wheat. To carry out these tasks we should concentrate our attention mainly on the districts of Fier, Lushnja, Durrës and Korça, and then of Shkodra, Elbasan and Berat, which are the granary of Albania, without neglecting the other districts.

Is it possible to carry out these tasks without the participation of all our agricultural specialists, starting with those already engaged in the solution of a series of important scientific problems, down to the agronomists and the agricultural technicians in the village? There is no doubt that to solve the present and future problems, both in agriculture and livestock farming, the participation of all is required.

In the field of social sciences, also, many studies must be carried out. Themes of an historical character certainly have special importance, because, in fact, many questions have been left unstudied, or have been distorted in the past. The themes in connection with the people's revolution and the socialist transformations in our country, in which theoretical generalizations of value not only to us but also to others can be made, should attract our attention. We must also take up many questions concerning the road our country has traversed during this period. But it would not be right if we were to tend towards historical themes only and avoid current themes, the problems of socialist construction today and the future problems, which await solution. To explain correctly what has been done, how the Party has solved a series of problems, for example, how the collectivization of agriculture was carried out in our country, is a useful thing, but to show how the problems facing us today for the economic and organizational consolidation of agricultural cooperatives will be solved, for example, how the perfecting of the socialist relations in our countryside will be done, is another very useful practical thing which yields concrete results for the progress of our co-

operativist system. Many such examples could be presented about the ways to the further industrialization of the country, our technical progress, the role of the Party, our school and social organizations in the education of the new man, etc. As you see, a great deal of work is opening to our economists, philosophers, teachers and others in these directions.

But it must be said that studies on the current and future problems present greater difficulties, because to explain the phenomena which are occurring day by day before our eyes, to understand the tendencies of their development and to draw correct conclusions for the future, at a time when you do not have all the facts and documents at your disposal, as you might have about events that occurred five, twenty or fifty years ago, is much more difficult. However, should this be an excuse to avoid dealing with these themes? The new stage which our country has now entered, the stage of complete construction of socialist society, raises before us important problems which must be studied, for instance: the ways of creating the material-technical base of socialism, the ways to the industrialization of our country and changing agriculture from extensive into intensive agriculture, the general laws and special features of the socialist construction at this new stage, the state and the development of socialist democracy, etc., etc. In this way, we shall ensure that the different studies in the field of social sciences serve our socialist construction better.

In connection with the social sciences, I would like to say something about a field of very great current importance, about Albanology. Within the framework of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of independence and the 18th anniversary of the liberation of the country, the Conference of Albanologists, to which a great number of Albanologists from the socialist and capitalist countries have

been invited, will be held in Tirana. Our scientists, who are also the organizers of this meeting, will submit the main reports and a number of scientific papers there. In this way they will provide the foreign guests with the results of their work, and this will help them in their further work, and naturally, the foreign Albanologists will give our Albanologists the results of their work. It is of great importance that now our scientists are not trailing behind, but are leading the science of Albanology, that now our people have it mainly in their own hands as they have all the other sciences in our country. This has been achieved thanks to their studies and untiring work.

However, comrades, much still remains to be done in this field. Thus, the philological and historical sciences have a series of great and important problems to solve. The ethnogenesis of the Albanian people is a problem as important as it is complex, for the study of which the activation and collaboration of numerous scientific workers is required. The problems of the Albanian nationality and nation, as well as the great movements of our century require more profound studies. In the field of the material culture of our people, the scientific research work on the early Albanian culture, early and late Mediaeval art, and the special features of the styles and schools of the traditional architecture should be extended and deepened. Another important problem is that of the scientific synthesis of all the ethnographic material in connection with the compilation of the ethnographic atlas. For the Albanian linguistics, through its studies, to assist in the great problem of the normalization of the Albanian literary language, the work started on compiling the Albanian scientific grammar, and the medium standard dictionary of our language must be carried further, while deeper studies must be carried out in the field of dialectology and the dialectological atlas compiled.

Comrades, I have mentioned here only a few of the main problems, but there are many others. Thus, the attention and creative work of our cadres should be concentrated on the study and solution of them.

THE CADRES OF EVERY SPECIALITY SHOULD KNOW  
MARXIST-LENINIST SCIENCE AND STUDY  
IT CEASELESSLY

For this work to yield the maximum fruit, it is essential that cadres of every speciality, whether economists or historians, engineers or agronomists, geologists, doctors or writers and artists, must know the basic science, the Marxist-Leninist science, and study it constantly. This is necessary, because Marxist-Leninist philosophy gives them truly scientific knowledge on the general laws of the development of nature, of society and thought. All sciences have to do with nature, society and thought, therefore, mastery of the general laws of their development helps studies in every field of science, gives the scientist, the writer, or any other specialist the key required to study and explain the various phenomena in nature or society correctly. How could our specialists of socialist society, or more concretely, our historians, for example, interpret facts and documents correctly, draw correct conclusions from them, without a profound knowledge of the general laws of the development of society, the social formations, the economic development of the country at a given period, the combination of the interests of different classes, etc., which they have learned, to a certain degree, since they were at school? The same can be said of the economist. As you know, physics, chemistry and the other concrete sciences have their special laws, the study of which constitutes the objective of these sciences, but the world in its entirety, our universe, mat-

ter as a philosophical notion have their own general laws of development. Matter has neither beginning nor end, it is eternal, and all the physical, chemical and other processes are nothing but processes of the development of matter. Therefore, from this it can be seen that to be able to study the physical and chemical processes of various bodies or materials, it is indispensable that our scientist, engineer, agronomist, etc. should have a correct and profound knowledge of the world in its entirety. I could carry on about how necessary it is for the writer, or the artist to know the laws of the evolution of thought, the psychological processes of man, the role of the material conditions of life in forming ideas of the characters they create in their works. That is why our Party quite rightly insists that everyone, without exception, must work tirelessly to master Marxism-Leninism and to study it individually, or in the forms organized by the Party.

There are ignoramuses and reactionaries in the world who say that we communists want to attribute to Marxism-Leninism even the works of those ancient and modern scientists who knew or know nothing about Marxism-Leninism, who are not Marxists, and some of whom are even opponents of it. This is by no means true. It is not a matter of appropriating this or that scientist, born in this or that country, the son of this or that people. But it is a fact that neither Descartes nor Pavlov, neither the Jansenist Pascal, nor the scientist Bogomolets, nor the thousands of other distinguished scientists of every epoch are known to mankind because they went to church and prayed to god, but for their rational, progressive, materialistic, anti-clerical and anti-mystical works. In some directions their method has been dialectical in general, though not in its pure form, as Marxism-Leninism provides it for us. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the acme of materialist science and the development of human society, it is the synthesis

of the previous development of philosophy and the creative thought of mankind, in general — the synthesis of everything rational and progressive which, in all epochs and in various forms, has fought against superstition, magic, mysticism, ignorance and the moral and material oppression of the people; now this doctrine has become the torch which lights the way for the peoples towards socialism and communism. Therefore today, when there is such a complete science as Marxism-Leninism, that gives us the correct materialist understanding of the world and the best scientific method, the Marxist dialectical method, it is inexcusable for our scientists and specialists to fail to use it in the interest of studies in all fields. Nobody should feel ashamed to start the study of even the most elementary notions of Marxism-Leninism, or when he is ignorant on this or that problem, to consult a specialist, even though he may be younger in age. For the cause of the Party and the people everyone of us is ready to «swallow his pride» on such matters.

We said that, at the same time, Marxism-Leninism gives us the most scientific method of studying and knowing the world about us — the Marxist dialectical method. You know that adherence to correct scientific criteria in the study and solution of various problems, the working-out of a correct methodology are of great importance to success in every field of the creative activity of our cadres of different specialities. This question has always preoccupied those engaged in scientific work, and experience had proved the superiority of the dialectical method a long time before Marx and Engels. But the great merit of Marx and Engels, and later, of Lenin and Stalin, lies in the fact that they gave us the most complete dialectical method, the only scientific method — materialist dialectics, and the finest example of the use of it in the study of the phenomena of nature and society.

I do not intend to speak here in detail about the Marxist

dialectical method. But what I want to stress is that mastering of this method is indispensable to the rapid progress of our new science. I want to stress, also, that to master it is not an easy thing, it is not sufficient to know its general laws by rote, but it must guide you and become a method of work in your study, in all practical activity, in scientific work, in a word, always and everywhere. There can be no ready-made recipes on this matter. Indeed, it must be said that recipes, schemes and «norms» decided in advance do great harm, as they have done in fact. Recently we have had occasion to discuss certain questions of the history of our Party, or generally, of studies on history with some comrades who have been or are engaged in this work. The schematization in matters of the history of our Party manifests itself especially when we cling to certain stereotyped schemes and forms in regard to the strategy, tactics and the stages of the development, etc. of our revolution. But revolutions, comrades, are not carried out on the basis of given norms, schemes, and forms, hence, the history of our people's revolution cannot be written on such a basis. This is a superficial and not a scientific treatment of things, a departure from objective reality. Carefully study the facts and events, the various documents and phenomena, analyse them on the basis of the Marxist dialectical method, and you will see that our Party has applied the teachings of Lenin and of the Great October Socialist Revolution in a creative way, in the concrete conditions of our country.

Or let us take, for example, the problems of the history of our country in general. It is known that world outlook and method play an important role in the analysis and interpretation of historical facts, but when we take into account that the foreigners who dealt with the history of Albania up till the Liberation of the country were influenced by the interests of their own imperialist or chauvinist countries, it becomes plain that our historiography

cannot remain a slave to certain «norms» established by foreign or local bourgeois historians. Unfortunately, sometimes it happens that some of our people cannot easily break free from the established «norms» in their different studies, and are influenced by or lean towards foreign «authorities».

In regard to the social sciences, it is essential that analysis and correct interpretation of facts be made in the light of Marxism-Leninism, and if in this light some of the «norms» have to be thrown overboard there is no cause for hesitation, regardless of whether someone may be surprised and purse his lips disapprovingly. We firmly adhere to the principle that history is not written as it may please this person or that, but on the basis of documents, facts, events, etc. But these data must be interpreted correctly, and the only correct interpretation of them is that based on historical materialism. The bourgeois historians level the accusation against us that this is tendentious interpretation and claim that they are allegedly «neutral». This is their never-ending refrain, but let them warble and let us get on with our work. We proceed from the premise that, in order to arrive at correct conclusions, everything must be viewed with a critical eye, in the scientific meaning of this term, that dogmas and schemes must be combated, that priority must be given to the main thing, without underestimating things of secondary importance, that the accumulation of facts must not be an aim in itself, but must be accompanied by analysis, making a correct interpretation of the influence of various factors (e.g.; internal and external factors), the cause of the action and its objective must be defined correctly, and so on.

Whereas in regard to the concrete sciences, while closely following the great development of science in the world, we must study the problems which the development of our economy and technology raises before us. The rapid advance

of our country on the road of socialism, as we saw above, sets before our specialists many problems, which we do not always find solved by others. It should be clear that we ourselves, and not the foreigners, must take up these matters and solve these problems. Of course, it is not necessary for us to travel the long road traversed by others all over again, but neither should we imagine that we shall find everything ready-made, that we only have to open the books. Thus, the road of science is not an easy one, it is difficult and requires work and persistence...

Another important problem is to ensure the supply and use of technical and scientific literature. We are taking measures on this matter to ensure as many books of this kind as possible. But there are such books even now. The cadres themselves have them, the National Library, the University Library and the libraries of ministries and districts have them. But, as far as I am informed, they are not used to the proper extent or are used very little. Hence, it is necessary that they be taken and read. Undoubtedly, language is an obstacle to this, because our possibilities of translating and publishing foreign technical-scientific literature are still limited. Therefore, every specialist should strive to master at least one or two of the main foreign languages in order to be able to make proper use of the books and magazines in foreign languages. But, on the other hand, efforts should be made to extend the range of publications of our Albanian scientific literature by publishing works by our authors, as well as through the enlargement, and especially, the improvement of scientific bulletins, which should cover a more studied and richer variety of problems.

Of special importance for the qualification of the cadres is the best possible organization of post-graduate studies and of other forms, such as seminars, scientific sessions, etc. This will open the way to their becoming real scientists.

As you know, some work has been done in this direction already, but it is insufficient. We have 37 people who have completed post-graduate studies and 91 others who are working to this end. On the other hand, our cadres with scientific titles and higher degrees total only above 100. So, in comparison with our needs, we are not well placed. The question is, comrades, that as many cadres as possible must be drawn into this work, that the desire and determination to advance, to continue their work persistently and patiently, so that, step by step, they scale the peaks of science, must be cultivated in them. In this, too, we must rely mainly on our own forces, since, as you know, the possibility of sending our cadres for specialization to the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries of Europe has been taken from us, or is greatly limited. In order to develop this work further, post-graduate studies should be more highly valued. Importance must be given to the selection and definition of the themes of their dissertations, in conformity with the overall plan of scientific work, as well as with the problems of production, so as to put an end to a certain spontaneity observed in this field.

Apart from this, intensive scientific activity should be carried out in university departments and elsewhere, in close collaboration with the respective ministries, seminars, informative and scientific sessions should be organized better and more often, at which, through serious papers and free discussions, without arbitrary interpretations and without rejecting the new theses *apriori* by means of political epithets, the sound things should be brought out, experience summed up, and the cadres kept informed about the new developments in science and technology and the results of international congresses and conferences.

Here, comrades, I wanted to stress two things: on the one hand, along with discussions organized for this purpose, efforts should be made to create an atmosphere conducive

to the exchange of opinions and thrashing out of problems among the cadres in their daily life, in their free time, so that they may gain the greatest possible benefit wherever they are. On the other hand, all this must not get mixed up with personal or professional quarrels, which sometimes occur among specialists, and which always, and especially today, bring no benefit at all, but on the contrary, only do harm.

Likewise, we should organize and extend the practice of appointing assistants to our more experienced and distinguished scientists, in order to help the latter in their work and research, and the assistants to specialize and gain the maximum possible benefit themselves. For example, this would be very beneficial to the young doctors that have just graduated from the University: they need to practice for a time under the specialists and in the main centres, and then go to work independently, wherever they are needed. It is self-evident that such a thing should be organized with the young cadres of the other specialities, too. At the same time, we must also think about setting up specialized scientific institutes, as well as about the organization of other forms that may assist in the qualification of the cadres, such as technical and scientific bureaus in enterprises, technical and scientific councils on a district basis for groups of various specialists, etc. In this way, gradually a broad base of scientific cadres will be created in our country, and this is necessary for the perspective development, too, because in this way we shall be able to create the necessary conditions to have our own academy of sciences in the not-too-distant future<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> The Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania was founded in 1972.

LINKS WITH THE PEOPLE ARE THE MAIN SOURCE OF  
INSPIRATION, THE PRINCIPAL SUPPORT FOR  
GREAT DEEDS

All these things I have spoken of, comrades, may help the intellectuals to remain, as always, up to the mark in their duties towards the people and the Homeland. And, as you know, the objective is the people, a high level of well-being for them. However, such a thing can never be attained if the cadres withdraw into their shell, valuing only their own thinking, dedicating themselves solely to their profession and anything connected with it, while paying no heed to what is going on around them, and divorcing themselves from the people. Our links with the people from whom we have emerged and for whom we fight, who are the producers of all moral and material values, are the main source of inspiration, the main support for great deeds, for joy and happiness. We should always keep this in mind. Our people do not need misanthropes and egoists, however capable they may be. They need men who appreciate the people's genius, active, optimistic men who are with them at every moment, who share weal and woe with them, help them overcome difficulties, who sweat alongside them. The people cannot abide those who sit on the sidelines and give themselves airs.

Therefore, it is necessary that the specialists always maintain the closest possible links with the people, with the heroic working class, with our cooperativist peasantry. This is of two-fold importance: on the one hand, the specialists become acquainted with production and the people of production, learn from their experience, and link theory with practice; on the other hand, they teach the working people in the course of work, give them theory and their professional knowledge. What difficulties those who underrate

practice, the experience of the masses and prefer their personal comfort, make for themselves when they try to get a «comfortable» job somewhere in a town or in the capital and avoid the mine or the countryside, where men and women of colossal experience over many years work and fight! Is this right? Of course, not. And not only because the needs of the people are not fulfilled as they should be, but also because from personal ease you are in danger of falling into apathy, stagnation of thought and scientific activity, whereas for the development of scientific activity, the countryside and the mine present a very rich and lively terrain.

On the other hand, it is necessary that the cadres engage in social work and teach the masses that general culture which the Party and the people have given them, because our knowledge is, first of all, the property of the whole people. Hence, we should not avoid social work, as certain people do, under the pretext that they are allegedly up to their necks in important work. There is not and could not be any greater and more important work than work among the people.

Another indispensable condition, if we are to carry out our tasks successfully and really merit the lofty title of people's intellectual, is the struggle to raise our political and ideological level to the maximum.

In fact, we have an intelligentsia which in general is of a fairly high political and ideological level. This has found its expression not only in the active participation of the intelligentsia in the construction of socialism, but also in its principled and consistent stand and active participation in the struggle of the Party in the political and ideological field. Let us refer, for example, to the stand of the intellectuals on the question of the principled struggle of our Party against the modern revisionism of the Khrushchev-Tito group, their unwavering determination in support

of the Party in the most difficult political moments. There is no intellectual who has not felt proud of the honesty and unexampled courage with which our Party has always defended Marxism-Leninism and the interests of its people from the intrigues and plots of the group of Tito, Khrushchev and their followers, irrespective of the fact that we are a small people who are living, fighting and triumphing encircled by enemies. In our country there are no intellectuals who have not fought, together with the Party, to ward off and defeat the poisoned arrows of the imperialists and their tools, the modern revisionists.

Despite that, however, we should not be satisfied with what we have attained, because the political and ideological problems are the central ones today, and consequently we consider the question of continuously raising the ideological level as the number one task for every person in our country.

Recently, the imperialists and the revisionists have begun a fresh assault on Marxism-Leninism and are trying to refute or distort it. This, of course, is nothing new. How many times have the bourgeois ideologists proclaimed its «defeat»? How many times have the revisionists wanted to «correct» it? But more than a hundred years have passed from the time the Communist Manifesto was published, — during this time stern battles have been waged with the anti-communists of every hue; various traitors and renegades deserted the ranks of the revolutionaries — nevertheless, the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin live on and will do so through the centuries. The period we are passing through is one of the most heroic; the most rabid colonialist and imperialist reactionaries, treacherous social-democracy and the revisionist renegades are carrying out feverish activity to undermine Marxism-Leninism but the victory will go to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. There is no force in the world which can stop the advance of society.

WE SHOULD BE AS WELL-PREPARED AS POSSIBLE TO  
FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND REVISIONISM  
IN ALL FIELDS

Today the revisionists are playing a special role, therefore, the struggle for their complete ideological and political exposure and defeat is a task of first-rate importance for us. The revisionists are attacking Marxism-Leninism from all sides, both in connection with the revolutionary strategy and tactics and in the fields of philosophy, political economy, etc., affecting the theoretical and methodological bases of other sciences, especially the social sciences, in one way or another. Therefore, our scholars, researchers and scientists, including the writers and artists, must be capable of sorting the wheat from the tares, of distinguishing revisionism from Marxism-Leninism, must always do so very carefully, and must be as well-trained as possible to fight revisionism in all fields.

It is characteristic of the revisionists that they come out on the attack against the theses of Marxism-Leninism, under the pretext of the «new conditions» and try to find «arguments» in support of their revisionist theses. They direct their blows mainly at those questions where their demagoguery might more easily cover their treachery, such as their attempt, proceeding from the change of the ratio of forces in the international arena, to refute the entire theory of the revolution, etc., while not hesitating to touch other fields of theory and the revolutionary practice as well.

Revisionism has now become so unrestrained in its headlong rush to disaster and so shameless that it does not hesitate to attack even dialectical and historical materialism, the Marxist economic theory, historical sciences; aesthetics, etc. The trend is clear: everything is being done to go from materialism to idealism and from

dialectics to metaphysics, to substitute evolution for the revolution, peaceful economic competition for the class struggle, to reject socialist realism in literature and the arts, and to open the road to decadent trends. Last year in France, some philosophers, members of the French Communist Party, began to raise doubts about a series of fundamental questions of dialectical and historical materialism. Discussing the object of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, some of them — these were the most far-gone revisionists, drew the conclusion that, since cognition has reached a stage in which real knowledge has been developed by the individual sciences, Marxist philosophy should confine itself to the study of the theory of thought and its laws. You understand where this leads, it aims to reduce Marxist philosophy from a science which studies the general laws of the development of nature, society and human thought, to a science which studies only the latter. From this it is not difficult to go on to what has always been the aim of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists: to denying that Marxism-Leninism is capable of studying and providing a scientific explanation of the development of nature and society, to the negation of Marxism-Leninism itself.

Discussions of this type are taking place in the Italian Communist Party, too. In particular, the theses published in connection with the 10th Congress of this party, which is to be held in December this year, are another code of modern revisionism, in which it is stated almost openly that many questions of Marxism-Leninism should be re-examined, since they are not correct. What is more, it must be emphasized that it is Khrushchev and his bankrupt «theoreticians» who define the directions and set the tone for the assaults against Marxism-Leninism. After all, what was the meeting of the so-called Marxist theoreticians on economic questions, convened in Moscow some time ago

to discuss present-day capitalism? What were the conclusions reached by these «theoreticians»? They proclaimed as a great discovery of our times that present-day capitalism is not what it was before, that this or that thesis pronounced by Marx and Lenin in the past is not true, that life is proving the opposite or something else, etc., etc. Whatever they said or did not say, their whole aim was to «prove» the revisionist theses of Khrushchev theoretically.

This is how things stand. They are turning the facts upside down, striving with might and main to revise Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, it is necessary that you, under the wise leadership of our Party, must engage yourselves even more powerfully in the struggle against these revisionist «theories», these monstrosities of our time, that you recognize the enemy, know what he is doing, and fight him mercilessly...

Better times are ahead of us. Let us create them together with our work, with the strength of our arms and power of our minds, and let our people today and the coming generations enjoy them!

## **THE STANDS OF THE CHINESE COMRADES ARE IMPROPER IN SEVERAL DIRECTIONS**

**December 24, 1962**

I think that the stands of the Chinese comrades on the questions which are concerning us are improper in several directions. Regardless of this, we have assumed all the responsibilities. We are on the right road, and sooner or later, everyone will understand this road and will follow it.

All the modern revisionists without exception have organized the great orchestra against the Party of Labour of Albania in order to discredit it in the eyes of the whole world. Even what pertains to China they hurl at us. Their aim is to attack their main enemy, the Party of Labour of Albania, and at the same time, to intimidate and discredit the Communist Party of China and to reach the point where it is no longer in solidarity with us, which means to descend to compromise with them.

At a time when the revisionists are acting openly in all directions, the Chinese comrades, although they agree that the revisionists are traitors and that their own relations with the Soviet Union are hanging on a thread, are avoiding the struggle for purely formal reasons, regardless of the fact that patience, too, has a limit. They are holding back to our detriment, to their own detriment and to the detriment of communism.

The Chinese comrades do not understand the consequences of the revisionists' manoeuvre. They are attacking

us and openly spreading propaganda that allegedly «the Chinese are behind us», that allegedly we are «the Chinese loudspeaker» and «sold out to the Chinese». This propaganda of theirs means that they are attacking China. **China is seeking a meeting, and the worst of it, it does so in order to strengthen «unity». But it is a puzzle what sort of unity they are thinking about.** If unity can be achieved on correct principles, we, too, are in favour of this. But one or the other side must admit that it has been wrong in principle, otherwise unprincipled compromises are made. This we do not accept. It seems to me that the Chinese comrades have put great hopes on the meeting, and are remaining loyal to this formality (because the way things have gone so far, it cannot be called anything else) up to the point of accepting that they and their allies should be insulted and discredited. I am convinced that this method of action, this tactic, is neither militant nor revolutionary.

*«Reflections on China», vol. 1*

## **ON THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SITUATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE MEASURES FOR ITS FURTHER IMPROVEMENT**

*From the report delivered at the 10th Plenum  
of the CC of the PLA<sup>1</sup>*

**June 6, 1963**

Comrades,

Our Party, always guided by triumphant Marxism-Leninism, has fought continuously for the realization of the noblest and most humane aims in the world, to build socialism and communism, to make the life of man, the life of the people, as happy and prosperous as possible. And in this struggle it has scored colossal victories. But in the struggle for socialism and communism, for the good of the people, which is a protracted struggle, after each citadel is taken we must move on to take new ones. This is the

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**1** Principal leading cadres of the Party and state in the districts, cadres from the central departments and institutions, chairmen of people's councils of localities, chairmen of agricultural cooperatives, workers of education, culture, the health service, trade, representatives of the press, etc., were also present at the plenum.

aim of today's meeting of the plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, too, in which, besides its members, a great number of other interested cadres are participating.

This meeting of the plenum is being held to examine the further improvement of the economic, social and cultural situation in the countryside on the basis of the utilization of the many reserves which emerge from a more rational management of the material values created by the working people of our country.

Appreciating the great importance of this problem for the complete construction of socialist society, the Central Committee of the Party carried out a detailed and all-round study. As always, over this question, too, the Party organized a broad people's consultation, in which the party organizations, the organs of the state power, the mass organizations, the leaderships of agricultural cooperatives, the working peasantry and many different specialists took an active part. The creative collective opinion of the working masses and the many proposals made by them during the consultation served not only as a basis on which this report was compiled, but also as a very valuable asset which will greatly assist our Party in its future work in the countryside.

In undertaking this study, the Party proceeds from the well-known Marxist-Leninist thesis that the complete construction of socialist society requires that measures should be taken to narrow the essential differences between city and countryside, proceeds from the place the countryside occupies and the role it plays in the overall development of the people's economy, as well as from the need for further improvement in socialist relations in the countryside.

*The main purpose of this study is to define, on the basis of the results achieved in the socialist construction in the countryside and the new premises and conditions that have been created, how we can accelerate the rate of in-*

*crease of the well-being and the rise in the cultural level of the peasantry, by utilizing the many possibilities which our social system creates in a more rational and effective manner.*

The teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle waged up to date by the Party to put them into practice give us the right to affirm that the socialist construction in the countryside is a protracted process, which includes a series of revolutionary transformations of a social, economic, technical, cultural and ideological character. Following a correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist general line, the Party has worked to ensure that the task of the complete construction of socialism in the countryside is carried out hand in hand with the creation of the premises which this revolutionary process requires.

In the past Albania was an extremely backward agrarian country. This is why the Party, right from its founding and especially following the establishment of the people's state power, paid special attention to the correct and rapid solution of the agrarian question. The correctness of Lenin's thesis on the need to transform the peasantry into a faithful ally of the working class, both in the seizure of political power and during the construction of socialism, has been fully confirmed in the activity of our Party, too, in all the stages of the solution of the agrarian question and in its whole economic policy in the countryside, which has always been crowned with success.

In the process of the solution of economic problems, the Land Reform marked *the first revolution in the socio-economic relations in the countryside.* The principal feature of this revolution was the democratic transformation of the relations on land ownership, the final sweeping from the face of the earth of the remnants of feudalism in the economy, the liquidation of the big landowners as a class, the distribution of the land to the peasantry free of charge, according to the principle «the land belongs to him who

tills it». As a result of the implementation of the Land Reform, the great majority of poor peasant economies were raised to the level of those of middle peasants, from the point of view of the size of land owned, thus starting the process of the transformation of the middle peasant into a central figure in the countryside. With the prohibition of the buying and selling, renting out, or transferring of ownership of land, as well as with the other measures the Party and the state have taken, the polarization of the peasantry into rich and poor has been greatly restricted. The nationalization of industry and banks, the establishment of the state monopoly in foreign trade, and other measures of this kind put an end to the exploitation of the countryside by the town, and freed the peasantry from its heavy burden of debt and the interest it was obliged to pay. As a result, for the first time, the working peasantry became the masters of the land and started to work and produce for themselves, to feed themselves and live better, to improve their economic, social and cultural situation.

But the Party has always seen clearly that the only road for the construction of socialism in the countryside was the creation of new socialist relations of production through turning the small-scale individual property of the peasantry into large-scale collective property. For this reason, relying on the revolutionary spirit of the peasantry and the conditions created following the establishment of the people's power, the Party called on the peasantry to set out voluntarily on the road of co-operation in agriculture, the road of socialism.

And our peasantry responded to this call with enthusiasm. Now socialist relations of production have been established in the countryside, too. The collectivization of agriculture was *the second revolution, the most radical revolutionary change in the socio-economic relations in the countryside*. The replacement of small-scale peasant pro-

duction with large-scale socialist production, which is able to ensure extended reproduction, has opened the way for the rapid development of the countryside.

The triumph of socialism also brought about profound social changes. The exploiting class of kulaks was liquidated. The nature of the working peasantry itself changed: instead of the individual peasantry, a new class, the cooperativist peasantry, emerged and is growing stronger. As a result of the establishment of social ownership in city and countryside, the centuries-old antagonist contradiction between town and countryside which, as Marx wrote, can exist «only in the context of private ownership», and which constituted one of the most deeply entrenched causes of the economic and cultural backwardness of our countryside in the past, was liquidated.

On the basis of the increase in production, the incomes of the peasantry have steadily increased and its material situation has been improved. The cultural revolution continues to develop and extend deeper and deeper in the countryside. The number of schools, pupils, houses and centres of culture, health institutions and qualified cadres is incessantly increasing there.

The concealed agrarian unemployment, which before the establishment of the people's power, was a major social ulcer of our country, has been eliminated once and for all. In the past, each year thousands of peasants, driven by poverty and hunger, were forced to take the road of emigration seeking work far from their Homeland, their families and relations, subjecting themselves to savage, merciless exploitation by foreign capitalists. Today, however, in the new socialist countryside not only is there work for everybody and life is becoming more and more beautiful and happier, but the further development of the productive forces is accompanied by an ever increasing need for new labour force.

In conformity with the new economic, social and cultural conditions, our cooperativist peasantry has begun, gradually, to transform its old way of life, too, adopting a new, more cultured life. It has started to build new, beautiful and comfortable houses, to strive for cleanliness and the maintenance of hygiene, to improve its eating habits and the structure of its diet, to change the old ways of dressing, etc. In the new cooperativist countryside creches and kindergartens have been built, and these are of great help for the sound and cultured upbringing of the new generation in a collective spirit, and at the same time, facilitate the participation of women in production.

Obvious changes have taken place also in the ideology and mentality of the peasant. Today an unceasing struggle, using methods of conviction, is being carried out against religious prejudices and backward customs, and many of them are being eliminated. In the consciousness of the cooperativist peasant the new socialist world outlook is becoming implanted, new customs and attitudes towards social and family problems are being formed.

These are some of the most important successes in the socialist transformation of the countryside, and this is how the situation looks in general. These successes are the result of the policy of our Party and the great work carried out by the labouring peasantry. In the course of carrying out this policy the Party has had to wage a determined and uncompromising struggle against all opportunist, revisionist and sectarian manifestations within and outside its ranks to defend its political, ideological and economic general line. Therefore, we have every reason to say that the policy followed by the Party in regard to the countryside during the process of its socialist transformation has been a correct Marxist-Leninist one, carefully weighed up and applied in a creative manner, in conformity with the real situation in the countryside and in the country as a whole. However

much the imperialists, the modern revisionists, Nikita Khrushchev, Tito and their lackeys, and all the other enemies of our Party and people may slander, the results of this policy are more brilliant than ever, and can never be obscured by anyone.

But the study of the present situation in the countryside also raises some important questions and problems, to the solution of which the organs of the Party and state, all the masses of our working people, must devote more thought and effort. These problems are closely linked with the new situation and conditions created in our country, with the possibilities and wealth which the peasantry has today, with a better and more appropriate utilization of this wealth for the further improvement of the well-being in the countryside.

The question arises: Why are we putting forward this problem today in all its entirety and so forcefully?

*First*, as we pointed out above, with us socialist relations of production have been established in both town and countryside. Their establishment eliminated the bases of antagonistic contradictions between countryside and town. Nevertheless, big and essential differences still exist between town and countryside which have to do with the level of development of the productive forces, with the degree of socialization of the means of work and the work itself, with the conditions and mode of living, the development of culture, education, the health service, etc. Of course, the elimination of these differences will take a long time, but the complete construction of socialist society demands that they should be steadily reduced. In this case we proceed from Lenin's thesis that for the construction of communism «the difference between town and countryside must be eliminated...»\*

*Second*, the complete construction of socialism in the

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 29, p. 467 (Alb. ed.).

countryside is closely linked with the further improvement of the relations of production. The creation of the material-technical base of socialism implies a great development of the productive forces in the countryside. That is why, besides this development, we must be careful to take measures to improve the relations of production in all their various aspects so that they play their true historic role as a motive force to drive the forces of production forward.

*Third*, the great tasks laid down for the complete construction of socialist society, for the development and intensification of agriculture, cannot be carried out successfully if we do not take the necessary measures to raise the economic, social and cultural condition of the countryside to a higher level. It is known that the socialist economy advances on its two feet, industry and agriculture. Hence, the development of industry also depends to a great extent on the state and development of agriculture. Therefore, the complete construction of socialist society requires that the countryside should progress at a rapid pace in all directions.

*Fourth*, we have greater possibilities and more favourable conditions for the solution of the new tasks with which we are faced and to devote all the attention and care of the Party and the state to them. We have completed the collectivization of agriculture successfully and so created a new organizational and economic situation in the countryside for its rapid development. Now we have set up an industrial base which is able to give the village greater help in carrying out new tasks in the economic and cultural fields, in raising the level of well-being and improving the way of life. We have set up a broad network of cultural and educational institutions. Finally, we have created a whole army of cadres of higher and middle training, who, under the leadership of the Party, are ready to put all their strength and knowledge in the service of the complete construction of socialism in our country.

It is self-evident that the solution of the great tasks with which we are faced as a result of the further improvement of the economic, social and cultural condition of the countryside, will strengthen and consolidate the alliance between the working class and the peasantry even further.

In conclusion, we can say that the Party is raising this great problem so forcefully because its solution is an objective necessity, dictated by the new stage of the historical development of our country — the complete construction of socialist society.

Of course, we believe and are convinced that the growth of production will play the decisive role in the successful solution of the problems which present themselves today concerning the improvement of the well-being of the peasantry. However, the uninterrupted growth of production cannot be achieved without, at the same time, assuring a correct distribution of the social product, without improving the way of life, education, culture, communal and health services. Between production, on the one hand, and distribution and material and cultural needs, on the other, there exists an organic connection and permanent reciprocal interaction. The establishment of a correct distribution of the product increases consumption, which is an essential prerequisite for the uninterrupted development of production. The introduction of modern equipment and the application of advanced agrotechnical science in agriculture, without which there can be no rapid development of agricultural production, depends to a great degree on the educational and cultural level of the masses of the peasants.

We also believe and are convinced that the subjective factor, the leading role of the Party and state, all their political, economic, cultural and organizational activity, is of great importance in raising the level of production and well-being in the countryside further.

In putting forward this problem at this time and in

such a manner, our Party is implementing Marxism-Leninism creatively, scientifically combining the general truth of our triumphant doctrine with the concrete conditions of our country.

In this plenum we shall not dwell on the agrotechnical problems, which have to do with the rapid development of agricultural production, for they were defined in detail at the meeting of the October 1962 Plenum on the intensification of agriculture, but we shall examine the economic, social and cultural situation of the countryside and the measures for its further improvement. The tasks which this plenum will lay down will further enrich the great experience accumulated by our Party in the creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism for the construction of socialism in the countryside.

## I

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION ON THE BASIS OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION — THE MAIN FACTOR IN RAISING THE LEVEL OF WELL-BEING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

As is known, our country inherited from the past a very great backwardness in all fields of social life. Semi-feudal relations prevailed in the countryside. Agriculture had a primitive character. Monoculture prevailed in it and it was carried on in an extensive manner, entirely on the basis of small, fragmental economies. The land was worked with primitive methods and tools. There were no modern mechanized means, chemical fertilizers and selected seeds; irrigation was very limited, while the number of specialists was totally inadequate. As a result, the yield rates of

agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock and of agricultural production as a whole were low.

This state of things and the socio-economic policy of the ruling classes inhibited the free development of productive forces in the countryside. The working peasantry had want, poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance as inseparable fellow-travellers. At the same time it was oppressed by heavy taxation, fleeced by money-lenders and a victim of the utter despotism of the state and big landowners. The Party saw clearly that with the inherited level of productive forces and the old relations of production it was impossible to advance to a radical improvement of the material and cultural situation of the countryside. Therefore, immediately after the establishment of the people's power, it devoted special and incessant attention to the problems of the economic, social and cultural development of the countryside. From the Land Reform to the collectivization of agriculture, from the introduction of agricultural machinery to major works of drainage and irrigation, from assistance with selected seeds and chemical fertilizers to the wide-ranging support through the financial policy and credits, from the training of cadres to the uplift of the educational and agrotechnical level of the peasantry, and many other steps — such are the innumerable links of the long chain of the measures taken by the Party for the socialist transformation of the countryside.

Now the collectivization of agriculture has been accomplished in general; the agricultural cooperatives include 86 per cent of the arable land owned by the peasantry, and 71.4 per cent of peasant households. They have become the main base of agricultural production and have increased their level of production for the market. The productive forces in the countryside have undergone further development, as a result of which the wealth in the hands of the peasantry today has increased, too.

The area of land under crops, which is the main means of production in agriculture, had increased by 196,000 hectares in 1962 in comparison with 1938.

The area of land under cultivation has increased absolutely as a Republic and per head of population, regardless of the fact that the population, too, has increased greatly: from 1,040,353 inhabitants in 1938 to 1,727,945 inhabitants in 1962. Thus, for example, in 1938 there were 2.81 *dynym*<sup>2</sup> of cultivated land per head of population, whereas at the end of 1962 this had risen to 2.85 *dynym* per head.

In animal husbandry, too, good results have been achieved in breed improvement, in increasing the number of cows, sheep, goats, and particularly, in raising pigs. In comparison with 1938, in 1961 there were 30 per cent more cows, over 8 times more pigs, 23 per cent more goats, while the number of the sheep prior to the war has been surpassed by 12,000 head. The number of beehives has risen, too, and now there are nearly twice as many as before the war.

The results achieved in the development of livestock are even more important if we bear in mind the very great damage it suffered from the foreign occupiers and the local traitors. During the occupation period, 20 to 30 per cent of all the livestock was slaughtered or stolen, and the loss in draft oxen was particularly grave.

Special attention must be paid to the development of animal husbandry in the future, because this branch of agriculture not only carries great weight in total agricultural production but it provides the peasantry with a relatively more stable income.

An especially big increase has been achieved in the number of fruit-trees. In 1961 as against 1938, the number

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<sup>2</sup> One *dynym* is equal to 1,000 square metres.

of olive-trees increased 62.2 per cent, the area of vineyards 148.8 per cent, and the number of vines in pergola about 5 times, while in 1961 as against 1947, the number of fruit-trees had increased 3.6 fold and citrus-trees more than 6 fold.

Here we mentioned only an important part of the assets which the peasantry has today. Besides this, the state has put many other very great assets at the disposal of the peasantry and at its service. From Liberation to the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan, the state invested about 6 billion leks for land improvement and irrigation projects alone, and the 3rd Five-year Plan provides about another 4 billion leks for this purpose. As a result of these investments, large areas of land in Myzeqe, Maliq, Vurg, Thumana and elsewhere, which were formerly swamps, have been turned into some of the most fertile land in our country. At the same time, the irrigation capacity has been increased from 29,100 hectares in 1938 to 166,900<sup>3</sup> hectares in 1962, or 4.7 times more.

In the years of the people's power the setting up and extension of the state farms, which now cover about 15 per cent of the total cultivated land, has also been an important measure for the development of agriculture. Being provided with all the necessary means and specialists, they are giving the working peasantry all-round aid, and are a splendid support in supplying industry with raw materials and the population with agricultural and live-stock products. In 1962 the state sector of agriculture produced 14 per cent of the total production of bread grain, 32 per cent of the sugar-beet, 27 per cent of the vegetables, 19 per cent of the grapes, and 11 per cent of the milk.

A great change has taken place especially in the mechanization of farm work. The number of tractors (rec-

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<sup>3</sup> In 1978 the irrigation capacity was 356,800 hectares.

koned in 15 HP units) has increased from 30 in 1938 to 6,207 in 1962, and the number of self-propelled combines, which prior to Liberation were quite unknown here, has now reached about 400<sup>4</sup>. The increase in mechanical power has brought about perceptible qualitative changes in the total power balance of agriculture. If in 1938 the draft power of work animals represented 99,2 per cent of the total power balance of agriculture, in 1961 it made up 21 3 per cent of it.

In order to increase the wealth of the peasantry, the state has provided it with effective aid in other directions as well. In 1962 as against 1950, agriculture was provided with 2,6 times more selected seeds, over 4 times more fertilizers, 8.3 times more insecticides, over 4 times more animal-drawn agricultural implements. Since 1945, the state has provided the peasantry with over 7.5 billion leks in agrarian credits.

As can be seen, over the 18 years since the establishment of the people's power, a considerable development of the productive forces has been achieved in agriculture. On the basis of these profound changes, there has been a rise in the productivity of labour and in total agricultural production, the structure of which has improved. According to preliminary figures, in 1962 total agricultural production reached 28,400,000,000 leks, or 117 per cent more than in 1938.

All of us are rightly pleased about these great results achieved in the development of the countryside, these brilliant successes which the general line of the Party has scored in the correct solution of the agrarian question.

However, the Party is aware that the results achieved are still insufficient and far from what the complete con-

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<sup>4</sup> In 1978 there were 18,300 tractors and 1,392 combines and, self-propelled combines.

struction of socialist society requires. Today we have all the possibilities to accelerate the rise of the well-being and the cultural level of the countryside, where the bulk of the population of our country lives. In October 1962 the population of the countryside with 963,000 people and that of the work centres that do not rank as towns with 205,000 inhabitants together made up 1,168,000 people, or 67.6 per cent of the total population of the country.

The results achieved in the development of agriculture and livestock farming were taken up for analysis at the plenum of the Central Committee held in October last year. The conditions created were examined from all aspects there and the ways defined for the further development of agriculture and livestock farming, for the continuous increase of agricultural and livestock production so that the production of grain, meat, milk, vegetables, and potatoes among them, fruit, etc., will fulfil the needs of the population and the economy better. Now all the districts have worked out in detail the measures which must be taken to raise productivity per unit, and we shall not dwell on those measures, but we stress that the main problem for the organs of the Party, the state and the whole peasantry today is that the many measures which the intensification of agricultural and livestock production entails, must be implemented one by one, precisely, and at the proper time. It must be made clear to everybody once again that the implementation of the many measures for the intensification of agricultural and livestock production is the only real and reliable way to resolve the main contradiction which exists in the countryside today between the socialist relations of production and the productive forces which are lagging behind. We are on the way to overcoming this contradiction, but nevertheless we emphasize once again that without its solution any more rapid rise of the material and cultural well-being in the countryside is inconceivable.

Our program is an ambitious one. Our aims are noble, but they cannot be achieved if we content ourselves with what we have done already, if we do not mobilize ourselves with all our forces to carry out the great and important tasks which we have laid down in connection with the increase of agricultural and livestock production. Apart from these, we are also faced with new tasks, which require that, parallel with the economic development of the countryside, we must raise the well-being and cultural level of the countryside to a new, higher stage. The road we have traversed, the high level of consciousness, the determination and patriotism of our working masses, and especially, the enhancement of the leading role of the Party in all the problems of the life of the countryside allow us to say confidently that all these tasks will be fulfilled successfully and that the consistently correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party will score new successes in the future, too.

## II

### ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND INCOMES IN COUNTRYSIDE

While correctly assessing the decisive role of production as the basis for the improvement of well-being, at the same time our Party has also had a proper appreciation of the active influence exercised by distribution on production and consumption, therefore it has always devoted great attention to it. It has striven to bring about the organization, the definition of forms and ratios of distribution which give the maximum impulse to the increase of production and consumption, to ensure the rational utilization of the social product, of manpower

and other means of production, to block the way to all unnecessary material and financial expenditure, and to help strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The triumph of the people's revolution and the establishment of new socialist relations of production overthrew the old relations of distribution in the countryside once and for all. The parasitic appropriation and consumption of a large part of the agricultural production by the feudal lords and the other big landowners, as well as the system of tithes, were done away with. In round figures, in 1938 the state, the feudal lords and big landowners took, without any compensation, about 30 per cent of all the grain produced by the labouring peasantry just in the form of tithes, half shares and third shares of the harvest. This appropriation went as high as 60 per cent of the harvest for serfs and landless share-croppers.

The socialist order not only created entirely new relations of distribution in the countryside, but also created the conditions for the planning and the direct organization of distribution, both within the countryside itself and between countryside and town, making the carrying out of the process itself considerably simpler and improving the forms of distribution.

In 1955 the process of distribution included 140,000 individual economies, from which was secured 89.7 per cent of the total fund of state procurements of grain, whereas from those few agricultural cooperatives existing at that time only 10.3 per cent of this fund was secured. With the merging of innumerable small individual economies into big collective economies, with the increase in number and strengthening of the cooperatives, the process of distribution has become simpler. Now the principal base for state procurements are the 1,353 agricultural cooperatives, which in the year 1961 supplied 90 per cent of the total grain

procured, whereas from the individual economies came only a small quantity which made up only 10 per cent of the volume of grain procured throughout the Republic.

The Central Committee of the Party has followed a correct economic policy in the field of the distribution of production and incomes in the countryside through all the stages of socialist construction. This policy has been put into practice through such measures as the adoption of the model Constitution for agricultural cooperatives, the setting up of a just system of procurement and taxation, the lowering of norms for compulsory deliveries of products, the exemption of some products and certain districts from compulsory deliveries, the increase of procurement prices, the cancellation of arrears in compulsory deliveries and taxes, and other measures of this nature which have increased the products and incomes of the peasantry.

The reduction of taxation and levies has had a great influence on increasing the incomes of the peasantry. In 1955 the peasantry paid 2 billion 116 million leks in cash and kind as taxes and levies, while in 1961 it paid only 874 million leks, or about two-and-a-half times less. This fact alone clearly shows the great benefits the peasantry has enjoyed from the policy of the Party in the field of distribution.

The Party observes with satisfaction that, as a result of the above-mentioned changes, the process of distribution of farming and livestock production is being steadily improved.

Now our task is to carry the existing forms of distribution further forward, to eliminate the shortcomings which are observed and, in this way, to ensure a more effective administration of agricultural production and incomes in the countryside.

I — *WE MUST FURTHER DEVELOP THE FORMS OF  
DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTION, ESPECIALLY  
OF GRAIN, IN THE COUNTRYSIDE*

One of the important and complex problems about which both the countryside and the Party are concerned today is the establishment of the most correct proportions possible in the distribution of agricultural and livestock production, and especially of bread grain. This ratio should be such as to ensure the best possible fulfilment of the requirements of extended reproduction, the overall needs of the state, as well as what is required for consumption in the countryside itself.

Life has proved that, in general, the present forms of distribution of agricultural production in the collective economies have been and are correct. They have helped in the implementation of a patient and wise economic policy towards the countryside, which has encouraged the increase of the productive forces and well-being, thus helping to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The data at our disposal show that, over a span of three years, the state has bought through the channels of distribution about 26 per cent of all the grain produced by the agricultural cooperatives. Comparing the data on the procurement of grain from the countryside today and prior to Liberation, we cannot fail to draw two main conclusions:

*First*, whereas in 1938 about 45 per cent of the total grain the working peasantry produced was taken from it, today, as mentioned above, only about 26 per cent is taken from the countryside.

*Second*, whereas before Liberation 65 to 70 per cent of the grain taken from the peasants was appropriated without compensation and the remainder was bought by the big

grain merchants and other speculators at low prices, now all the grain taken from the countryside is paid for and partly represents repayment for the work carried out by the Machine and Tractor Stations.

Examination of the existing forms of distribution brings out the problem of the contradiction in the distribution of grain, and the future of the system of procurement. It can be stated with complete confidence that the main and most effective way to tackle this problem is to increase production through the intensification of agriculture. Nevertheless, taking account of the new conditions created, we should undertake studies with a view to improving the present forms of the system of procurement. Meanwhile, the charges to be paid in kind and in money for the work carried out by the Machine and Tractor Stations should be reduced by an average of 19 per cent for about 70 per cent of the work processes done by these stations on lands of the third class and upwards. Likewise, payments in kind for deep ploughing should be replaced by payments in money. In 1963, the agricultural cooperatives will gain about 66 million leks from the reduction of these payments in kind and in money. These concessions will encourage the extension of deep ploughing and the mechanization of agricultural work, will create the possibility of the granting of 2-3 year credits for deep ploughing, and will help influence the increase of agricultural production.

Comrades,

Despite the improvements achieved in the economical use of grain and bread, bearing in mind the particular importance of this problem for our country and economy, we must make further efforts and be even more concerned to eliminate waste of grain during harvesting, storing and consumption...

III. — *WE MUST ENSURE A MORE CORRECT RATIO OF DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME REALIZED IN THE COUNTRYSIDE INTO THE FUND OF ACCUMULATION AND THE FUND OF CONSUMPTION*

As a result of the uninterrupted development of the forces of production, the national income from agriculture has gone up, too. Whereas in 1955 this income amounted to 15 billion 190 million leks, in 1961 it reached 16 billion 330 millions leks, an increase of 7.5 per cent. This increase was achieved especially through the development of live-stock farming, with its income in 1961 being 20 per cent higher than in 1955. But the highest rate of increase in the national income was recorded in fruit-growing, with income doubled in 1961 in comparison with 1955. In 1961 the income from livestock farming and fruit-growing represented 50 per cent of the total income from all types of farming, as against 35 per cent in 1955.

Along with the growth of the national income, the process of its distribution has improved as well, especially the ratio between the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption. In this direction we have always been guided by the principle that this ratio should meet two main objective requirements: to ensure the needs of extended socialist reproduction and to fulfil the requirements of well-being in the countryside.

Rough calculations show that during the 1960-1961 period about 22 per cent of the total income of the agricultural cooperatives all over the country was used in the fund of accumulation of the cooperatives themselves, 10-12 per cent went into the centralized state fund of accumulation, and the remaining 66-68 per cent to the fund of individual consumption. In reality, the fund of individual con-

sumption of the peasantry was larger, as the income from the individual plots of the cooperativists, which is used mainly to meet the consumption needs of the cooperativist peasantry, is not included in the above percentage.

The ratio of distribution of national income in the countryside shows that the line followed by the Party on this question has, in general, been correct and in conformity with the objective requirements of the development of our economy. It has ensured the development of productive forces in the countryside and, at the same time, has brought about a rise in the well-being of the peasantry.

After the completion of the collectivization of agriculture in general, a task for the future is that greater attention must be paid to the harmonization of the proportions between the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption, and the shortcomings which are still noticed in some districts and cooperatives must be overcome. If the rate of increase of the accumulation fund is low, the development of the productive forces in the countryside will be slowed down; on the other hand, if the fund of accumulation is increased at a rate and in proportions beyond our real economic possibilities, then the fulfilment of the task laid down by the Party for raising well-being will become more difficult.

In regard to this question, in the practice of the agricultural cooperatives to date three main tendencies are observed which, of course, do not assist either the development of the productive forces in the countryside or the further rise of well-being to the required extent.

1. — One tendency is that in some cooperatives the fund of accumulation is set at a level lower than the economic possibilities they have for extended reproduction.

2. — Another tendency is that some cooperatives set their fund of accumulation at a level higher than their real economic possibilities, and so reduce the fund of consumption.

3. — The final tendency is that in some agricultural cooperatives that part of the fund of accumulation which is spent on non-productive projects is still large, which impairs the efficient utilization of this fund. Extended socialist reproduction requires that the main part of the fund of accumulation should be utilized to increase production, while only a part of it, together with the means provided by the state, should be employed to fulfil the socio-cultural needs of the countryside.

With the aim that the distribution of national income in agricultural cooperatives should serve the better fulfilment of the tasks devolving on us in connection with raising the well-being of the peasantry, the following measures should be taken:

*First*, in the future, the party organizations, the state organs and the management boards of agricultural cooperatives should pay more attention to the problem of the distribution of income in the countryside. Always keeping in mind the great political and economic importance of this problem, our general orientation not to allocate large funds of accumulation beyond our possibilities, to the detriment of consumption, but, at the same time, not to lag behind in this direction and hinder the process of development of the productive forces in the countryside, has been and still is correct. On this question, we should be guided by the principle that the fund of accumulation should be set on the basis of the level of production and the standard of living attained. In order to avoid reducing the cooperativists' level of income per work day in years which are not good for agriculture, the norm of accumulation set at the start can be reduced in conformity with the results achieved in the fulfilment of the plan of production. In order to ensure uniformity and stability in the increase in the incomes of the cooperativists per work day and to cope with any situation which may cause the reduction of the

fund of consumption, the agricultural cooperatives should strengthen and increase the transferable fund of distribution from year to year.

*Second*, to avoid premature and excessive investments in the non-productive sphere, measures should be taken to lay down limits for the proportions of the use of accumulated means in the productive and non-productive spheres. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that not all the funds destined for non-productive investments should be spent within a given year if the planned level of income per work day has not been achieved.

*Third*, bearing in mind the present level of income of the agricultural cooperatives, it seems reasonable to say that, for the time being, it is not opportune to proceed a step further in providing pensions<sup>5</sup> for the members of agricultural cooperatives, but cooperativist families in need should be assisted with the social funds created for this purpose, in accordance with the regulations in force, and we must take all measures to ensure the best possible implementation of the decision of the government on this question.

*Fourth*, the preservation and better administration of material and monetary values remains a permanent task for the party organizations, the mass organizations, and all the working people in the agricultural cooperatives, in order to raise the level of consciousness of each cooperative member so that nothing is spoiled or damaged,

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<sup>5</sup> For the further narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside, and the further improvement of the living conditions in the countryside, on April 1, 1976, the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA decided to raise the percentage of pensions of cooperative members, bringing it up to the level of that of town workers, as well as to pay the allowances for maternity and childbirth leave of cooperativist women from the state social insurance fund and to equalize the percentage of normal earnings paid during maternity and childbirth leave in town and countryside.

that not a single lek of the common property is spent without thinking hard about what benefit it will bring. Higher consciousness of the need to increase and strengthen the common property day by day, to strictly observe the regulations about the proper distribution of the income in money among the members, is the indispensable condition for increasing the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption.

*IV — THE INCOME FROM THE COLLECTIVE  
ECONOMY — THE BASIS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT  
OF WELL-BEING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE*

As is known, with the triumph of the cooperative system in the countryside, the collective economy is turned into the main source of increasing the income and the well-being of the peasantry. In the recent years, the income from the collective economy of agricultural cooperatives has marked a further increase, despite difficult weather conditions. It is a significant fact that in 1961 the income per work-hand in the cooperatives was, on average, 9 per cent higher than in 1959.

In 1961 the overwhelming majority of agricultural cooperatives distributed more than 80 leks per work-day to their members. But there are cooperatives which distributed less than 80 leks per work day. However, we should be aware that the results achieved do not fully respond to the big tasks the Party has set for the further raising of the well-being of the countryside. Therefore, there is a need for greater efforts in the future to increase income per work-day, especially in those cooperatives that are behind in this respect.

However, as is known, besides income from the collective economy, the members of agricultural cooperatives

also have other sources of income, among which the incomes they take from their personal plots and from work in state enterprises or other institutions occupy an important place.

In the present conditions, the incomes from their personal plots represent a substantial part of the total incomes of the cooperativists.

From studies carried out on the spot it emerges that the incomes from the personal plots of the cooperativists vary with different districts. In the overwhelming majority of agricultural cooperatives the incomes from the personal plots are much less than those from the collective economy, and they play an auxiliary role. This applies to all the areas in the plains and to part of the hilly zones. But there are still cooperatives, especially in the mountainous zones, in which the incomes from the personal plot are equal to or greater than those from the collective economy.

Although the collective economy should be the main source of income and the basis of the well-being of the cooperativist peasantry, while the personal plot should play an auxiliary role, in fact, the opposite occurs in some cooperatives, and this is undoubtedly a contradiction.

The question must be asked: Why does such a thing occur? Does it mean that in the policy for the collectivization of agriculture, the Party has allowed shortcomings on this matter of principle? No, the policy of the Party has been and remains correct on all the problems concerning the collectivization. Then where should the cause of this contradiction, which affects part of our agricultural cooperatives, and mainly those in less productive hilly and mountainous areas, be sought?

It should be stressed right from the start that this contradiction is a temporary phenomenon of our advance, which is linked with a series of factors, such as the still low level of production of those collective economies, the low scale of collectivization of livestock and the formation

of the fund of accumulation entirely from the income from the collective economy. Apart from these factors, the fact that here and there, hangovers from the past still exist in the psychology of the cooperativist peasant, which have been expressed in the allocation of the best land to personal plots, in efforts to keep more livestock in the auxiliary economy than the Constitution allows, as well as in the greater care which he shows for his auxiliary economy than for the collective one, has had an influence.

Which is the way out of this situation?

It is clear that time is needed to overcome this contradiction; therefore any undue haste would have harmful consequences. This contradiction will be overcome, first of all, through the implementation of the program of the Party for the intensification of agriculture, through the expansion and strengthening of the collective economy. Without carrying out the tasks in this field, no fundamental change can be expected in the ratio between incomes from the collective economy and from the personal plot.

But it should be made clear that, when we raise the problem of changing the ratio between income from the collective economy and income from the personal plot, we by no means want the personal plots to be underrated or neglected. On the contrary, while giving first-rate importance to the joint economy and increasing their concern and work to strengthen it, the members of the cooperatives should make the most rational use of their personal plots, with the aim of increasing their incomes and raising their level of well-being. There is no doubt that in the future, too, within the framework of the rules specified in the Constitution of agricultural cooperatives, the personal plots will continue to play an auxiliary role in meeting the needs of cooperativists' families, as well as in increasing surplus production for the market. It is necessary that the organs concerned should carry out complex studies of other measu-

res which should be taken, especially in the cooperatives in hilly and mountainous zones, in order to improve the ratio between incomes from the collective economy and from the personal plots, and within 1964 present the results to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA for examination.

As we mentioned, our peasants also have income from work they do in the state sector, from pensions and other sources.

It can be taken for granted that in the future, too, the income which our peasantry secures from the state sector will continue to be an important source to improve its well-being. But our task is to have this income distributed as fairly as possible among the villages, indeed, even among families of the same village, avoiding a certain spontaneity that has existed up till now, as well as the trend that only some categories of people, who sometimes have less need than others, benefit from it. To this end, we should see to it that in assigning peasants to work in the state sector, we should always take into account the composition and the number of hands in the families, the needs they have, of course, without infringing the principle that all those who are sent to work outside their villages should be volunteers, and fully observing the regulations in force...

### III

#### ON THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND WAY OF LIFE, CRAFTSMAN, COMMUNAL AND HEALTH SERVICES, IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

So far we have spoken about work and production as the source of income, about income as the basis for raising well-being. Now let us see how this income is being used and whether it is being used as effectively as it should

be for raising the well-being and improving the way of life in the countryside.

The way of life and the services available constitute big and important social problems, which have to do directly with the further raising of the well-being in the countryside. However, sometimes a narrow and limited understanding of these problems and the role they play in the further socialist development of the countryside is observed. Sometimes it happens that the standard of living and way of life are conceived only as fulfilment of the needs for food. In some cases, this narrow concept has had the result that the party organizations and the organs of the state power have concentrated their attention mostly on the problem of production, while other important problems of the way of life and the rational use of the product produced have not been given the attention they deserve in their daily work.

In fact, the standard of living and the way of life is a very comprehensive notion which includes the economic, material and cultural conditions, communal, health, and craftsman services, in other words, all the socio-economic conditions which determine life in the countryside, in all its daily variety. There is no doubt that without raising these aspects of life in the countryside to a new and higher level, the rapid march forward towards the complete construction of the socialist society itself is unimaginable and inconceivable.

As we have already stressed, increased production constitutes the decisive factor for raising the well-being in the countryside. However, the way the material values are used, the way of life in the countryside, also plays an important role in this direction. The way of life exerts an influence encouraging increased production, because, by using the material values properly, by increasing the demands for a better life, the desire for work will be increased,

and there will be greater efforts to raise production and ensure as much income as possible.

Under the old feudal-bourgeois order the standard of living in the countryside was very low. The overwhelming majority of the peasantry suffered from lack of food, and food constituted the fundamental demand of its whole way of life. Many were the peasants, who, in order to get a few kilograms of maize, or a little salt or kerosene, had to spend whole days travelling to the town to buy them at speculative prices. At that time, depicting the tragic situation of the peasantry, our distinguished poet Migjeni wrote: «A grain of maize is a grain of pain, when there is much hunger and no maize at all... Today the first word the children prattle is not the name of god, but 'Maize! Maize!', that is the word of the day, the synonym for life...»\* In the old village, it was the church and the mosque, the feudal landowner's palace, and the clan chief's fortress which predominated, while the masses of the peasantry lived in lowly huts and cottages, breeding places for disease and epidemics which wrought havoc, taking a heavy toll of life among the people.

The deep revolutionary transformations carried out in the political, economic, social and cultural fields have raised the standard of living of the peasantry, too, beyond any comparison with the past. Now new, previously unknown requirements of life have emerged in the countryside. Today the village demands more electric light, radios, bicycles, sewing-machines, household equipment, beautiful clothing, and many other things. The look of the old village is receding further and further beyond the horizon, remaining only as a bitter memory of the past. Today, along with the new houses, schools, houses of culture, creches and kindergartens for the children, clinics and health cen-

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\* Migjeni, Selected Works, p. 114, Tirana, 1969 (Alb. ed.).

tres, streets and gardens are being rapidly built in order to make the life of our new village better, happier and more beautiful.

The banning of buying and selling of land and the collectivization of agriculture to a large degree liberated the peasant from his old outlook on property so that he uses his income to raise his well-being. The phenomenon when peasants strove for years on end to save money to buy a plot of land and other means of production, and as often as not became slaves of the money-lender, has disappeared.

Now the correctness of the policy pursued by the Party in resolving the agrarian problem can be seen more clearly than ever. Life has completely confirmed that the road followed by the Yugoslav revisionists and their disciples on this question has brought them the preservation of capitalist relations in the countryside, the further ruin and impoverishment of the labouring peasantry. On the contrary, the wise policy of our Party has led to the triumph of socialism in the countryside and the continuous raising of the well-being of the peasantry.

The talks held with the peasants during the consultation with the people once again showed the correctness and wisdom of the policy the Party has followed in prohibiting the buying and selling of land. An old peasant from Vlora explained the improvement of his life in these very significant words: «Today we work and earn. The Party gave us everything we needed. Then what should we do with our money? Of course, we shall eat and drink better, will be better clothed and shod, and will even build new houses.»

Nevertheless, the discussing of the problem of the well-being in the countryside brought to light a number of problems, for the solution of which great work has to be done in the future.

What are some of these problems?

*First*, the socialist mode of production has triumphed in the countryside, while the way of life of the peasantry has lagged behind. The demands of the peasantry for improvement in its way of life are still limited and the mentality of «being satisfied with little» prevails. This does not urge the peasantry to extensive participation in work and slows the development of the forces of production in agriculture.

*Second*, in many cases, the rates of increase of income in kind and in money are higher than the rate of improvement in its administration to improve the way of life. The great backwardness inherited from past centuries and the old outlook on the way of life have had a strong influence in this disproportion.

*Third*, there are great differences in the way of life among villages and areas of the same district, and among districts themselves, which have almost equal incomes.

*Fourth*, socialist trade, communal services, craftsman and health services, although greatly developed in comparison with the past, still exert insufficient influence on the improvement of the way of life in the countryside, since their activity does not properly reflect the new demands on the fulfilment of which the change of the way of life is heavily dependent.

The successful overcoming of these contradictions will certainly lead to a further rise of the well-being and improvement of the way of life in the countryside. Of course, this requires time, requires further improvement in the work of the party organizations and the state organs so that the desire to live better and in a more cultured way and to make a more correct and thrifty use of its income becomes more deeply implanted in the consciousness of the peasantry.

Therefore, along with increased efforts from the peasantry for more income, the education of the peasantry to raise its demands concerning the way of life and better

administration of its income are very important problems at the present stage of the socialist development of the countryside. It is our duty to take all the necessary measures of an educational and organizational character, in order that these problems are more widely reflected in the daily work of the Party, the state and mass organizations, so that they are felt as a vital need by the masses of the peasantry themselves.

I. — *WE MUST RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING  
AND IMPROVE THE WAY OF LIFE IN THE  
COUNTRYSIDE*

Among the basic problems of the standard of living and way of life, which occupy an important place in this major question, the quantity of food-stuffs used per head; the way they are prepared and the structure of the diet, the quantity of industrial goods used per head and the manner of dressing, the equipping of the house with the necessary furniture, the manner of sleeping, etc., should be mentioned.

Today in our country there are villages and entire zones in which the changes made in the above-mentioned aspects of the way of life over these 18 years are beyond all comparison with the past. Such, for example, are the villages of the Devoll region and the Korça plain, the villages of Gjirokastra, those of the Saranda and Vlora coast, of Shupenza and Maqellara in Peshkopia, of the Shkodra plain, etc., where the way they eat, their clothing and footwear, the way they sleep, as well as other aspects of daily life are not much different from the way of life in the city. I mentioned only a few zones, but there are others like these in other districts as well, and in general, the advance made in the way of life during the years of the people's power has affected all the villages.

A confirmation of the above-mentioned changes is the turn-over in retail sales of consumer goods. In the consumer cooperatives alone, which mainly serve the countryside, they have risen from 4 billion 800 million leks in 1955, to 7 billion 200 million leks in 1961, or 50 per cent more. At the same time, the structure of goods used in the countryside has also changed very much. Along with the traditional articles of mass consumption, more and more new industrial goods are being introduced in the countryside. Of course, an important factor in this direction has been the policy of the Party in the field of production and import of mass consumer goods, as well as the systematic lowering of their prices. With regard to this we mention the effect of only one of the measures which have helped increase the consumption of goods in the countryside: since the year 1956, 7 general reductions of prices have been made. As a result, in 1961 the prices of the mass consumer goods sold to the peasantry were 31 per cent lower than those of the same articles in 1956.

But the further improvement of the way of life in the countryside requires that the income of the peasant family must be used better and more correctly, and the structure of articles which the village consumes must be improved. On the spot studies show that expenditure for food and industrial goods takes 90-95 per cent of the income of the budget of the peasant family. Therefore, a rational administration of income for this purpose has special importance, and one of the reserves for a further improvement of the way of life should be sought in the improvement of the structure of this expenditure.

Now we shall concentrate on some of the main problems linked with the standard of living and way of life in the countryside...

The new conditions created in the countryside call for a more profound understanding of the task with which the

organs of production and trade are charged in improving the way of life of the peasantry. The time has come to put an end to the shortcomings observed in this direction and the party and state organs must seriously tackle the problem of the further development of trade and the production of the goods necessary for the countryside.

The consumer cooperatives, as economic organizations of the peasantry, should not concentrate their work entirely in the field of the exchange of goods between town and countryside. They should be always seeking and finding the most suitable forms of work to help their members in improving their way of life, too. To this end, it would be reasonable for the consumer cooperatives to help their members in the processing and preserving of agricultural and livestock products, either by taking over this task themselves, or by giving the members technical assistance in return for a given compensation in kind or in money. Besides this, the consumer cooperatives could help the women's organization or the village women themselves organize sewing, cooking, or housekeeping courses, by providing the technical staff and the necessary teaching equipment for these courses; they could organize film shows for the cooperative members and their families, and so on. In order to be able to carry out these tasks, the consumer cooperatives could use the funds they create for culture, or perhaps part of their profits. Such measures and others like these will link the cooperative members more closely with the cooperative and help to increase its organizational strength.

It is indisputable that the complete building of socialism in our country must necessarily be accompanied by the further improvement of the way country people dress and a radical change in their sleeping habits. This, of course, will take some years, but even now we must take a series of measures, both of an immediate and of a perspective character, of an educational and administrative character,

which will ensure that all party organizations and state organs at the centre or the base, without exception, take up these problems and activate the entire peasantry for their solution. To this end, apart from the all-round measures which the districts themselves must take, the following tasks must be born in mind:

*First*, work must be done to encourage the peasantry to increase its use of industrial goods. For this problem to be taken in hand better by the state organs and not to be left to spontaneity, within this year tasks should be set for the organs of production and trade to provide the market with new, simple goods, at reasonable prices, which are better adapted to the needs of the countryside, such as furniture and timber products, household equipment, enamel and glass ware, clothing, etc. Amongst these tasks, measures should be envisaged, also, to restrict the trade in goods that help maintain unsuitable habits of dress, and to replace the felt which the peasantry produces with types of industrial felt.

*Second*, it should be considered an important action of the party organizations and state organs to persuade the peasants not to sleep on the floor, to restrict to the maximum the custom of several couples sleeping in the one room, and to get livestock removed from the houses. Within the coming two-three years the party committees and executive committees of people's councils of the districts must take such measures as to completely solve these problems, and within 1966 they should report to the Central Committee of the Party about the fulfilment of these tasks.

*Third*, the Party and state organs and the mass organizations should draw up a 3-4 year plan for the creation of model villages. This movement should be spread on the basis of the preliminary work of persuasion, of the income of each family, and of the possibilities it has to make investments in furnishing its house, etc.

Employed at many production centres of our country, such as mines, construction sites, irrigation projects, etc., there are thousands of workers whose families are in the countryside. This has not only helped to improve the living conditions of these workers, but has, at the same time, had an influence on raising the well-being of their families who live and work in the countryside. Hence, these workers should exert an even greater influence on their families to improve their way of life and to introduce into the life of the village everything valuable that they learn at the work centres.

II. — *WE MUST INTRODUCE COMMUNAL AND  
CRAFTSMAN SERVICES MORE DEEPLY INTO  
THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE*

Communal and craftsman services occupy a special place in the whole way of life in the countryside. It is difficult to achieve rapid and all-round progress in the life of the countryside without at the same time developing various kinds of services, especially those related to building, electric power, trees and gardens, roads and drainage, communications and craftsman services. The expansion of these services not only creates the necessary conditions for a more comfortable and cultured life in the countryside, but is also an important factor in saving time and freeing women from many tiring household chores.

In the past, the economic backwardness of our countryside was made even worse by the almost total lack of communal and craftsman services. The building of villages was left completely to spontaneity. The primitive house with earthen floor and often without windows or chimneys prevailed in them. Nobody thought about the roads, drainage, or drinking water, let alone electricity. Instead of plots of

green, everywhere in the village and around every house you ran into thorn-bush hedges.

Today the face of our village has changed a great deal. Within a relatively short period, from 1951 to 1961, apart from buildings for production and those of a social and cultural character, 55,500 new houses have been built, 300 villages have been electrified, and hundreds of new motor-roads have been opened, linking even the most remote regions and villages of our Homeland. Efforts have been made to build villages according to a plan, to plant trees and gardens which beautify them. All this has invigorated the life in the countryside and made it more beautiful and pleasant.

The problems of the communal and craftsman services in the countryside are many, but we shall restrict ourselves to some of the more important issues which are raised by the socialist development of the country at the present stage.

#### 1. — WE MUST BUILD BETTER AND MAKE OUR SOCIALIST COUNTRYSIDE MORE BEAUTIFUL

In considering the question of new buildings in the countryside, the following main problems present themselves: drawing up the general design for each village, even a rough one, producing standard designs of houses, production of socio-cultural buildings, ensuring building materials, and the forms of carrying out the building work.

Up till now, building in the countryside in general has been carried out in a haphazard way, wherever each family wanted, without any defined overall scheme or guiding plan for the placing and future expansion of the village. Even those few sketch plans which have been drawn have been incomplete and not in conformity with the guidelines laid down by the central organs of the state power. Thus,

instead of the 400-500 square metres allotted to each dwelling-house, up to 1,200 square metres have been envisaged. The building of the best houses on the outskirts has been permitted, while storsheds and stables have been built in the centre. It is also to be deplored that from lack of care and control, new constructions, sports grounds, and brick kilns, in many cases have occupied the best agricultural land. These shortcomings have marred the appearance of the village, have hindered its concentration, and led to waste of agricultural land, which is already very limited.

In many villages and various areas of such districts as Korça, Vlora, Peshkopia, Saranda, the new houses have been built with two storeys, large windows, with floors and ceilings. This is a good thing since it saves space, makes for better and cheaper, cleaner and more hygienic houses, and a more beautiful village. But many houses and other new projects are still not built according to the conditions and the demands of the time. There are cases where the houses are all of one type, with two rooms and a porch, without floors and ceilings, with small windows and with animals being kept in or near them. Such buildings are unsuitable since they lack the necessary conditions for hygiene and habitation, lack adequate ventilation, are damp and difficult to heat...

As is known, the possibility of expanding building in volume and value depends to a large extent on the quantity, the kinds of building materials, and the way they are procured. Of course, this is not a new problem. The Party has long been strongly emphasizing that both in the town, and especially in the countryside, local resources and cheaper, light materials should be used in building, first of all. But what occurs in fact? In many cases buildings in the countryside are still going up in heavy, costly materials, building with cane and sun-dried brick is not known or used to the proper extent, and timber, which is very costly and in

short supply, is used for roofing. The agricultural cooperatives, in general, have not organized local production of building materials and are compelled to procure them far from their villages, very often in other districts, incurring heavy expenditure.

Building work in the countryside is organized in different forms. Many agricultural cooperatives have set up building teams which serve the cooperative and its members. However, the organization of building in the countryside still has shortcomings. In most cases the building teams are made up of old men, and nothing is done to train young tradesmen. Sometimes building work is done with tradesmen from other districts.

The new buildings which have gone up in the village have improved its appearance. But it is clear that the overall appearance of the village is not determined by the buildings alone. It depends to a great extent on other factors, such as the streets, drainage, trees, parks and gardens.

Now in almost every district you will find spic and span villages, beautified with trees and gardens, where, as a result of the care shown by the villagers themselves, the houses are whitewashed, surrounded by gardens with trees and flowers, while the yards and roads are paved with cobblestones...

But while touching on this problem, I must stress that, despite all the work done, the local organs of the state and the people's councils of the villages, in particular, are still concerning themselves very little with building or with beautifying their villages, planting trees and gardens, looking after the streets and drainage disposal. As a result of this shortcoming, in certain villages of the Shkodra, Elbasan and Berat districts the problems of maintenance of the countryside have not been given due importance, and there is lack of greenery, beautification and drainage, the streets are generally bad, rough and unpaved.

At this stage of the country's development, the task of building our socialist village better and making it more beautiful is more important than ever. In order to carry out this task, these main questions should be borne in mind:

*First*, the central communal problem for the future development of the village is the problem of establishing a detailed overall plan, and where such a thing is impossible, there should at least be a sort of rough plan. This problem remains still unsolved. Therefore, it is necessary that within 1964, the relevant instructions should be issued and the time schedule, order and criteria defined for the final solution of this problem. In drawing up the overall plans these basic criteria should be kept in mind: the prospects of the development of villages, and this is linked with the unification of cooperatives, the maximum saving of the fund of arable land, the defining of an area in the centre of each village in which all the buildings of the socio-cultural institutions and the trade network should be concentrated, the fixing of places for sports grounds, ensuring supplies of drinking water, etc. This work should begin first in the enlarged agricultural cooperatives, and then be extended to other cooperatives and villages.

*Second*, to make for more beautiful, comfortable and cheaper types of building, in the countryside, state organs are recommended to approve within 1964 a number of standard designs of comfortable and beautiful houses, as well as of production and social and cultural buildings for mountainous, hilly and lowland areas respectively, taking account of the climatic conditions and the sources of building materials available in each area.

*Third*, in order to handle the question of the external appearance of the villages in a more correct and organized way, the people's councils, guided by the executive committees and led by the party committees, each year, begin-

ing from 1964, should draft a concrete program of the work to be carried out for the beautification of their own villages, for the repairing and paving of internal streets, the construction and maintenance of drainage systems. This program should be based entirely on local actions, mobilizing all the internal reserves and resources of the villages themselves.

2. — WE MUST SPREAD ELECTRIC LIGHT, ENSURE DRINKING WATER, AND EXTEND OTHER COMMUNAL SERVICES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Our Party has devoted special attention to the distribution and use of electricity in the countryside. Electrification and the level of consumption of electric power are one of the most important indices of the rise in the standard of living and cultural level in the countryside. For this reason, the Central Committee of the PLA has approved a perspective study on the electrification of the countryside by the year 1985.<sup>6</sup>

On the basis of this orientation given by the Central Committee of the Party, some results have been achieved. Today, more than 23,000 houses in the countryside are supplied with electricity. But since we mentioned the results, it must also be said that some districts are lagging behind with regard to the distribution of electricity in the countryside and have not made use of all the possibilities they have had in this direction.

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<sup>6</sup> Proceeding from the instruction of the 5th Congress of the PLA on the rapid, all-round development of the countryside, following the complete collectivization of the mountain areas in 1966, in December 1967 the plenum the CC of the PLA decided to complete the electrification of all villages in the country 14 years earlier than envisaged in the original plan, on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, on November 8, 1971. This decision was carried out as early as October 1970. i.e., one year ahead of schedule.

The general orientation should be that the electrification of the villages should be achieved by building small hydro-power stations for individual villages or groups of villages, since hydro-resources exist in the majority of our villages, or can be created by digging canals, or building small reservoirs. At the same time we stress that the mechanical power of these resources should not be used to produce electric power only, but in complex, for irrigation, for saw-mills, flour-mills, and for other purposes.

In order that the electrification in the countryside can be carried out according to the time schedule set by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, each year the state organs must plan to import the necessary equipment, while with our own forces, we must expand the production of small turbines and spread more widely the use of clay, timber and ferro-concrete pipes, being as sparing as possible with steel pipes and other imported materials. Along with this, the executive committees and the people's councils of districts should take measures to ensure better administration and use of the power stations existing in the countryside.

Water is one of the most important elements for the life of man. At present, the peasantry is supplied with drinking water through almost 11,000 springs and fountains, 4,600 artesian wells, besides thousands of bucket wells. In general, care for the maintenance and expansion of these resources has steadily increased.

Nevertheless, the supply of drinking water for the villages remains one of the main communal problems over which the party organizations and the local organs of state power should show great concern. It is a fact that the existing sources of drinking water do not meet the needs of the rural population, and on the other hand, the maintenance of them is very primitive. Often the wells, fountains and springs are not isolated with walls of stone or cement to protect the drinking water from the surrounding en-

vironment, thus becoming a source of infection and disease.

While the drinking water supply in the mountain villages is more or less satisfactory, in the villages of the plains the situation is not good. Most of the lowland villages are supplied with river water, which, being used without any strict control, represents a health risk for the people. Whereas there is a very strict regime in the cities for the protection of water supply systems, the disinfection and bacteriological analysis of the water, nothing is done about these problems in the village, and what is more, it has become a habit that nobody is responsible for them.

At a time when, as we mentioned above, a perspective study on the electrification of the countryside exists, there is almost nothing definite about supplying the villages with drinking water. Considering the great importance of this problem and with the aim of getting ahead of it, a comprehensive study must be undertaken, and on this basis, a perspective program should be drafted, giving priority to the lowland villages. This program should be drafted and approved within 1965.

In order to avoid the danger of infection and the spread of disease in the countryside through polluted drinking water, as an immediate measure, repeated bacteriological checks should be made of it, while also carrying out disinfection measures, and so on. This work should be organized and directed by the bacteriological centres of districts.

With regard to the communal services in the countryside, the problems of fuel supplies, flour-mills, and funeral services also require attention. The problem of fuel for our countryside has been discussed several times by the Central Committee of the Party and the relevant tasks have been defined. Now it remains to get on with the job of putting them into practice... In regard to flour-mills, it would be a good thing to plan the production of hammer mills...

In many villages, graves are scattered at random, near houses, without fences, and in some cases they are placed in personal gardens. For this reason the respective local organs of state power should be instructed to fix the place for new burials within the year 1963 and allow no burial outside this place. At the same time village people's councils should also think about the undertaker service.

### 3. — WE MUST EXPAND THE NETWORK OF ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE AND BETWEEN VILLAGES

The improvement and expansion of the network of roads and communications between town and countryside and between villages is an important factor for the further development of the agricultural economy, for bringing the village nearer to the town, and assists in the creation of better material and living conditions in the countryside.

The process of the construction of socialism has also included the expansion of the communication network in the countryside. The number of localities and villages linked with the town through highways, built by the state and with actions by the peasants themselves, has been increasing from one year to another.

Although a great deal of work has been done, we are still far from the final solution of this problem. There are villages which are not yet linked with motor-roads or even secondary roads. Very often, especially in the lowland areas, the roads have been created spontaneously, with many bends around the boundaries of private property. Part of the roads are in bad condition and unusable since no attention is paid to their maintenance.

Therefore this problem must be taken in hand by the party and state organs, and special studies and programs carried out with the aim that this problem should be

solved in general within the next 10-15 years. Certainly, this great and difficult problem cannot be solved successfully without a broad mobilization of the peasantry. Perhaps it might be reasonable to entrust the building of roads to the youth organizations, which in the past have made a valuable contribution in this field. In deciding the course and construction of new roads, the army, also, can and should help with topographers, engineers, etc...

Another important question related to the rapid solution of the problems of improving life in the countryside is also the further extension of the post and telegraph network. In comparison with the past, the results, achieved in this direction are very encouraging. Today all localities have post offices and telegraph and telephone services, and many agricultural cooperatives are linked with the telephone. However, the perspective development of the countryside demands a further expansion of this service. Apart from this we should see to it that internal telephone connections are established between the villages of the enlarged cooperatives. On the other hand, for the expansion of the post and telegraph services, the relevant organs should be charged with the drawing up of a detailed prospective program, envisaging the connection of most of the villages with the telephone network by 1980-1985.<sup>7</sup> Finally, in order to improve the post and telegraph services in the countryside and to enhance the sense of responsibility of this institution in the delivery of mail, the couriers of localities should become post office employees again, as in the past.

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<sup>7</sup> The extension of the telephone network to all the villages of the Republic was completed in 1974, 10 years ahead of schedule.

#### 4. — WE MUST EXTEND CRAFTSMAN SERVICES TO THE MOST REMOTE VILLAGES

The countryside is in daily need of various craftsman services, which are connected with the needs of production, socio-cultural needs, as well as with the needs of the peasant families themselves. For these reasons, the extension of craftsman services should be considered an indispensable condition for the improvement of the way of life in the countryside.

In the recent years, especially since the collectivization of agriculture, based on the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party, satisfactory work has been done to set up and extend the various production activities, repair services and handicrafts in the countryside. Parallel with the co-operated, private and cottage handicrafts, the handicrafts of the agricultural cooperatives have emerged and are being extended.

At the present period it is essential that the handicrafts of agricultural cooperatives should be strengthened and extended even more. So far, the handicraft sectors which are linked with the needs of production, such as smithies, carpenters' shops, etc., are more or less developed in the agricultural cooperatives. Of course, this is a good thing, and it must be encouraged. But the agricultural cooperatives should also be thinking about other handicraft services in which we are more backward. As a rule, our peasants everywhere are compelled to come to town to have even the simplest garments sewn, to get their hair cut, or to have their shoes repaired. Therefore the time has come for some agricultural cooperatives gradually, according to their conditions, to begin to set up various service sectors such as footwear repair shops, dressmaking and tailoring shops, etc.

The further extension of craftsman services in agricultural cooperatives cannot be achieved without securing the

necessary specialists. Since the training of village craftsmen by sending craftsmen from the town is not giving results, it would be reasonable for the agricultural cooperatives, acting on the basis of plans drawn up by executive committees, to send, at their own expense, trainees to the handicrafts cooperatives or the state enterprises to learn various trades.

Independently of these measures, the co-operated handicrafts should continue to help the countryside. Within 5-6 years, we should have managed to set up or extend repair and service departments covering all specialities, in all the centres of localities, which meet the needs of the rural population. Apart from this, from time to time, the co-operated handicrafts must organize the sending of mobile brigades of various craftsmen to the countryside.

The consultation with the people brought to light that there have been many complaints made, of more or less the same nature, about the problems of building and communal services in the countryside. This shows that, with regard to these problems, the situation is the same everywhere. It seems that here we have to do not just with shortcomings of the comrades in the countryside, although of course, these do exist to a certain extent. This state of things is perhaps explained, first of all, with the fact that there has been a lack of conscious and organized guidance of these problems from the top down to the village, and that the proper attention has not been given to them. In short, the leading role and activity of the state organs in the problems of communal services and building in the countryside have scarcely been felt.

Now that the collectivization of the agriculture has been completed in general, and we are facing new tasks in the socialist development of the countryside, the problems of construction and communal services should be taken in hand by the organs of state power, from the centre

to the base. In so many years both the knowledge and experience in regard to the problems of communal services and building has been accumulated and it must be applied by the organs of state power in the countryside as well.

To this end the competent state organs must be charged with completing, within 1963, a study about the best way of reorganizing the communal sector at the centre and the base, which will ensure the management of problems of communal services and building in the countryside. Here, the competences of the village communal sector, the cadres required, the method of planning and the scale of participation of the state through its funds for the solution of these problems in the countryside should be clearly defined. This study should also examine the possibility that in the future the village will draw up its own plan and budget for all the matters of communal services, in which the needs, the expenditure, the possibilities and resources to cope with them should be envisaged.

### III. — WE MUST ORGANIZE THE HEALTH SERVICE TO THE LEVEL OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF WELL-BEING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The well-being of the people is meaningless without the protection of their health. The health situation of a people depends not only on the level of their economic development, but on many other factors, such as the concern of the state over this question, the level of culture and, on the whole, the way of life. Naturally, the organization of the health service in the countryside plays a special role in this direction.

The centuries-old backwardness which we inherited from the past could not fail to be accompanied by grave

consequences for the state of health of the peasantry. Many diseases such as malaria, typhoid, syphilis and rickets had become chronic afflictions of the peasantry, crushed it physically, and made it feeble and incapable of work. The protection of its health was left entirely to chance.

Faced with this situation, the Party and the state had to take urgent and comprehensive measures. For this reason, immediately after Liberation, the health service was organized on entirely new foundations and given a marked prophylactic character. For the first time the state was engaged in an organized way in the liquidation of many infectious and epidemic diseases.

The aid the peasantry receives today is beyond any comparison with the past. From the 14 out-patient clinics in 1938, today there are 746 of them, not including the 32 maternity homes, 28 hospitals and 9 dental clinics. With the expansion of the network of health institutions in the countryside, the medical staff working in them has also increased continuously. Today 47 doctors, 144 assistant-doctors, 86 midwives and 580 nurses work in the village health institutions. With the measures taken for the further increase of medical cadres, in 1966 there will be 230 doctors, 324 assistant doctors, 700 midwives and 825 nurses working in the countryside. Apart from these cadres, great help is given the peasantry by the doctors and other health service personnel working in the district centres.

Our peasantry receives out-patient medical aid, treatment of infectious diseases, tuberculosis, and tumours, as well as qualified obstetrical assistance, free of charge. Children up to the age of four years are treated free of charge in the health institutions, while those up to one year get medicines prescribed for home treatment free of charge.

The effect of the measures taken by the Party to protect the health of the peasantry is apparent in the demographic

data, which are a reflection of the life of each people. In 1961 as against 1938, the principal demographic figures for the villages of the entire country were as follows:

	1938	1961	
	total	total	for the countryside
Births per 1,000 inhabitants	34.7	41.2	44.5
Deaths per 1,000 inhabitants	17.8	9.3	10.4
Natural growth per 1,000 inhabitants	16.9	31.9	34.1

The above figures show that the countryside has made great progress in comparison with the average of the entire country in 1938. On this basis, a very much more rapid natural growth of the population has been ensured, from 16.9 per thousand for the whole country in 1938, to 34.1 per thousand in 1961, or twice as much in the countryside alone, while the average life expectancy in our country today is above 62 years.

While, in general, we have achieved great successes in the protection of health in the countryside, the fact that in regard to deaths, especially among children aged less than 1 year and from 1 to 4 years, there are still perceptible discrepancies between town and countryside, cannot fail to attract our attention...

The health organs should take such measures as to ensure a radical improvement of their work in the coun-

tryside. In cooperation with party organs, the local organs of state power, the mass organizations and the Red Cross, they should intensify the propaganda to raise the level of health education in the village, to consolidate the prophylactic character of the health service, as well as to extend it further.

In the future we should gradually, but resolutely, narrow the gap which exists between town and countryside in the level of the health service. Therefore, in the work for the preservation of the health of the peasantry we should strengthen the health institutions in the countryside, dealing in town only with the cases that need more difficult specialized medical treatment. In this way, the medical service will be brought closer to the patient in the countryside as well.

To attain this aim it is necessary for the health service in the countryside to be organized in a way more in conformity with the times and with our requirements and possibilities. In this sense, basing ourselves on the present health network, we must work towards setting up a medical centre for each group of villages, especially in the remote regions, which will be the nucleus of the health service and will be gradually equipped with the necessary means to carry out more highly qualified work. It is desirable that within the year 1964 the state organs should carry out a special study on this question, envisaging the gradual setting up of these centres, in conformity with the possibilities permitted by the state plan or the contribution the agricultural cooperatives themselves may make.

The principal tasks of these centres must be:

*First*, they should spread health education among the mass of the peasants teach them the most suitable ways of eating, dressing and sleeping, and of protecting themselves from illness, and implanting in them the conviction that they must seek the doctor's aid in time. They should carry

out this major job together with the best activists of the village, by organizing courses, conferences, various demonstrations, etc.

*Second*, through their diagnostic work they should study the causes of the most widespread diseases in the village and then organize an effective struggle against them.

To cope with the major tasks connected with the health service in the countryside, greater numbers of able doctors should be sent to the village. It would be much better to have a doctor for each group of villages than to receive all the patients at the city hospitals. Therefore a more correct proportion in the distribution of doctors in town and countryside must be established by sending doctors first and foremost to those regions where the frequency of diseases and deaths is greatest.

Apart from these measures, in order to assist the peasantry even more in the protection of their health, beginning from January 1, 1964, the fees the peasants pay today for treatment in the health institutions will be cancelled. The adoption of this measure once again shows the concern of the Party for the protection and strengthening of the health of the working peasantry. Such measures can be adopted only there where the people are in power, where everything is done for their benefit. This measure and others adopted previously by the Party and the people's power in the field of health protection are among the great victories of our working people, which the workers of even the most advanced capitalist countries in the world can only dream about.

But the improvement of the organization of the health service in the countryside would not yield the desired results if it were not accompanied with the raising of the work for the dissemination of health culture to a higher level. The health propaganda must be aimed at the improvement of hygiene, at the care of parents for raising their children, at

acquainting the population with the danger of infective diseases and the manner of combating them. In this work the main role must be played by the medical cadres who should concentrate all their social activity in this direction. But it is self-evident that the raising of the level of health culture is not a task for the medical cadres alone. The organizations of women, the Front, the youth, the Red Cross, all of them, without exception, should be involved in this problem.

Comrades,

The analysis of problems connected with the standard of living and way of life, communal, craftsman and health services in the countryside shows that we have made great strides forward in the elimination of the centuries-old backwardness inherited from the past. In this field, our program for the future is great. The complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism will inevitably lead to raising well-being in the countryside to a new, higher level. The fulfilment of the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan will mark another victory in this direction.

But, as is known, the tasks set in the program of the Party for raising well-being in the countryside during the 3rd Five-year Plan period are big ones. The study of this problem revealed a series of shortcomings and contradictions which arise from our rapid advance and which can and must be overcome. But for this to become reality, the conscious activity of the Party, the peasantry and all the working masses of the country must be mobilized.

We should keep well in mind that the implementation of the decision of the 4th Congress of the Party on the further improvement of the well-being of our people is largely dependent on its being carried out first of all in the countryside, where the bulk of the population works

and lives, where 45 per cent of the national income is realized, and where the level of well-being is lower than that in town. This then, is the reason that we must tackle much more thoroughly and courageously these problems, from the things which may appear small to the biggest ones, because in this way our whole overall cause will be carried forward.

#### IV

#### ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

So far we have made a general analysis of one aspect, the main aspect of the problem of raising the well-being of the working masses of the countryside, that of improving their material well-being. Now we need to dwell on the other aspect of the problem, on its second aspect, that of enriching the spiritual state of those masses, of raising their educational and cultural level. These two aspects constitute one whole, are closely linked in a dialectical way, and influence each other reciprocally. The material well-being is the basis for raising the educational and cultural level, but the latter might help or hinder the further raising of the material well-being. Because how can the fulfilment of the above-mentioned tasks, the further development of the forces of production, the increase of incomes, the improvement of the way of life, the introduction of the new into the countryside, be conceived without the necessary knowledge and culture? That is why, since the very beginning, after the triumph of the people's revolution and along with the struggle for the great revolutionary economic transformations, the Party launched the slogan of and began the struggle for the development of the cultural

revolution. Proceeding from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the reality of our country, utilizing the ancient cultural-educational traditions of our people, which it enriched and raised ever higher, and basing itself on the boundless thirst of our people for education and culture and their iron determination to achieve them, the Party set about the work with full consciousness, with courage and unshakeable confidence that everything would work out well. And as always, the Party triumphed. Today we all are witnesses to the colossal achievements in this field.

It is well known that, due to the age-old oppression and the anti-popular obscurantist regimes which deliberately strove to keep the people in darkness, we inherited very great backwardness in the field of education and culture, especially in the countryside. More than 90 per cent of the peasant population was illiterate. In 1938 there were elementary schools in only 529 villages, or one fifth of the villages of Albania. For this reason, only one quarter of the children of school age attended elementary schools in the countryside. The sons and daughters of peasants who received secondary schooling could be counted on one's fingers. In the whole of Albania, at a time when there were hundreds of mosques, churches and tekkes, there was not a single cultural institution in the countryside.

But the implementation of the program of the Party made it possible, in an historically short period, to carry out a thorough-going all-sided cultural revolution, along with and on the basis of the great political, economic and social transformations. This revolution, which swept the whole country, raised the cultural and educational level of the peasant population and exerted its influence in changing their world-outlook and mentality.

As a result of these achievements, illiteracy was wiped out among the young and the bulk of the adult population in the countryside. Compulsory elementary schooling was

fully achieved throughout the country. Starting from nothing, a broad network of 7-year schools was set up, in which 75 per cent of the village pupils who had completed elementary school enrolled this year, while in certain districts, like those of Gjirokastra, Saranda, Fier and Durrës, this figure is as high as 90 to 95 per cent. This year 56 per cent of the pupils who had completed their 7-year schooling in the countryside were enrolled in the general or vocational secondary schools, and this is a brilliant victory of our cultural revolution. Now the doors of the higher schools have been flung wide open to the sons and daughters of the peasantry. At the same time, thousands of village boys and girls, as well as men and women, are attending part-time schools. Thanks to all these achievements, now one person out of every five in the countryside is attending school regularly.

While carrying out the communist education of the younger generation, our school has served and is serving as an important centre for the introduction and dissemination of the new in the life of the countryside in general, and in the way of life in particular. It is linking itself ever more closely with all aspects of the life of the people.

But besides schools, a broad network of other cultural institutions has been created, a mass amateur cultural-artistic and physical culture movement is developing in the countryside, and newspapers, the radio, books, films, and other means of ideological and cultural education are entering village life in ever increasing proportions.

The deep-going cultural revolution that is being carried out has released the energies and talents of the peasant and has further increased his thirst and love for culture. It has brought about great changes in the spiritual life of the peasantry, which is being freed from the heavy burden of ignorance, from prejudices and superstitions. The peasant woman is breathing more freely. A start has been made on

reducing the gulf in the educational-cultural development between town and countryside. All these things have exerted their influence in changing the peasant's way of life.

The great achievements of the cultural revolution in the countryside have been attained thanks to the correct line and leadership of the Party, to the all-round help our socialist state has given the countryside for the solution of this vital problem, as well as to the material contribution and the all-round interest of our progressive peasantry itself in gaining education.

#### I. — WE MUST RAISE THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AND THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE PEASANTRY STILL HIGHER

The problems of education are many-sided and the 4th Congress of the Party has clearly defined the tasks for their solution. Therefore, here we shall dwell on those problems of education which have a direct influence on the development and all-round socio-cultural progress of the countryside, the further raising of the educational level of the younger generation and the whole rural population, the further improvement of the way of life in the countryside.

It must be said that, despite the colossal results we have achieved in the extension of education in the countryside, despite the rapidity at which they have been achieved, and although the trend of further development in this direction is constantly upwards, right now we have many unresolved problems and unutilized reserves. The network of existing schools in the countryside does not fully respond to the ever growing demands of the rural population for education. There are marked disproportions in school attendance between boys and girls, men and women. Likewise, there are disproportions in the extension of 7-year schooling among the different districts, within the

districts themselves, between the lowlands and the highlands, between the numbers who commence 7-year schooling and those who complete it. At the same time, the broad network of elementary and 7-year schools which we have in the countryside is very little used for the organization of part-time schooling for the village youth and the relatively younger men and women. Concrete knowledge of these problems and of the unutilized possibilities is an indispensable condition for defining the necessary measures for solving the problems and for the proper mobilization of the organs of education and the teachers, the party organizations and local administrations, social organizations and all the peasantry in this work...

Now we are starting the transition from compulsory universal 7-year schooling to 8-year schooling, which will be completed in four or five years in the city. At the same time we have set the task that we must extend it all over the country within the next ten years. This is the most important step in the development of the people's education and the cultural revolution in general, and especially, the greatest achievement of our peasantry in the field of education and culture. Within this decade every country boy or girl will have the possibility to receive at least the incomplete secondary schooling at the 8-year school. In this way an appreciable uplift in the educational-cultural level of all the peasant population will be achieved.

But the achievement of compulsory universal 8-year education in the countryside is a difficult task, especially if we take into account the disproportions, the shortcomings and the still unutilized reserves in the 7-year schooling. It is clear that in order to realize the 8-year schooling we must open new 8-year schools even in remote mountain regions. But it is senseless to open these schools where there are only very few children. Hence, the opening of new schools must be combined with the opening of small hostels

both by the state and by the agricultural cooperatives or the country population themselves. At the same time, it is essential that all the other possible reserves should be utilized.

The transition to 8-year schooling requires a radical improvement in compulsory attendance at school, and preventing pupils, especially girls, from leaving school without completing the course. With one more year being added to the existing school system, the children will have to attend it at least up to the age of 15-16 years. Bearing in mind the backward mentality still prevailing among part of the peasantry, the keeping of children, especially girls, at school up to that age will encounter difficulties. Therefore the teachers, state and party organs, and all the social organizations must wage an even greater struggle for all the girls to complete their 8-year schooling, considering this one of the important ways of raising the all-round role of the woman in the life of the village, for uplifting the figure, personality and dignity of the woman.

Now a start has been made in extending the network of middle schools to the countryside...

## II. — WE MUST MAKE CULTURE AN ORGANIC PART OF THE NEW SOCIALIST LIFE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Culture is an important aspect of the life of our village. It plays a prominent role in the ideological education of the working people, in imbuing them with the socialist consciousness, with the new attitude towards work, property and society. It makes the life of the working people more beautiful and pleasant.

Today the new culture, national in form and socialist in content, is flourishing in the countryside. There is a

broad network of cultural institutions extended throughout the country, and about 1,300 houses and centres of culture have been put at the service of the peasantry alone. The Albanian book, for which our patriots fought so hard, is more and more becoming the property of the masses.

However, we are aware that the cultural level in the village is still low and a serious hindrance to the all-round rapid development of the countryside. At the same time, as a result of the rise of the material well-being, the demands of the peasantry for a more cultured life are increasing. Only a few years have passed since the establishment of the cooperativist order, and how much the demands for a cultured life in the countryside have increased! But these demands will be much greater after 10-15 years, when the agricultural cooperatives will be stronger, more prosperous, when electricity, the radio, and the cinema will have entered more deeply into the life of the village, and there will be more cadres of medium and higher schooling in the countryside. For these reasons, we are faced with the more urgent task of taking all the necessary measures to make culture the property of all the peasantry, an integral part of the socialist life in the village.

#### 1. — WE MUST EMANCIPATE THE PEASANTRY FROM THE PREJUDICES AND HANG-OVERS OF THE PAST

We have achieved satisfactory results in the emancipation of the peasants from the prejudices and hang-overs of the past. This is expressed in all the social and economic activity of village life. Now, in general, the religious division is not felt, the barbaric custom of vendetta has been wiped out, as well as many other backward customs that shortened people's lives and damaged the family economy. In particular, the attitude towards the woman has changed a

great deal. Her role and personality in the political, economic and social life of the village are being enhanced with each passing day.

But can it be said that the peasantry has been completely liberated from the prejudices and hang-overs of the past? Certainly not. To attain this objective, we still have to carry out a great deal of continuous ideo-political work with all the masses of the peasantry, and especially with the youth, to whom the future belongs.

More strongly here, less so there, religious prejudices are still preserved in the countryside. Attendance at church, mosque, or tekke, the religious ceremonies on occasions of deaths, the participation in religious fairs, and all the like, cause great damage to agriculture, because they take the peasants away from work and spread religious views among them, which poison their minds and feelings.

A number of backward customs that humiliate the woman and restrict her ever more active participation in political, economic and social life are still strong in the countryside. Legally the woman has won all her rights, but there are still customs that run counter to her new position in our socialist society. In the Peshkopia, Durrës, Gramsh and Librazhd districts, infant marriages, and marriages imposed by the parents between persons of disproportionate ages and for money still occur, not to mention other manifestations which do not conform to the juridical norms and communist morality.

Comrades, we have often spoken about work with women, the role and the place they occupy as active and worthy participants in the construction of socialist society. And the Party has always raised this problem strongly, because it is aware that at no time, and even less today, has the Albanian woman ever lacked either the desire or the ability to work, to make her life more beautiful, to carry the Homeland forward. Today, as never before in

our socialist country, she has all the possibilities and objective conditions to display her personality and what she is capable of doing in every field of life, at work, in society and in the family, as a worker and leader, as an educator, housewife and mother. And we are all seeing the hundreds and thousands of women who, with unrivalled heroism and talent, are working in factories and workshops, in cooperatives, in fields and stalls, in nurseries and schools, in trade, finance and the health service, in laboratories and in their families, setting a great example to all.

However, the role of the woman is still not properly appreciated by everybody and everywhere as the Party requires. The shortcomings and weaknesses mentioned above are clear evidence of this. The prejudices and hangovers of the past are still a drag on a good many people, even including cadres, especially in the countryside, and hinder them from facing the question squarely. Today the Party is strongly emphasizing that, in the new stage of the complete construction of socialist society, the question of enhancing the personality of the woman at work, in society and the family arises as another objective necessity. We are examining the question of raising the well-being in the countryside. Well, then, let it be clearly understood that without the participation of the woman, without raising her personality, this will never be achieved: production cannot be increased, incomes cannot be raised, the handling of them cannot be done correctly, neither food nor clothing will be in order, the home cannot be made more comfortable, the child cannot be educated and life cannot become happier. Therefore, all of us, first of all we men, who should have a thorough and correct understanding of this problem, and the women themselves, who should struggle harder and have more confidence in their own strength, the party organizations, the organizations of women and youth, etc., the state organs, in other words, the whole society, should

strive to speed up the creation of all the subjective conditions for the further enhancement of the role of the woman, for raising and strengthening her personality, getting rid of any prejudice or hang-over from the past which is a hindrance to this. Then, we shall see how rapidly the tasks which this plenum will set for raising the material and cultural well-being in the countryside will be resolved.

We have succeeded in doing away with many prejudices in other directions as well; we have liquidated many backward customs. For example, we have uprooted from among the majority of the peasantry the evil custom of the vendetta which, in the past, destroyed hundreds of peasant families every year. But here and there, there are still people who go as far as the use of fire-arms over petty quarrels.

The preservation to a still considerable degree of religious prejudices and backward customs of the past also has its source in the insufficient work which the party organizations are doing for the formation of the socialist consciousness among the peasantry. There are some party organizations that replace active educational work with the peasantry with administrative measures, the method of persuasion with that of compulsion, that put the stress on the economic damage of prejudices and backward customs, without proving on an ideological basis the need to eradicate them from the peasants' consciousness. Setting out with the aim of combating the celebration of religious feasts, there have been cases when the consultative meetings of the Democratic Front have called on the peasantry to celebrate these feasts, or funerals, not with meat, but only with beans. Moreover, in some villages proposals have been made that the Front membership cards should be taken from those who infringe this rule.

Naturally, it is naive to think that such measures could yield the slightest beneficial results for the elimina-

tion of religious prejudices, empty beliefs and backward customs. The struggle to root out these remnants of the past inherited from centuries on end, is above all an ideological struggle, which has as its aim the spiritual liberation of people. If people have such hang-overs, this is simply a misfortune, but not their fault. Hence, a very patient, friendly and comradely stand should be maintained towards them.

In the struggle against religious prejudices, empty beliefs and backward customs, scientific atheist propaganda should occupy an important place. It should patiently educate people with the scientific world outlook, without insulting them or directly offending their sensibilities. The eradication of these remnants is a difficult and delicate job. They cannot be wiped out either with decrees or with rallies. This work requires intelligence, patience and tact. All the forms of party propaganda, all our cultural institutions, schools, teachers and all other intellectuals, the press and the radio, literature and the arts should be activated better to this end, and should regard the struggle for the education of the masses of the working people with the communist morality and world outlook as one of their main tasks. Great importance should be given to the correct scientific explanation of natural phenomena, the popularization of the successes of science and technology, and criticism of religious dogmas, pointing out to the peasantry the emptiness of them and the harm they do. In this regard, the schools, the youth organizations, and the cultural institutions should pay special attention to the education of the youth.

More concern should be shown for the preservation and further development of the good customs and the lofty virtues our peasants have inherited generation after generation, such as bravery, fidelity, hospitality, honesty, and generosity, while instilling new content into them. At the

same time, the new customs emerging from the socialist life, and connected with important events of the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country or district, the village or cooperativist family, should be developed and spread more widely.

## 2. — GREATER EFFORTS MUST BE MADE FOR RAISING THE CULTURAL LEVEL OF MOUNTAIN VILLAGES

The deepening of the cultural revolution in the countryside has the general uplift of the cultural level in all aspects of the life of the peasantry as its main objective. This important task will be carried out successfully, if among other things, the disproportions existing today in the cultural development between various villages and areas are taken properly into account and appropriate measures are adopted to eliminate them within the shortest possible time.

The Party has always been concerned about this problem and has devoted special care to the development of culture in the mountain villages. The expansion of the network of schools and cultural institutions and other such measures have served this end.

However, disproportion in cultural development, especially between the villages of the highland zones and those of the plains, still exists. Apart from objective reasons, such as the economic and cultural differences, difficulties of the terrain, etc., this has come about also because of the insufficient concern which the party and state organs have shown, and the lack of work differentiated in conformity with the special features of these areas.

But should these special features of the mountainous areas hamper the cultural development of this part of the peasantry? Are these difficulties insurmountable?

We are convinced that despite the above-mentioned special features and difficulties, all the possibilities exist for us to raise the cultural level of the villages of the mountainous areas to a higher level, to carry culture to the remotest villages and thus eliminate the disproportion which exists between them and the villages of the plains as quickly as possible.

To achieve this we must strengthen the work of the party organizations and state organs in these areas. They should carry out differentiated work, concentrating especially on the cultural problems with which these zones are most concerned and utilizing all the possibilities and the most appropriate means and forms. Cultural work should not be confined only to work within the walls of the houses and hearths of culture, which in the concrete conditions cannot draw in the whole mass of the village population. Cultural activities with small groups of a given hamlet or a few families should be practised, making use of the good tradition of our peasants of visiting one another, while social gatherings, talks on various political and cultural problems, recreations, games, etc., should be organized.

More help should be given to these villages by the cultural organizations of the city. But in order to achieve the desired results, a radical improvement must be made in the work of the cultural institutions of these areas themselves. Along with the schools, the houses and especially, the hearths of culture, there are the basic institutions which should be totally engaged in the organization of cultural work in the countryside. There are 668 such institutions in 1,515 mountain villages, or nearly one in each two villages. This is a powerful base for undertaking more extensive cultural activity, but in fact it is being utilized to an inadequate extent. Therefore, in the future the party committees and executive committees of district people's councils

must pay greater attention to the organization of the work of these institutions, so that they wake themselves up and carry out all-round activity with the masses of peasants and extend amateur artistic activity in the countryside.

At the same time, special attention should be paid to the selection and training of the cadres of culture for these villages. The weaknesses in cultural work also stem from the fact that the cadres charged with these tasks do not have the necessary training. Out of 591 people in charge of houses or hearths of culture, only 157 have secondary schooling, whereas the others have 7-year or elementary schooling. Experience has shown that in those villages where the village teachers have been charged with the cultural activities and where they have been given more help and supervision by the party organizations, the leading bodies of the agricultural cooperatives and the state organs in the district, the results have been greater. Therefore, in the future, along with the measures which the Ministry of Education and Culture and the district executive committees should take for training people responsible for houses and hearths of culture, wherever possible, the cadres charged with these tasks should be people with secondary schooling and especially teachers...

## V

ON THE WORK OF THE PARTY AND STATE ORGANS  
CONCERNING THE PROBLEMS OF WELL-BEING  
IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

... Our Party is the leading and directing force of all the political, economic and social activity of the country.

Life has shown that all the changes effected and progress achieved by our people, whether great or small, have been made under the leadership and guidance of the Party. Therefore the carrying out of the program of work which we are putting forward in connection with the further socialist development of the countryside depends to a great degree on the all-round organizational work of the Party and its levers.

As we stressed above, we have undoubtedly achieved great historic results in the socialist transformation of the countryside, in the general transformation of the main aspects of its life. But we are aware that on the road traversed we have also encountered difficulties by no means small, and that in the work of party and state organs and mass organizations there have been shortcomings and gaps which hinder our advance at the pace of the time. These shortcomings have been expressed mainly in the insufficient attention devoted to the complex of problems concerning improving the way of life in the countryside, in the leading work of the party and state organs.

The problems which we presented above, concerning the well-being and way of life in the countryside, require that the work of the party and state organs must also be raised to a new, higher level. For the party organizations to cope with these problems, they must become better and more thoroughly acquainted with the all-round socialist development of the countryside, with the tasks arising from this development, and seek the ways to their solution. And the whole success of this work depends greatly on whether the party organizations make these problems clear to the peasant masses and whether they mobilize them in time to deal with them. As always, in this case, too, the strengthening of the bonds of the Party with the masses and its consulting the masses remains the master-key to every victory in the future...

In our examination of the economic, social and cultural situation in the countryside, we indicated some of the main contradictions characteristic of its development at the present stage. They stem from the objective reality, from the laws of development of our society, and as such, they are inevitable. Our duty is to uncover these contradictions, to have a thorough knowledge of the causes of their emergence and, basing ourselves firmly on the concrete conditions of our socialist construction, to correctly define the most effective ways to overcome them quickly. The recognition and correct solution of them constitutes a motive force which assists and accelerates our advance, it is an essential condition for successful use of the economic laws of socialism and for avoiding errors in practice.

We are also aware that overcoming the present contradictions will, without fail, lead to the emergence of new contradictions, because our historic mission to carry the country continuously forward towards the lofty peaks of socialism and communism will continuously come up against contradictions. But we are convinced that our Party will always know how to find the correct way to overcome them, and will successfully lead the working masses in the complete construction of socialism, because it is always enlightened by the triumphant ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and bases itself firmly on them.

The victories achieved so far, and the new tasks which we are putting forward today, which have their source in and are entirely based on the far-sighted line of our Party, show once again how right is our road, and with what realism, wisdom and courage our Party acts in every field and at any time. The difficult situations which the imperialists and their tools — the revisionists of the Khrushchev-Tito group, etc., are trying to create for us and the struggle they are waging against us, are quite unable

to stop our Party from taking its well-measured and sure steps, as usual. We are marching forward. Marxism-Leninism, which the modern revisionists fight openly or try to distort on the quiet, will smash them mercilessly. As for our Party, which is firmly based on Marxism-Leninism, which stands eternally loyal to it and applies it in a truly creative manner in all directions, its victories will be inevitable.

Comrades, in presenting this problem to the Plenum, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee is fully confident that it will be crowned with success and will render a still greater service to raising the well-being of the peasantry and all our people. The entire history of our Party shows that, despite all obstacles and difficulties, everything it has undertaken, it has carried it through to the end, because it has always responded to the vital aspirations and interests of the working masses and has found their unreserved support. And the tasks which this Plenum will set, also, are for the good of the peasantry and all our people, and express their aspirations and ideals. Therefore, the Party must take the management of these problems firmly in hand, must more and more arouse the conscious activity of the masses of town and countryside and all the political, economic, social and state organizations, institutions and organs, and always guide it wisely, so that all the efforts are concentrated on well-defined objectives.

We are confident that this time, too, the working masses of the town and the countryside will respond, as always, to the call of the Party with their self-sacrificing work to carry out the new tasks that this Plenum lays down for the countryside, thus, scoring another victory in the struggle for the fulfilment of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the brilliant perspective opened to our people and our

country by the 4th Congress of the Party, on the long but glorious road of the construction of socialism and communism.

*Works, vol. 25*

## NOT CAPITULATION, BUT STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISTS

July 29, 1963

In short articles the Chinese continue to inform their people and party about the various insults and attacks of the modern revisionists on the Chinese leadership. They are also pointing out the praises which world capitalism is heaping on Khrushchev and his treacherous line. This is their business. **But on the other hand, they are not informing the Chinese people about the views of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is defending Marxism-Leninism, exposing the treacherous line of Khrushchev and company, and defending China and its Communist Party.** The Chinese comrades are not right on this question. They are sticking to their old tactic, to the stand which they maintained at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This tactic is no longer valid, it is an anachronism and harmful to the communist movement. The failure of the Chinese comrades to publish articles from the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» in their press shows fear on their part. Thus, they are displaying vacillation on this question, and this is neither right nor principled. The Chinese comrades are not advancing in step with events and the times.

If they think that they should not publish our articles allegedly to avoid Khrushchev's slander that the Albanians are tools of China, this is absurd, because the Khrushchevite revisionists are not hesitating at all to use this action of

the Chinese as something to their advantage, by trying to discredit us and, especially, to present our correct stand as isolated. China is assisting them in this direction with the stands it is adopting. If China is not publishing our articles in the belief that it would place in a difficult position the other fraternal parties, like those of Korea, Indonesia and Vietnam, which are still not maintaining a public stand in defence of China, this, too, is not right tactically.

**According to the Chinese tactic we ought to retreat, to go back to the stands of the Koreans, the Vietnamese, or even worse, of the Indonesians. No! This we shall never do! They must move forward, and so must China. Marxism must be defended, and defended strongly, against traitors and renegades.** All these comrades know Khrushchev; amongst themselves they say that he has betrayed, that he is linking up with the Americans, that he is causing socialism to degenerate, that he is attacking them openly, but on the other hand, they are delaying their struggle, waiting. What are they waiting for? This is strange. There is a question mark about the future in this. **Either struggle with the revisionists or capitulation!** We shall press on with the fight.

The line Khrushchev is following conforms to and serves the policy of the American imperialists. The treaty «On the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons», which was signed recently in Moscow, is conceived and dictated by the Americans and accepted without any alteration by Khrushchev. The American imperialists wanted the monopoly of nuclear weapons, Khrushchev gave it to them. The Americans talk about «peace», and so does this lackey of the bourgeoisie, Khrushchev, but meanwhile the Americans are preparing for war, increasing the stocks of atomic bombs for themselves and their friends, while Khrushchev is disarming his own friends, and, with his pacifism, is disarming the peoples. This means to assist the Americans. One side is armed — the

Americans, one side is disarmed — Khrushchev's friends, and the two are jointly attacking China, Albania, accusing them of being war-mongers, etc. It is clear even to the blind, let alone to the Marxists, where and in what direction the modern revisionists, with the traitors Khrushchev-Tito-Ulbricht-Gomulka-Novotny-Zhivkov, etc. at the head, **are** going with their efforts.

*«Reflections on China», vol. 1*

## **KHRUSHCHEV KNEELING BEFORE TITO**

*Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»*

**September 13, 1963**

A few days ago Khrushchev concluded his visit to Yugoslavia. Both the propaganda machine of the revisionists and the Western press tried to give this visit the maximum «international political significance». It is now clear to all that Khrushchev did not go to Yugoslavia for a vacation, as stated at first. He went there to complete the process of the full rehabilitation of the Tito clique, to unite openly with this band of traitors long condemned by all the communist and workers' parties, to hatch up new plots against the socialist camp, the international communist movement and peace, and to take another step in his rapprochement with US imperialism.

These aims of Khrushchev's visit became immediately obvious from his endless statements boosting the «successful building of socialism in Yugoslavia», the «correct Marxist-Leninist line and the outstanding merits of the present Yugoslav leadership», headed by «my friend and comrade Tito», the contribution of the Tito clique to the «development of the principles of peaceful coexistence», to the «strengthening of the world socialist community», to the «consolidation of the unity of the communist and workers' movement», to the «creative development of Marxism-Le-

ninism», the contribution of the Yugoslav leaders to the «strengthening of the anti-imperialist front», «the good points of the Yugoslav road to socialism», and particularly the «workers' self-administration», which, allegedly, is worthy of special attention and study by other socialist countries, in order to copy it, and the «great role which Yugoslavia should play in the Balkans», and so on.

Tito, on his part, pointed out that certain differences of points of view which still exist are losing their significance in the face of their great common goal. He expressed his satisfaction at Khrushchev's high appraisal of his own activity, of his struggle for «socialism» and the spreading of «communist» ideas and spirit in Yugoslavia, at the attacks which Khrushchev has launched against the communist movement, the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

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The first main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia is that, by completely rehabilitating the Tito clique and uniting with it, the Moscow revisionist group has committed itself even more thoroughly to the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and peace, and plunged even deeper into the mire of betrayal.

In his August 24 speech at Split, Khrushchev publicly declared: «We note with satisfaction that, on the absolute majority of international problems, the views of the USSR and Yugoslavia are similar... The unity of views and actions of the USSR and Yugoslavia in the international plane is a very important factor in world politics. This unity contributes to the promotion of the principles of peaceful

coexistence in relations among all states.» This, and many other statements of this kind, not only show a complete unity of views between Khrushchev and Tito on matters of foreign policy, but also demonstrate that Khrushchev has made Tito his equal partner in the leadership of world policy. But what role has Khrushchev assigned to his other partners? Apparently, they are to follow the «Yugoslav star» of the revisionist caravan blindly, like puppets.

In the field of ideology Khrushchev himself several times admitted that complete unity had been achieved on the fundamental issues. «For us Soviet communists,» he stressed, «there can be no basic contradictions with the Yugoslav communists.» While at Brioni, on August 28, he told foreign journalists: «We have the same ideas and are guided by the same theory.»

There is no need for a guide to a village in sight. It has now become quite clear to the whole world, even without these public confirmations, that both Tito and Khrushchev are inspired by the same out-and-out revisionist ideas, which have always inspired all the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, and that in their disruptive anti-Marxist practical activity they are guided by the same objectives, namely to extinguish the revolutionary spirit in the international communist movement, to bury Marxism-Leninism, to liquidate socialism and re-establish the domination of imperialism.

Apart from their unity of views and actions in the fields of politics and ideology, Khrushchev also laid the foundations for closer collaboration with the Tito clique in the economic field. The purpose here is clear: he wants to make a contribution, along with the imperialists, to keep this clique on its feet, not only through his all-round political and ideological support, but also through economic aid, in order to make Yugoslavia a showpiece or model of revisionist «socialism». At Rakovitsa Khrushchev stated, «Good economic relations, too, are being established between our

countries. Compared with 1955, the volume of trade turnover between our countries has risen nearly six fold. In 1963 the mutual exchange of goods is 50 per cent up on last year.»

In Velenja on August 30, Tito, for his part, confirmed that, «It is in the interests of both sides that we should extended even further.» Yugoslavia has agreed to participate do this. We have, for instance, already reached an agreement about co-operation in certain branches of the economy, which through our further collaboration will be entended esen further.» Yugoslavia has agreed to participate in the «socialist division of labour». Finally it was accorded observer status in Comecon. Tito, of course, has every reason to be satisfied with all this; he is like a horse with two or more mangers to feed from.

During his visit in Yugoslavia, Khrushchev also revealed his determination to support the revisionist course of the Belgrade clique and, naturally enough, this was one of those matters that received the greatest publicity and most enthusiastic welcome from the Western press. Khrushchev revealed himself as a supporter of the Yugoslav road to socialism. In order to do this, he did not even hesitate to come out against the Soviet Union's road for the construction of socialism and communism, to openly criticize Soviet methods of management of the economy while eulogizing the Yugoslav system of self-administration. Are there no limits to his treachery! This is how the Tanjug news agency describes Khrushchev's meeting with the managers of the Rakovitsa combine in the neighbourhood of Belgrade: «While stressing that in the Soviet Union they stick to the principle of a 'single manager', Comrade Khrushchev said that he liked the form of workers' councils and that such a thing was progressive. 'We, in our country,' Khrushchev continued, 'are now seeking new forms of management, in which the public can find its full expression, and therefore,

your experience interests us...' He emphasized once again that the experience of Yugoslavia in regard to the workers' self-administration could also prove valuable. A study should be made of things which time had already confirmed. In connection with this, Khrushchev added that he would certainly send a group of functionaries of the party, the trade unions and the economic organs to make a detailed study of these matters in the Yugoslav practice.»

It strikes the eye that through its detailed stories and reports, the Yugoslav press highlighted Khrushchev's opinions and remarks at his meeting with the managers of the Rakovitsa combine, especially emphasizing his high appraisal of «self-administration» and «workers' councils» as «progressive forms», when, as is known, they are the links to the restoration of capitalism in the Yugoslav economy. However, precisely at the time the Yugoslav and Western press was making a great fuss about these utterances of Khrushchev's, the Soviet press, which specializes in extolling the «genius» of Khrushchev and which allows no chance to go by without singing praises to his «wit» and «sagacity», for once became surprisingly mute on that day, and published not one word about this meeting. Apparently, the Moscow revisionists do not feel secure, and dare not come out openly before their own people in praise of those revisionist forms of management of the economy, which have nothing in common with socialism and which they themselves, not very long ago, criticized and rejected as anti-Marxist and anti-socialist, and as a variant of the theories of anarcho-syndicalism.

Tito once again strongly proclaimed the superiority of the Yugoslav road to socialism and stressed that it should no longer be specific to Yugoslavia alone, but become the foundation of the work of every party in the socialist countries. And the first successes, according to Tito, have become apparent in the Soviet Union during these last ten years.

His exact words are: «When we speak of workers' self-administration, we are not referring just to the problems and needs of one country in particular. Social self-administration is founded on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is why Comrade Nikita Sergejevitch Khrushchev, quite correctly, always attaches very great importance to it. When we were in the Soviet Union we had the opportunity to convince ourselves that extraordinary development in all fields has been achieved there during these last ten years.»

Western observers have found it difficult to conceal their enthusiasm over Khrushchev's approval of the Yugoslav type of «socialism». In Yugoslavia they saw «a Khrushchev prepared to make many concessions, to take many steps forward». They have long regarded Yugoslavia as «a transmission-belt» to carry counter-revolutionary ideas from the West to the East. This is how the BBC expressed it on August 30: «Many observers consider Khrushchev's interest in the 'workers' councils' in Yugoslavia as the most important result of his visit to the Adriatic coast. These councils are nothing else but a symbol of Titoite communism, and constitute one of the main parts of the revisionism which the Soviet Union and the entire communist world officially condemned less than three years ago. The system of workers' councils in Yugoslavia is half communist and half Western. The only danger is that it may fall between two stools. This system, based on two models, is still holding its own. Apparently, that is why Khrushchev is eager to do something similar in Russia. And if he does this he will be acclaiming not only Tito but also the Western economic system.» Meanwhile the mouthpiece of the big US monopolies, «The New York Times», wrote: «The most interesting aspect... is the very friendly attitude of the Soviet Premier Khrushchev towards the Yugoslav system of implementing orthodox communism. This could give rise to big changes in Moscow's economic organization. Yugoslavia has

adopted so many ideas from the West that it can play the role of a transmission belt carrying Western economic ideas to the East.»

Under these circumstances, is there any reason for the imperialist West to have the slightest worry about the results of Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia? None whatsoever.

Khrushchev's demagogy cannot continue for long to deceive the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist and workers' parties with his tales that allegedly changes have been made in Yugoslavia towards socialism, that the Yugoslav leaders are correcting their former mistakes, and consequently, that Yugoslavia is a country which «is building socialism».

Everybody knows how matters really stand, what «changes» have been made there. Daily life brings out many facts which prove that nothing has changed in Tito's Yugoslavia. Only the grave can straighten a hunchback. Tito himself has stated repeatedly that he will discard nothing from his program, that «there is no question of any concession» and that he has not made and has no intention of making any change whatsoever.

He repeated this once again to Khrushchev's very face. Once again publicly reassuring his friends in the West, Tito said: «In connection with the visit [of Khrushchev] rumours are already circulating in the West, conjecturing as to who will make concessions, 'will Tito and the Yugoslav communists enter the camp, or will Khrushchev make concessions to the Yugoslav communists on behalf of the communists of the Soviet Union?' This is altogether out of the question,» Tito emphasized. «There is no question of any concessions. These matters will not be taken up in the talks.» («Pravda», August 23, 1963.)

Tito's words are really meant for other ears. For his part, his assurances are the truth. And the facts show

this: Tito has made no concessions to Khrushchev, but Khrushchev has made many concessions to Tito. The newspaper «The Washington Post», which is very close to the US government and especially to the Department of State, expressed the idea on August 24, that in the present state of international relations, especially «in the Sino-Soviet conflict, Khrushchev stands in greater need of Tito than Tito of Khrushchev. Premier Khrushchev is trying to get on good terms with the Yugoslav leader again.»

Khrushchev's demagogic tales about the Tito clique's having changed and corrected its mistakes are intended to prove that Yugoslavia is a socialist country and that socialism is being built there successfully, in order to justify his complete unity with the Tito clique, its final rehabilitation and the inclusion of Yugoslavia in the family of socialist countries and that of the LCY in the ranks of the international communist movement. But this is one of the crudest and most blatant violations of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, unanimously approved by all the fraternal parties, in which the Yugoslav revisionists were branded as traitors to Marxism-Leninism and as agents of imperialism, as splitters and underminers of the socialist camp, the international communist movement and the peace-loving forces and states.

But the course of full unity with the Tito clique shows clearly once again down which road the Khrushchev group is rushing. As the popular saying goes, «a man is judged by the company he keeps». To unite with the Yugoslav revisionists means to unite with the enemies of socialism, the renegades from Marxism, with the splitters of unity and the agents of imperialism, who are conspiring against the socialist countries and the entire world revolutionary movement. Not only has the Khrushchev group united with the treacherous Tito clique but it has launched frenzied attacks on all those parties and communists that, standing

loyal to the Moscow Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties, carry out their internationalist duty and expose the Yugoslav leaders, their revisionist ideas and anti-socialist activities. This means that the Khrushchev group has obliterated any distinction between friends and foes, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between defenders and disrupters of unity, and between anti-imperialist fighters and agents of imperialism, and has gone completely over to the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, the peoples and peace in the world.

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The second main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to the Tito clique, from their talks and public statements, is that they have co-ordinated their dangerous undermining activities against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, first and foremost, against the Marxist-Leninist parties which are struggling, in a resolute and principled way, in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against modern revisionism. This is clearly borne out by a series of incontestable facts.

It is now no secret to anyone that, for some time back, Khrushchev and his propaganda agents have ceased to use the term «socialist camp». This was especially noticeable during his tour of Yugoslavia. In no address, in absolutely no published speech or conversation, can one find such an expression, except at the August 21 banquet, when Tito made a scornful reference to it. The question here is not just that Khrushchev tries to avoid saying anything that might prejudice his «cordial relations» with the renegade Tito, through the use of such «unfashionable» and «unnecessary»

terms as «the socialist camp», towards which, as everybody knows, the Yugoslav revisionists maintain a completely negative and hostile attitude. The fact is that Khrushchev supports and fully agrees with Tito's hostile attitude towards the socialist camp. When a journalist asked him at Brioni whether «the fact that Yugoslavia does not belong to blocs hinders the Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation,» Khrushchev answered, «No,» and added, «historically all the socialist countries take the same Marxist-Leninist position, for we are linked by common ideas and are guided by a single theory, while other manifestations like 'blocs' and so on are temporary.»

What does this mean? To what blocs is he referring? It is publicly known that the Yugoslav revisionists consider the socialist camp as a «bloc», that when they speak about the so-called «neutrality» or «non-alignment» of Yugoslavia, they pretend that they stand not only outside military blocs and organizations but also outside camps and above camps. Under these circumstances Khrushchev's statements against so-called «blocs» inevitably give rise to two conclusions:

On the one hand, it is clear that Khrushchev fully accepts Tito's reactionary position, regarding the socialist camp as «a military bloc», as a negative phenomenon that has led to the aggravation of the international situation and as something «temporary».

On the other hand, in this way Khrushchev supports and justifies the demagogic manoeuvres of the Tito clique about the so-called «neutrality» and «non-alignment» of Yugoslavia. But how can there be a country which is socialist and at the same time «neutral» in the great historic struggle between the two camps, the socialist and imperialist camp? There was a time when Khrushchev himself condemned and rejected this absurd pretension of the Tito clique. «The Yugoslav leaders,» he declared at the 21st Congress of the

CPSU, «claim that they stand outside blocs, above camps, although, in fact, they take part in the Balkan bloc, which consists of Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece... The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia consider themselves highly insulted when we tell them that they are sitting on two stools. They assure us that they are sitting on their own Yugoslav stool. However, this Yugoslav stool seems to be largely supported by the US monopolies! And precisely for this reason this position 'outside blocs', the neutrality to which the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are so attached, has a strong smell of the US monopolies, which are fostering 'Yugoslav socialism'. The history of the class struggle still knows of no example in which the bourgeoisie has supported its class enemy materially or morally, and assisted it to build socialism.»

Thus, Khrushchev has now decided to cancel out the existence of the socialist camp and does not hesitate to come out openly against it. Here we have to do not only with a major concession of principle to Tito's revisionist and anti-socialist positions, but also with a real betrayal of the vital interests of socialism, with an attempt to undermine the socialist camp itself and to liquidate it.

In the context of his activities to undermine and split the socialist camp, the international communist movement and their unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, Khrushchev deemed it necessary to revive the idea of pan-Slavism during his visit to Yugoslavia. From the very first day he spoke of «our traditional friendship», «our common historical destiny» and «our common final goal», in this way implying and stressing the special links between peoples of the same ethnic group. This is not the first time that the Khrushchev group, departing from the Marxist-Leninist class position, has tried to build its political platform regarding the relations between states and parties on such ethnic, racial, and

even religious grounds, even going so far as to make one effort after another for rapprochement with the Pope of Rome in order to win the support of Catholics. But to replace the class principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism with pan-Slavism or with other similar non-Marxist criteria means to undermine the very foundations on which the workers' international solidarity and unity, and the relations among the peoples of the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties are based. It means to degrade and seriously damage the cause of socialism. This is one of the many proofs of the complete and hopeless ideo-political degeneration of the Khrushchev group.

Moreover, Khrushchev did no fail to assign a special, if not a decisive, role to Yugoslavia in the Balkans and even in the world(!).

It was for this purpose that in his speech at Velenja, he extolled in a one-sided way the fight of the Yugoslav peoples against the fascist invaders, while deliberately denigrating the great contribution of the other Balkan peoples to the anti-fascist war. Of course, the peoples of Yugoslavia waged a really heroic war for the liberation of their country, but the other Balkan peoples, also, were in the thick of it and shed a lot of blood in that war. The setting of one people against another, the tendentious praising of the fight of one people and the deliberate ignoring of the contribution and the struggle of other peoples, which Khrushchev resorted to, reveals once again his aims of disruption and provocation by inciting the nationalist and chauvinist passions of his friends whom he supports. Khrushchev also took the opportunity to encourage Tito's old dream of a special role in the Balkans, of his hegemony in some sort of «Balkan Federation». Thus, during this visit Khrushchev revealed himself nakedly to be the complete Machiavelli. politically and morally.

Khrushchev and Tito puffed themselves up by posing as «masters of the fate» of the Balkans. When a foreign journalist asked them about this in Brioni, observers could not fail to notice Khrushchev's angry reaction, when he said: «Why do you stick your nose into our affairs?» Just what lies hidden behind the phrase «our affairs» was revealed by the British news agency Reuter, which wrote on August 18: «The possibility of new Balkan projects, in which Yugoslavia would play a primary role, cannot be ruled out.» The peoples of the Balkans are justified in asking: Since when have the affairs of the Balkans become the «private business» of Khrushchev and Tito? Who gave them the monopoly of the right to speak and act in the name of the Balkan peoples, to make deals and divide the roles behind their backs and to their detriment?

But what is this Tito clique to which Khrushchev wants «to entrust the fate of the Balkans»? And what is the «special role» which Khrushchev has assigned to it? Like the other peoples of the Balkans our people are very well acquainted with the features of this gang of renegades and agents of imperialism; they are well aware of their intentions and role. Are we perhaps to forget the active role of the Tito clique in the Hungarian counter-revolution? Can it be that the subversive and conspiratorial activities of the Yugoslav revisionist agents, which have been discovered and exposed time after time in Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Rumania, have been forgotten so soon? The Albanian people will never forget the betrayal and plot by Koçi Xoxe and others, the plot hatched up by the Yugoslav revisionists in collaboration with the Greek monarcho-fascists, the US 6th Fleet, and some traitors against the sovereignty of our country, nor will they forget the numerous acts of provocation and hostility against the PR of Albania and our people. Tito accompanied his «dear» friend to the vicinity of the northern borders of our Homeland in a de-

monstrative way. Khrushchev did not go to Titograd to pay a «flying» visit to the ethnographic museum of Cettigne and see the relics of Nyegosh. He inspected the Albanian-Yugoslav border in order to express his support and approval in this way for the profoundly hostile stands and intentions towards our people of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders, who are notorious for the attempts they have made on the freedom and independence of our socialist Homeland.

It is clear that «the special role» of Titoite Yugoslavia in the Balkans, indeed in the world (!), is directed against the vital interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement; that its aim is to undermine and split them; and that this is a component part of the campaign of the Khrushchev-Tito revisionist united front against those fraternal parties which firmly uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. The clearest evidence of this is the fact that Khrushchev's entire visit to Yugoslavia was accompanied by a frenzied campaign of monstrous, co-ordinated attacks launched by Khrushchev and Tito and others against the Marxist-Leninist parties.

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The third main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia is that he has moved closer to the imperialists, particularly to the US imperialists.

It is a publicly known fact — and Tito has more than once confirmed it by his own words — that «socialist» Yugoslavia has become a «bridge between the East and the West». Khrushchev is now openly using this «bridge» not just to make approaches to, but actually to cross over to the West.

A direct communication line between the Kremlin and

the White House was inaugurated recently. This line, the «Red Teletype», will serve Khrushchev to engage in direct talks and strike new bargains with Kennedy to the detriment of the peoples. However, Kennedy and Khrushchev also have a «live teletype» — Tito, who is serving their common aims well and «in a creative way».

Expressing his great satisfaction over the conclusion of the tripartite Moscow agreement, which is another capitulation of the Khrushchev group to the imperialists, a fraud and a betrayal of the cause of socialism, Tito said in his speech at the banquet given by Khrushchev on August 21, «Of course, this is still insufficient. Much still remains to be done...» Tito, the inveterate agent of imperialism, is not satisfied with the results achieved, he wants further steps to be taken along this road which he long ago made clear to his revisionist colleagues. This is the road of the «economic and political integration of the world», in other words, the road towards the gradual and peaceful integration of socialism into capitalism, about which Kennedy has also spoken.

In analysing Khrushchev's public utterances in Yugoslavia, everybody notices that he not only refrained from attacking US imperialism openly, but did not refer to it even once by name. He confined himself to the usual terms of the revisionists regarding «the most aggressive circles of imperialism» and very rarely at that. The AFP news agency pointed out: «This moderation of language can be explained, of course, by Khrushchev's desire to maintain the tone of 'peaceful coexistence', and also to avoid placing the Yugoslavs in an embarrassing position with regard to Washington.» But this is not all. Khrushchev did not make any open attack against the imperialists, because his views regarding imperialism in general, and US imperialism in particular, are the same as those of Tito, and because he has now set out on the road to full reconciliation and rapprochement with the

imperialists. Western observers point out on this occasion, not without justification, that while awaiting the decision of the US Congress on the re-establishment of the «most favoured nation» clause in the trade relations with Yugoslavia, Tito will have something to report and bring as compensation to President Kennedy at the White House on the occasion of the trip he is to make to Latin America soon, that is, the new and more moderate attitude of Khrushchev.

The attitude of the Tito clique towards US imperialism and the attitude of US imperialism towards the Tito clique is no secret to anyone. Their relations are like those of master and servant. It is clear that the approach to and unity with the servant and agent of imperialism, who is nurtured and kept on his feet by US dollars, is a big step towards approach to and unity with his master — US imperialism. Everybody sees this. People see and condemn this open betrayal by Khrushchev who, by uniting with Tito, is rolling out the carpet in anticipation of the not so distant day when the imperialists and the revisionists will celebrate Khrushchev's complete rapprochement with Kennedy. The facts are now so clear that it is difficult even for those who, for some time, have made it their habit to follow Khrushchev in his great betrayal, to refuse to see it. A truly great responsibility towards their parties, their peoples and the international communist movement falls on those leaders who have had and still have their reservations about Tito, particularly, and about what Khrushchev and Tito are doing, and yet who keep silent, who are afraid to say what they think and dare not express their opinion. Embracing Tito leads to embracing Kennedy as well. Are all those leaders who call themselves communists, but who remain silent, in favour of this, too? The Khrushchev group is trying to persuade the communists and the peoples that unity with Titoite Yugoslavia means unity with socialist and anti-imperialist forces and is in the interests of the

socialist camp and the international communist movement.

In order to judge whether this union really has such a character or not, let us look at how the West reacted to Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and whether the capitalist world was perturbed by this «new rapprochement» of Belgrade with Moscow.

The facts show that, far from being disconcerted, the West and the imperialist powers received this visit with lively interest and welcomed it. In one of its reports from Belgrade, «The Washington Post» said: «Western diplomats are pleased with the tone and results of the talks between Tito and Khrushchev.» Therefore, Washington did not cut off its credits to Tito over his «rapprochement with Moscow», but, on the contrary, is taking steps to increase them.

This fact alone is sufficient to prove how false is Khrushchev's demagogic prattle that unity with Tito allegedly means unity with the socialist and anti-imperialist forces. If it were so, if this unity were spearheaded against imperialism, then we would not be hearing praises and congratulations from the imperialists for the Yugoslav road and the rapprochement of the Tito clique with Khrushchev, but would be hearing those anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary attacks which the imperialists usually aim against their class enemy — the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist and anti-imperialist forces of the world.

From this it is not difficult to understand who will benefit from such rapprochement and unity. The imperialists have good reason to welcome and support it, because they see in this unity the establishment of a united revisionist front against socialism and all the world revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces and movement.

The fact that Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia ended with no big rally in Belgrade or final statement or com-

unique must attract attention. This is by no means accidental, because, although it was officially announced that Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia for a holiday, Khrushchev and Tito themselves stressed more than once that this visit had been turned into a working visit. In reality, this was the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the talks between Tito and Khrushchev in this situation.

Both Tito and Khrushchev are very fond of publicity. They would have liked to consecrate their complete unity publicly, but at the same time they had to restrain themselves to avoid openly disclosing their cards and damaging their position.

Tito, of course, was also the more interested in holding a rally and having an official document published, because he would have liked to see the Moscow Declaration torn up **officially**, to see the final seal put on his complete rehabilitation, Yugoslav «specific socialism» given the «right of citizenship» and the LCY finally included in the ranks of the international communist movement as a «Marxist-Leninist party» and to have their joint views on present world development and the problems of the international communist movement sanctioned. In other words, Tito would have liked everything Khrushchev said in secret talks and publicly in support of the Yugoslav leaders and about their common concepts to be proclaimed in a joint official document.

But Khrushchev still feels obliged to keep up his disguise, because however carefully a joint official document were drawn up, it would still be in flagrant opposition to the Moscow Declaration. Khrushchev is obliged to resort to manoeuvre and deceit while still trying to hide behind the Moscow Declaration. He calculates that the work must be done, that is, Tito must be rehabilitated, the Moscow Declaration violated, his activities co-ordinated with the Yugoslav revisionists and plots hatched up together with

them, but all this cannot yet be sanctioned by any official document, which would be another powerful weapon in the hands of the Marxist-Leninists.

Tito's dissatisfaction on this issue could be clearly understood from his farewell speech at the airport. While Khrushchev confined his speech to generalities, Tito concretely defined the results of the visit and the talks with his guest. He enumerated the points on which they agreed, and did this in such a way as to leave no doubt that he intended to remind his friend of the pledges he had made during his visit and to advise him not to forget them.

These are the main results of Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and his talks with the Tito clique.

The whole world is becoming more and more convinced that with his policy of unity with the Belgrade renegades and his rapprochement with imperialism, Khrushchev is betraying the Soviet people and the other peoples of the socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement and the national liberation and anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the world. Khrushchev had the audacity to say at Brioni: «I have something to boast about !» True enough. Khrushchev does have what to «boast» about. He can «boast» that he is carrying out the aims of the rabid class enemies of socialism and the Soviet Union, he can boast that he is seriously endangering the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution, that he is wrecking the socialist camp and splitting the international communist movement to the benefit of international reaction and US imperialism.

But the peoples and history neither forget nor forgive. The Soviet people who have emerged triumphant from many severe trials in their history, their Communist Party, the other peoples, the communists of the world and all revolutionaries will not forget and will never forgive Khrushchev for his high treason to Marxism-

Leninism, the international working class, the peoples, socialism and peace.

Keeping their revolutionary vigilance, their spirit of proletarian internationalism and unbounded loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the proletariat and the people at a high level, the true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries will fight with determination and selflessly against modern revisionism, for the preservation of the purity of the Leninist teachings, and against imperialism and reaction for the triumph of socialism, communism and peace in the world.

*Works, vol. 25*

## **THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY MUST BE A CONSTANT CONCERN FOR ALL ITS MEMBERSHIP**

*From the closing speech delivered at the 11th Plenum of the  
CC of the PLA*

**December 14, 1963**

The plenum we have held was necessary and will be of great assistance in further strengthening the work of the Party.

As was correctly stressed, we have achieved successes in our work, but we also have shortcomings. And the shortcomings are not only at the base, they are shared by the whole Party, at the base and in the leadership. Therefore, the criticism made here of the leaderships of the party basic organizations, the state organs and party committees in the districts was quite correct. Likewise, there was no lack of criticism of the leadership, that is, us, the comrades at the centre, whether of the apparatus of the Central Committee or the government, and it was very correct, reasonable and necessary. And when the apparatus of the Central Committee was criticized, this implies automatically that not only the directors, chiefs and instructors and others, but all of us who work here, from me to the other secretaries of the Central Committee, were criticized. When the ministers and other government organs were criticized, the Government and all the comrades working

there were criticized, too. The criticism made at this plenum has a very positive and Marxist aspect; here shortcomings, which we must correct, were pointed out in a Marxist-Leninist spirit.

But can it be said that these are mistakes of line in ideology or political or organizational distortions of principle? We are sure that there are no mistakes and distortions of this nature in our Party, because our Party stands firm on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, whether ideological or organizational, defends them and keeps them unsullied. And taking its stand on these strong theoretical and organizational foundations, the Party has always been able to orientate itself correctly in defining its internal and external general policy for the development of our economy, the building of socialism, because it has always had an unerring compass...

Albania does not live isolated, it has to do with friendly and enemy states, which pursue various policies towards it. There are people who yesterday posed as Marxist-Leninists, but who were traitors and are now in power. They have changed their entire political, organizational and ideological orientation and are in open struggle against Marxism-Leninism. While our Party, always standing firm on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, has been able to adapt its tactics in a Marxist-Leninist way, according to the situation, so that they conform to the interests of the construction of socialism and our people, to the interests of the independence and sovereignty of our country, of proletarian internationalism and the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. This is a great success for our Party, and it will continue on this road, because ours is a revolutionary party, which has been, is and will always be the vanguard of the working class and all the masses of the working people in Albania, because it bases itself firmly on its close ties with the masses of the people. This is one

of the decisive **Leninist-Stalinist** weapons. I emphasize Leninist-Stalinist, because it is known that Stalin has said: «Cadres decide everything.»<sup>1</sup> In the opinion of our Party such a thesis is correct. In the work of Stalin, in no instance can one find the cadres being opposed to the masses of the people. On the contrary, one will find stressed there the thesis that the party must link itself as closely as possible with the masses of the people and rely on them, because if it is cut off from them, it dies. What is more, to emphasize this question, J.V. Stalin referred, by way of example, to the figure of Anteus. Therefore, if it is claimed that Stalin said that «*cadres decide everything*», while ignoring the masses of the people, this is incorrect.

But why is the party called the vanguard of the working class? Because those who take part in the party are the most conscious people of the working class, those to whom it has entrusted the leadership on the basis of its ideology. The party has complete trust in its members and they are cadres. When we speak of the party we mean that the people in its ranks are at a higher level than the masses as regards their Marxist-Leninist world outlook and communist consciousness. Khrushchev's thesis that his is «the party of the entire people» is a fraud. To the revisionists, this means the party of a new bourgeois capitalist class which is formed in the new conditions. It is a party which will bring to power new Kerenskys, who have emerged and are forming a stratum there.

Which is that Marxist-Leninist party that does not fight for its cadres? We threw ourselves into the National Liberation War, but if we had not created the Party, if the people had not had confidence in a handful of people who began to do the work of the Party, if within the great mass of people who hurled themselves upon the enemies, arms in hand, individuals had not stood out, cadres who won

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<sup>1</sup> See note 2 on p. 362 of this volume.

the confidence of the people and the partisans, who led them in the glorious battles, if these individuals from the ranks of the people, who led our glorious army and liberated the country through war — if all of these factors had not existed, would it have been possible to imagine that such a situation could have been created in our country? How can anyone think we can go forward without cadres? If today, tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow, the Party were to think of running the metallurgical combine, for example, without first training cadres, this project would never be carried out. How can socialism be built, or all these projects be run without cadres?

Neither in life nor in his works did J.V. Stalin say that the cadres' path should be paved with gold, that they should be given privileges and become bourgeois. It is an important issue that all the cadres should live and work in the revolutionary spirit of the Party, not cut themselves off from the masses, that they wage a persistent struggle against all the pressure of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois mentality, which they bring in from their lives and which still exists during the building of socialism and will continue to exist during the stage of transition to communism, too. It is another matter, and would be extremely harmful, if cadres were to be granted such favours which put them in privileged positions, above the masses, if they were to behave arrogantly towards them, and to underestimate the masses.

We are convinced that our line on these questions is correct and Marxist-Leninist. The Party and our cadres have never forgotten the great cause of the masses. It is the masses who create abundance, who change the situation and move the mountains. But the masses are led by the Party, by the cadres who, themselves, have come from the masses. It is the task of the Party to keep these cadres clean like the people, the working class and our revolutionary

peasantry, to temper them as modest people, not megalomaniacs, not as exploiters seeking power and wealth. In this direction our Party has done and is doing a colossal job.

Let us now return to our question. The work of the Party is many-sided, great, arduous, but glorious. When we speak about the work of the Party we should not set limits. There cannot be two ways about the question of leadership by the Party. The Party is in its apparatuses, in the state, in the ministries, the army, the organs of justice, and everywhere. The Party decides. All the party members, in the forefront of the struggle of the masses, express the great interests and desires of the people, who, under the leadership of the Party, have created possibilities for a better life, for advance. A great patriotic, revolutionary, socialist consciousness must be aroused. This is done and should be done better among the people on the basis of the work of the Party by everybody — by him who works in the Party apparatus, as well as by him who works in a plant, enterprise, in the government or in a ministry, etc. To this end ceaseless work in a revolutionary spirit should be carried on by everyone in the sector to which the Party has allocated him. Expertise in these sectors should in no way be utilized for personal, subjective interests.

The Party has trusted its member to modestly put all he knows in the service of the masses wherever he works, to be more militant and ready to sacrifice himself more than anyone else. Neither he who works in the state, nor he who works in the Party can say that his work is more valuable to the Party. Perhaps a worker in the party apparatus may say, «My work is much more valuable.» Or a worker in the state or an enterprise may say, «It was I who raised this question», «I accomplished this task while those people of the Party only talk, only hold meetings». Those who think so are on the wrong road, they are

thinking in a subjective way. In both these instances it emerges that neither one nor the other understands what the unified, universal leading role of the Party in all its links is. On this issue, it would be good that all the party comrades, and especially those whom the Party has elected, should understand that the people in the administration are appointed.

In the Party, in party committees or basic organizations, the communists elect their leaders to carry out an exceptionally big task. We have explained what this is, but let us say once again: this does not mean that the party comrades should not concern themselves with economic questions, for without this, all the work with which a party worker is charged is baseless, it is up in the air. The problem is that the party worker, instructor, or secretary should engage in economic matters, but not through figures and statistics, since they can be found within two minutes and the Party has appointed special persons to deal with them. The thing is you must know all about the economic tasks allocated to you, the method of organizing them through the ideological, political, and organizational work, and encouragement, and the technical aspect, from the small enterprises right up to the biggest ones, which the member of the Party must know how to handle as a party worker. Hence, he has extremely great tasks, first, to uplift the political and ideological work, to strengthen the organizational links, as defined by the Party and the state, and through these links, to exert an influence on the spirit of the communists. This is a colossal undertaking. Then why do the party workers displace the state organs, their comrades who are just as loyal and capable as those who work in the party apparatus? The chairman of an executive committee may very well become a party secretary, since he has all the qualities of a secretary, while a secretary may very well become chairman of the executive committee any time

you like. These are all cadres which the strength of the Party has brought up and educated. They are able to do their work, and do it very well. But they need the help of the Party, because without its help, without the mobilization of the Party and its mobilization of the masses nothing can be done. Everybody in the Party is clear about this. Therefore, in view of this great task laid down by the Party, here I am referring to the party workers especially, it is impermissible and unacceptable that the party committees and meetings of party activists should be involved, for example, in deciding how many drums of water should be gathered to water the vines or how many picks and shovels are required to dig holes, etc.

I interrupted a comrade at this point in his contribution and interposed when he said, «Willy-nilly, we, too, get involved.» But why should we get involved and neglect the main question without which the state power cannot carry on? The build-up of industry, agriculture, work in the army, the organs of justice, etc., call for great mobilization, for without this mobilization, which the Party brings about, nothing is done. Each sector will proceed on the road of the Party only if people are tempered as they should be from every viewpoint. The Party, the basic organizations and the party members themselves will do this tempering. This is achieved through continuous ideological work. We must never forget that the pressure of the bourgeois remnants, the capitalist pressure; and now the great revisionist pressure, influence people in our country, who are inadequately tempered, whether party members or not. This means that the class struggle continues in these forms, and it should be waged with the greatest severity against this pressure, as the Party has done up till now.

I shall make a criticism of you, comrade secretaries. We know that you work hard and do not spare yourselves, but if you and your comrades have in mind the political

and ideological work, in all its complexity, the strengthening of the organizational links with and the mobilization of the masses, you should drop the minor things immediately, go thoroughly into problems and work with people. This is how things were done in the time of the war. Experience is experience. During the war I was for some time in Tirana, where Comrade Gogo Nushi, Comrade Fiqret Shehu and others were my collaborators. We all know that those were very difficult times because the enemy was close on your heels, but we did not fail to visit every basic organization and left no family without contact. The leadership of the Party knew everything about people's lives, knew what each of them thought. The Party also knew that they were not all pure gold, there were people with wrong ideas, there were heroes, convinced and disciplined people, reliable people, but there were also intriguers, windbags, cowards, etc., etc. In those difficult times the Party displayed great patience towards these people. Take the case of Anastas Lulo; the Party tried for a long time to correct him, but when it saw that he and his associates were becoming dangerous in their activity, it crushed them. But, as a result of the work and care of the Party, many people were corrected and tempered.

Now times have changed, the Party is in power, therefore our tasks today are great. However, there are many cadres, too, and they have now made great progress, so our possibilities are colossal. Compare for yourselves what a low cultural and educational level you had at that time, but your spirit was revolutionary, you fought the enemies without compromise and mobilized the people and inspired them with the ideas of communism. This persistent work enabled the Party to advance. Therefore, today, just as at the time of war, this practice of work should be kept alive, the good method of work, the great importance of man for us. should never be forgotten, because man will

build the factories, dig the canals, and make inventions. But man is man, he meets difficulties in life, has feelings, shortcomings and strong points. We know very well how all these things are going to be channelled on to the right road. Only correct, collective and individual work, day by day, by the Party with these people will make everything go well. But we still have shortcomings and the blame for this falls, first of all, on the people who work in the party apparatus.

Life inside the Party should be militant and dynamic...

Then, we follow the principle that the basic organization should show initiative, but if the instructor of the party committee keeps it constantly under his tutelage, even if he were a «prodigy» he could not always attend every meeting of every organization, and we would be departing from the principle of promoting the initiative of the basic organization. In this direction we have many shortcomings, which we should put right. We have established forms of work, instructors, but what accounting do we demand from them, what instructions and advice do we give them? We should recognize that these are not thorough and complete, are not a diet containing all the calories they need. We are capable of doing the work better, but we must put aside those things which are not our concern, we should know how to share out the work well, then know how to teach the instructors so that they can teach others, and must create a synthesis of work that will be clearer and more mobilizing for the masses of the Party.

We always go to the base during campaigns. We are not opposed to this, we have to go there during campaigns, but when a campaign is conducted, the impression is left that something new is under way. For 20 years we have been carrying out campaigns. But does it always require a whole lot of people to go to the basic organization to get it out of the mud? This is not right. This does not mean

that we should not go to the base at all. Now the basic organization is not in that former situation. We should have more faith in it, but this faith should be real, well-based, Marxist-Leninist faith. And this work is not done in a hurry, or with one word. No. The work of the Party is difficult and tiring. Therefore, the rank-and-file of the Party, who have elected us, trust us to do it, and we bear great responsibility before the people. We must do this if we want to really strengthen the work. By this I do not mean to say that we are doing nothing, but the proceedings of this Plenum must bring about a great change in all aspects of the work of the Party.

Comrades, we must fight bureaucratic leadership, and this struggle should be carried out first at the top, since the danger exists, and then right to the end at the base. I am not referring only to the problem of letters and memos, because there is bureaucracy in this direction, too. All of us are clear about the ideological, political and organizational principles. You have to be a dogmatic, bureaucratic secretary if you cling to forms alone, considering them unchangeable when in practice, even though the Central Committee has established them, they have begun to fail to justify themselves.

In this direction, the Party comrades who are linked with the masses should create new forms of work, therefore, we should not ring up to ask whether we should implement this form or not. When it yields results it should be put into practice immediately.

Hence, we should not be bureaucrats when something is good and worth putting into practice; it is a very good thing that ideas emerge from below. We should always be full of initiative in a correct way, but we should educate the people to be prudent because even initiative is harmful if it is overdone. People well-educated by the Party consider the general interest first, and then personal interest.

Revisionism, about which we spoke, is a dreadful disease and we must profit from the struggle which we wage against it. We should not simplify the issue, but when we say we must profit on the basis of the teachings of Lenin, Stalin, our experience, and so on, this requires, above all, that we carry out the fight against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants, against all negative, sometimes hostile, manifestations even of some members of the Party, etc. We must not forget this, because the revisionists base all their activity on these remnants. They and their parties have degenerated because they no longer base themselves on Marxism-Leninism, on the Leninist principles, in the organization of the party, the economy, and policy. The Titoite, Khrushchevite, Czech, and other revisionists are working furiously to bring about the degeneration of their parties into bourgeois, capitalist parties and to completely transform their countries from socialist into capitalist countries; they are working to create strata of the new bourgeoisie in their countries, made up of people with degenerate views, not with party views. The Khrushchev and Tito regimes have created extremely favourable conditions for functionaries, first of all. With his treacherous revisionist transformations in agriculture, Khrushchev has also created exceptionally favourable conditions for all leaders of the kolkhozes; and to the intelligentsia, first of all to intellectuals of high calibre, not only within the country but abroad, too, he has granted exceptionally great privileges in order to have them as support for his own ends.

You know about the question of factory management in Yugoslavia which is capitalist in nature. A generation of new capitalists has been created there. Hence, all factory management is capitalist, which, under today's conditions, gives the workers a crust of bread, too. But the capitalists at the base are the support of capitalists at the centre. Khrushchev is applying this method of work, by crea-

ting new capitalists in the Soviet Union, too. In the industry of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev has begun and continues to create managerial councils, composed of degenerate and corrupted, anti-Marxist, bureaucratic leaders, who are gradually becoming a basis for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Concerning agriculture in the Soviet Union, this, too, has begun to go downhill, and it will continue to do so. In all directions there is not a shred of party work with sound Marxist-Leninist criteria; revisionism prevails in the country, the masses are being fed a constant diet of anti-Marxist ideology and the Western way of life. You should bear in mind all the demagogic propaganda carried out by radio, press, etc., and should not think that it does not influence our people too. Do not forget the Tirana Conference<sup>2</sup>, the anti-party elements, agents of the Yugoslav Legation and revisionists, who rose against the Party. They accused the people of the party and state leadership of allegedly living in luxury. But such a thing does not exist in our country, and if there are individuals with such tendencies, the Party must educate them and

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<sup>2</sup> The 3rd Conference of the Party of the Tirana city was held in April 1956. At this conference, enemy elements, who had managed to be elected as delegates, attacked the Marxist-Leninist line and leadership of the Party. They put forward their anti-Marxist platform, the aim of which was the revision of the political line of the Party in the spirit of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. This whole hostile affair had been hatched up by the revisionist forces and was guided by the Belgrade revisionists through the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana.

Misusing the internal democracy of the Party, the anti-party elements created a tense situation at the conference. The Central Committee assessed the situation as very serious and sent Comrade Enver Hoxha to the conference. He exposed the aims of the revisionists and put forward the resolute stand of the PLA for the preservation of the purity of its revolutionary policy and practice. The delegates to the conference fully supported this stand of the Party and condemned the attempts of the enemies to divert it from its Marxist-Leninist line. The revisionist plot failed.

cure them. This is an important task, and if we go to sleep over it then we have committed the gravest crime. We should be working for today, for next year and for the centuries to come. We have laid good solid foundations, on which we can rely to keep our Party pure in the future. Our responsibility on this question is great, therefore alien manifestations must be combated by all of us. Our Party does not follow the revisionist course.

Had we based ourselves on the principles of the revisionists, or those of the Tirana Conference, and increased salaries, things would have been different. But we did not see anything abnormal as regards salaries.<sup>3</sup> Our task, and that of party members is and should be, first of all, to make proper savings, to safeguard the wealth of the people, and especially people's consciousness. If we protect people's consciousness, we shall successfully overcome the difficulties we meet, we shall be able to fight them more successfully than up till now.

As to the disease of revisionism, we should not forget that in the Soviet Union the rot began at the top. We should bear in mind that the tendency to seek personal comfort, to want more than your fair share, the tendency that «I deserve more and before someone else» is not expressed among the working class and the revolutionary peasantry, but among the people of the administration and the intellectuals. Therefore, not only should the Party work very hard, with vigilance and justice, with the working class and be inspired by it, but it should work carefully especially with the office cadres, so to say, with those who run things, with all the intellectuals. I do not like the expression, which I have heard here and there, and does not seem right to me, when someone asks a coopera-

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**3** In the PSR of Albania differences between high and low rates of pay have been steadily reduced. Thus in 1976 the ratio was 1 to 2.

tive chairman: how many head of sheep does «your» cooperative own? Why the «your»? Say: how many head of sheep does «the» cooperative own? This is very important. What I mean is that if this seed falls on suitable soil, bad things may happen. Naturally, a great deal depends on the leadership of the cooperative. It is bad for the cooperative if it does not have a good chairman, but if only the chairman is good he cannot do anything on his own. Therefore the strength of the Party, of the collective, is everything, and any other viewpoint is wrong. We have chairmen of cooperatives who are swell-headed. Perhaps the cooperative chairmen take high salaries, and we must look at that particularly, and then there are also chairmen who never get mud on their shoes or have a pick or a shovel in their hands. In such a chairman, willy-nilly, the view of private property may be created, as though the cooperative is his and he is the *bayraktar*\*. If you say to the chairman that it is thanks to him that things are going well here, or that there is nobody like him, then the collective is underestimated, the chairman speaks arrogantly, becomes swell-headed, becomes despotic, thinks that he alone knows everything and that nobody can do better than he. If such a thing may happen once with someone from the working class, or twice with a poor peasant, with those of intellectual origin it is ten times more likely to happen.

That is why more extensive ideological work should be done with everybody in order to implant the feelings and general interests of the collective, which ennoble the individual. The collective works in close connection with and under the leadership of the Party, therefore everyone should march in step with the collective, nothing is outside the collective, and any sort of interest outside the collective should be eliminated, especially for intellectuals...

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\* Chief of the clan.

We should bear in mind that we have an enormous amount of work ahead of us in the agricultural cooperatives. We have many weaknesses and shortcomings in the basic organizations in the countryside. The question of why there are no admissions to the Party in this or that village should concern us. The comrades put it well, and it is correct that where there are no admissions, the party basic organization is like stagnant water breeding mosquitoes and disease. In the basic organizations where there are no admissions there cannot be a healthy spirit, a feeling of taking it easy is created, cliques come into being, and some people form the idea that they are competent, irreplaceable, and that there is no need for others. People who think like this are wrong.

Therefore, young people must always be coming into the basic organizations, in the enterprises, administration, the village and suburbs, since the youth bring into the Party their great willpower and energy, their pure love for and faith in the Party. The older party members must educate and temper the young communists for the future. It has taken over twenty years on the anvil of the Party to make us Marxists and enable us to work more or less well and without mistakes. So many years will not be needed for the youth; but the older communists should think of the morrow and prepare cadres.

The question of admissions to the Party is of great importance. This should not be done in a stereotyped manner and through campaigns. The principle of admissions to the Party, as defined in the Constitution must be respected, but even this is not sufficient, because not all the problems can be included in the Constitution. We would be making a mistake if, now, proceeding from what we have said, we were to go all out to have admissions to the Party from the countryside. We have to examine this question organization by organization. When we see that the

basic organization of a cooperative is militant, there is criticism and self-criticism, young and old are in the forefront of the struggle, and there is nothing unhealthy there, why should we rush to admit young people to the Party, with and without criterion, simply because we have a directive? If we have such a basic organization, it should create a group of non-party activists, from whom new elements can be admitted to the Party at any moment. Whereas in another basic organization, where no admissions to the Party have been made for a long time, the basic organization should make the effort to work with the best people, with the most revolutionary cooperativists, in order to admit new elements to the Party, and, you might say, «stir up the stagnant water there». It is not the secretary of the organization, who has grown accustomed to this situation, who will do this, but the members of the Party and with the vigorous work of the party committee, with the aim of bringing new people into the organization, thus creating a healthy Marxist-Leninist spirit.

So, if two or three new party members are needed in a basic organization of village, let them be brought in. Or in some other village where the peasants turn out to be very conservative towards women, work should be done in the basic organization of this village to admit young women to the Party, to shake the communists and the whole village free of their conservatism towards women. In another village where the question of women is advanced we need not do such a thing in particular.

Therefore to carry out sound party work for today and for the future, we should study and analyse every directive «bit by bit», examine it in all its aspects, then set about the work in an organized manner.

In this way we shall always have a true Marxist-Leninist party just as we, ourselves, and the people want it to be,

which will cope successfully, as up to now, with these situations we are living through for the construction of socialism in the conditions of our struggle against imperialism and revisionism. Much depends on the work the whole Party carries out wherever it works, much depends on the methods for the improvement of the activity of the party workers, party committees, but much depends also on the organization of their work by the state organs...

We say and will go on saying that the basic organization should be militant. But there are hundreds of problems like these we have mentioned which should be brought up in the basic organizations, where such things should be criticized severely because they obstruct the work, and we should not occupy ourselves with trifles. It is not a case of come along, we are going to criticize you because we saw you drinking three glasses of raki today, or because you spoke angrily to your wife, etc. This may be done, but not just this. The trade union organization should not concern itself with why someone has not taken his wife to the cinema. This is not the main thing the basic organization should concern itself with, but it should take up the problem over which the Party is most worried, while as to him who did not take his wife to the cinema, which has made an impression on you, you could go on a comradely visit to his house and invite him and his wife to go with you to the cinema.

Therefore the most important problems should be raised in the basic organization and then we shall see how it will become militant, how decisions will be taken, since there are all sorts of forms. The party leadership in the enterprises, factories, etc., is not bad, on the contrary, it is very good. The Party takes part directly in the management of factories, because the plan which comes there is discussed with the party members and with the workers, and the Party, for its part, mobilizes the masses

to carry it out. Therefore, to make everything go as it should, the basic organization should mobilize the people, educate them, combat their shortcomings, and it must become consistently militant. Not only the secretary of the basic organization, but the party committee and the secretaries of party committees should take a great interest in this problem. They should be experts. First of all, the secretary of the party committee who is in charge of the industry should be an expert, so that when he goes to a factory, he can say to the party comrades of the textile mill, for instance, that they have worked very badly, because the twill has come out so and so, can stress that they must be more careful, more conscientious, that is, he can speak in such a manner as to mobilize the people and not simply jot down figures. Therefore, comrades, efforts must be made in these directions.

Then the question of letters, both in the Party and the state, is a great problem. Every day I receive many letters, let alone the other secretaries of the Central Committee. These letters are very important. One hour each day I devote to reading the letters I receive. All of us understand their importance, but the reason that all these letters come to us is that the people of the Party and the state, in ministries or enterprises, are not doing their job properly. There are letters with unfounded complaints, but there are also things which should be set right and are, in fact, put right when the letter addressed to us is sent by us to the base. But why are things put right after the matter comes to us? These people have gone to the base, first of all, but have not found the solution to the problem. This should make us think.

There are too many people in the ministries, and they should be reduced. Just one fact: thousands of letters have come in and gone out of 17 central government departmental offices in a matter of 9 months, especially in the Minis-

try of Agriculture and that of Industry. Why so many letters and so much red tape? We have to take into account the time spent by those who write all these memos. Three-quarters of these letters have to be dealt with by the Party and the state. Imagine how many people are needed to read these letters, to write the necessary notes for us, and finally to reply to the people concerned. Three-quarters of these letters should be avoided, therefore let us take measures to fight the bureaucracy which obstructs the activity and creativity of the working people. The bureaucracy of paper work must be combated. If we have fewer people in the apparatus, the work will go better. We must make improvements in this direction.

I believe that this plenum will be very helpful. We must put the work on a better course, this is indispensable, necessary for our Homeland and for the victory of our Marxist-Leninist cause in general.

## **THE MODERN REVISIONISTS ON THE WAY TO DEGENERATING INTO SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND TO FUSING WITH SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY**

*Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»*

**April 7, 1964**

Every passing day brings to light new facts which show that the modern revisionists, the Khrushchev group and its followers, have utterly betrayed and have turned into enemies of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, of socialism and the revolutionary and liberation movement of the working class and the enslaved peoples, 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 the peoples and socialism. All their struggle is spearheaded against Marxism-Leninism, against all the 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 demagogy from start to finish.

In order to carry through their anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary course, they are 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 Khrushchev and his group succeeded, through putsches and plots, in 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 while, on the other hand, they rehabilitated the renegade Tito clique and united with it 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 their efforts to find other allies, too. And who could these be? It is quite natural for them to turn to, and they could not fail to turn to their «brothers» in treachery — the right-wing social-democrat leaders, for present-day revisionism and social-democracy 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 unites them with the social-democrats and creates the premises for their complete fusion not only ideologically and politically, but also organizationally. Therefore, it is completely natural and logical that the attempts of the revisionists to cause the degeneration of the communist parties they lead into social-democratic parties, and their tendency to fully fuse with social-democracy, are becoming ever more clear today.

The trend to rapprochement and unity with social-democracy, like the whole treacherous line of the modern revisionists, has its beginnings in the 20th Congress of the CPSU. This trend was re-emphasized at the 21st

and 22nd Congresses and was sanctioned in the new program of the CPSU. Speaking of this course of rapprochement and unity with social-democracy at the 22nd Congress, Khrushchev said: «This is not a temporary tactical slogan but the general line of the communist movement dictated by the basic interests of the working class.» Khrushchev has also said: «If we are to speak of the role and position of the non-communist parties, we should stress, first of 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 also indispensable» (Khrushchev's reply to John Waters, editor of the Australian newspaper «Herald», published in «Pravda». June 25, 1958).

The course of rapprochement and unity with the social-democrats began to be put into effect immediately after the 20th Congress. The CC of the CPSU sent letters to the social-democratic parties of Western Europe, calling for unity. Beginning from 1956, the Soviet Union has been visited by many social-democratic leaders and by whole delegations of social-democratic parties that had meetings and held talks with the Khrushchev group.

The campaign for unity with the social-democrats has been greatly stepped up, especially in recent times. Evidence of this can be seen 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 British Labour Party, and Guy Mollet, Secretary-General of the French Socialist Party, who conducted talks with 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 which included all the problems of theory and doctrine of a permanent character and which characterize the relations be-

tween social-democratic and communist parties.» While, in an interview granted to the newspaper «Unità» (February 22, 1964), Guy Mollet stated: «The talks which the delegation of SFIO conducted with the leaders of the CPSU, and in particular with Nikita Khrushchev, gave us sure satisfaction on many points.»

Under the dictate of the «conductor's baton», the leaderships of communist and workers' parties in certain other countries are also following the line of amalgamation with present-day social-democracy. This is evident in many of their acts, in various articles and statements, in the columns of the Khrushchevite review «Problems of Peace and Socialism», in the «Document of the CC of the Italian CP for the National Conference on Organization» published in the newspaper «Unità», January 9, 1964, in the draft-resolution for the 17th Congress of the French CP 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 anything that might prejudice this union, be it in the field of ideology or in that of organization.

The attempts of the modern revisionists for rapprochement and unity with the social-democrats are a logical consequence of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, 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 are trying to justify their rapprochement and unity with the imperialists and reactionaries in the name of «peaceful coexistence» and of «saving the world from a nuclear war of extermination», their ap-

proach to and union with the Tito clique, in the name of «socialism», with the Pope in Rome, in the name of «humanity», with the social-democrats, in the name of «unity of the working class».

#### THE MODERN REVISIONISTS ARE FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF TREACHEROUS SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The modern revisionists try to justify their rapprochement and unity 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 favour of peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament, that they have modified their attitude towards the USSR in a positive direction, that they have expressed themselves in favour of some kind of approach to the communists, that they have expressed some sort of willingness to fulfil the demands of the working class, to preserve and strengthen democratic institutions, have stated that they are in favour of the socialist transformation of society, and so forth. Thus, in order to justify their course 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. Khrushchev's traitor group and those who follow them have used precisely this manoeuvre to justify their rapprochement and complete union with the Titoite clique, pretending that the Yugoslav leaders have allegedly corrected many of their errors and have adopted «Marxist-Leninist» positions. In the same way, in order to justify their treacherous course of reconciliation and rapprochement with imperialism, American imperialism in particular, they have spread and con-

tinue to spread the illusion that the leaders of imperialism have now become «wise», «realistic», «peace-loving», «reasonable», and what not.

But facts prove that the present social-democratic leaders have changed as little in their nature and in their attitude as the Titoite clique and imperialism. If we may speak of any kind of change of views and stands of the social-democratic leaders, the only change apparent is their ever growing inclination to the right.

#### WHAT DOES PRESENT-DAY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY REPRESENT?

Present-day social-democracy is a direct successor to the traitorous 2nd International. It has inherited all the ideological, organizational and tactical baggage of the parties of the 2nd International. The social-democrats began their betrayal with their deviation from the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which they proclaimed as outdated and unsuitable, by renouncing the class struggle and replacing it with the «theory» of class harmony and class conciliation, by negating the revolution and replacing it with reforms within the capitalist order, by abandoning the revolutionary road and replacing it with the «peaceful», «democratic», parliamentary road, by denying the indispensable need to smash the old bourgeois state apparatus and accepting the capitalist state as a means of transition to socialism, by negating the dictatorship of the proletariat and replacing it with «pure, universal democracy», by deviating from proletarian internationalism, and going so far as to slide completely into the positions of national chauvinism, to open unity with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Unmasking the betrayal of the old social-democrats Lenin wrote in his book «What Is to Be Done?»:

*«Social-democracy must change from a party of social revolution into a democratic party of social reforms. Bernstein has surrounded this political demand with a whole battery of well-attuned 'new' arguments and reasonings. Denied was the possibility of putting socialism on a scientific basis and of demonstrating its necessity and inevitability from the point of view of the materialist conception of history. Denied was the fact of growing impoverishment, the process of proletarianization, and the intensification of capitalist contradictions; the very concept, «ultimate aim», was declared to be unsound, and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was completely rejected. Denied was the antithesis in principle between liberalism and socialism. Denied was the theory of the class struggle, on the alleged grounds that it could not be applied to a strictly democratic society governed according to the will of the majority, etc.»\**

By embarking on this road, social-democracy turned into a loyal supporter of the capitalist order, into a servant of the bourgeoisie, into the most important ideological and political support of bourgeois policy within the workers' movement. It has aided the bourgeoisie to oppress and exploit the workers of its own country and the peoples of other countries, to suppress their revolutionary and liberation movement.

*«It has been shown in practice,»* says V.I. Lenin, *«that working-class activists who follow the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeois themselves. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power.»\*\**

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 5, pp. 414-415 (Alb. ed.).

\*\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 254 (Alb. ed.).

But present-day social-democracy has gone even further in its betrayal when compared with the time of the 2nd International. In the present era it is characterized by an ever greater leaning to the right.

Beginning from 1955, the social-democratic parties in West Europe, like the British Labour Party, the social-democratic parties in France, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, West Germany and in the Scandinavian countries have changed their programs, or have been engaged in elaborating new programmatic stands. What characterizes these programs and new programmatic stands? They are characterized by the eclectic blending of old opportunist theories with the «modern» bourgeois theories, by their final renunciation of all the principles and ideals of socialism, by their open support for the capitalist order of exploitation and by their frenzied anti-communism.

If the former reformists avowed, even in words alone, that the establishment of socialism was their ultimate goal, the present-day social-democrats have openly rejected this aim. They preach that they are in favour of the so-called «democratic socialism», which has nothing in common with genuine scientific socialism. It is its negation, its replacement with some bourgeois liberal reforms which do not threaten the foundations of capitalist society in any way. Of what socialism can we speak when many of the social-democratic programs have discarded the elementary demand of socialism for the abolition of private ownership of the means of production?

Following the well-known statement of the socialist International on «The Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism» (1951), the new programs direct the working class not against capitalism but against «uncontrolled» capitalism. The nationalization of some enterprises by the bourgeois state, the establishment of state monopoly capital-

ism, the intervention of the capitalist state in the economic life of the country, the implementation of some bourgeois-democratic reforms in the new programs and statements of the social-democrats — all these are regarded as facts which show that the foundations of socialism have allegedly been laid in certain capitalist countries. At the same time, they deny the socialist character of transformations in the socialist countries. In this way, directly or indirectly, they repeat the bourgeois theories in vogue on «people's capitalism», «controlled capitalism», «organized capitalism», «democratic capitalism», and so on.

The bourgeois reactionary press has more than once hailed this departure of the social-democrats from the principles of socialism and their defence of capitalism. In a leading article under the title «The Burial of Marxism», the newspaper «Washington Post and Times Herald» wrote: «Eighty-four years after its establishment at the historic Congress at Gotha, the German Social-Democratic Party at its Congress at Bad-Godesberg renounced Marxist ideology and, in fact, ceased to be socialist in the true sense of that word. It reconciled itself to the principle of 'free individual enterprise, wherever that is possible' in economic life.»

The new programs of the social-democratic parties have left out all mention of contradictions, antagonism and class struggle, have wiped out the dividing lines 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 the maximum number of individuals raise their social conscience and express their willingness to share responsibility. The social-democrats uphold the solidarity and harmony of all mankind.» in

the attainment of their «supra-class» objective — «democratic socialism».

Since «democratic socialism» does not encroach upon the bases of the capitalist order in any way, but is a sort of «reformed» capitalism, it naturally follows that there is no need for any kind of socialist revolution. «Democratic socialism», according to them, will come about through «spontaneous economic evolution», through limitation of the prerogatives and power of monopoly combines and through the aid of the capitalist state itself. Nevertheless, in order to attain this ideal, it is necessary that the social-democrats come to power, and the only way to achieve this is through electoral campaigns to win the majority of votes in the bourgeois parliament. Eulogizing the declaration of the socialist International on «The Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism», one of its leaders, Braunthal, has said that this declaration «puts an end to the discussion of the dictatorship of the proletariat», «rules out the revolutionary class struggle as a method to achieve socialism», and «rejects adherence to any socialist theory».

The social-democratic parties have severed any connection with Marxism-Leninism, with the theory of scientific socialism and with the materialist world outlook. The program of the Austrian Socialist Party has it: «Socialism is an international movement which does not at all demand an obligatory identity of views. Regardless of from what source the socialists draw their views, 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 Bad-Godesberg, its former chairman E. Ollenhauer said that «the demand to make the political program of K. Marx and F. Engels the substance of the social-democratic program for 1959 is so anti-Marxist that it is unimaginable.» and he added. «We cannot be understood if we

speak in the language of the past, we cannot solve problems of today with our old concepts.»

Social-democracy has not only long ago slipped into positions of philosophical idealism and today it not only defends idealism, but is also trying to find support in and even fuse entirely with its most extreme form — religion. Thus, for instance, the programs of German, Austrian, Swiss and other social-democratic parties maintain that «democratic socialism» has its roots in the Christian ethic and doctrine, that socialism and religion, far from being mutually exclusive, 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. Kautsky, said: «We wanted to draw up a program, which could be fully endorsed by both Marxists and non-Marxists, by both atheists and socialist believers.» A similar attempt to reconcile Christianity with socialism, the religious idealist world outlook with the scientific materialist world outlook, is made also in the interview given to the correspondent of the Italian newspaper «Unità» by Guy Mollet, which was published in that paper on February 22 of this year.

Such, in general, are the ideological views of present-day social-democracy. What must be stressed here is that its programs, as a rule, are more leftist than its 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 and when they are at the head of bourgeois governments, or take part in them, the chiefs of social-democracy serve to preserve and strengthen the bourgeois order with all their views and acts. All the socialist demagogy of present-day social-democracy has been refuted by life itself. Socialists have more than once been at the head of bourgeois governments both in Britain, France and elsewhere. To this day they are at the head

of or take part in the governments of many capitalist countries. And what have they done for the workers; for socialism? They have done nothing but follow the instruction of Leon Blum that, being in power, the socialists must be «loyal directors of capitalist society».

Let us dwell 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 present as a left-wing element and hold cordial talks with him. When at the head of the government, the French socialists set the dogs on striking workers, incited the outbreak of the dirty war in Indochina, undertook police repression against the peoples of other colonies, carried on the fighting against the Algerian people with more ferocity, approved the North Atlantic Treaty and the rearming of West Germany. Guy Mollet's government signed the agreement for the «European Common Market» and «Euratom» and was one of the organizers of the military aggression against Egypt; Guy Mollet's betrayal paved the way for personal rule in France, and so on and so forth. Speaking of Guy Mollet's government activity, even the Labourite weekly «Tribune» wrote at the beginning of 1957 that «Mollet is a disgrace both to France and to socialism».

Such is the real traitor face of social-democracy today. It is not for nothing that many representatives of the bourgeoisie have stressed the great role of the social-democratic parties in suppressing the revolutionary movement of workers and in defending the capitalist order, and have sung their praises. For instance, T. Junilla, director of a capitalist bank in Finland, has declared: «In the struggle to win over industrial workers spiritually only the social-democrats can serve as a powerful force against the communists. If social-democracy loses this battle, it may very well be the end of democracy in Finland. This is why I,

a conservative bourgeois, feel obliged to state that we need a united, militant social-democratic party which firmly upholds northern democracy.» The British bourgeois newspaper «Financial Times» wrote in the same vein on June 28, 1963: «...the industrialists are less afraid of the Labourites, and some of them are of the opinion that a Labour government will open up better prospects for development than the Tories.»

Precisely because the social-democrats are agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement the Marxist-Leninists have always been clear that without a determined struggle to unmask and smash social-democracy ideologically and politically, the working class cannot wage its struggle successfully and carry it on to victory.

*«The fact is,» V. I. Lenin wrote, «that 'bourgeois labour parties', as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in all the foremost capitalist countries, and that unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties — or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same — there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a socialist labour movement.»\**

J. V. Stalin, too, as a revolutionary and consistent Marxist, stressed:

*«Present-day Social-Democracy is an ideological support of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present-day Social-Democratic politicians are 'real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class', that in the 'civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie' they would inevitably*

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 23, p. 138 (Alb. ed.).

*range themselves on the side of the 'Versaillese' against the 'Communards'.*

*«It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to Social-Democracy in the labour movement. That is why the era of dying capitalism is also the era of dying Social-Democracy in the labour movement.»\**

The 1960 Moscow Declaration, too, stressing the fact that «the right-wing leaders of social-democracy have gone over completely to the positions of imperialism, uphold the capitalist system, split the working class» and are «enemies of communism», called upon the communists to continue the struggle to expose them.

But the modern revisionists, headed by the Khrushchev group, as renegades from and enemies to Marxism, act in complete opposition to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, to the instructions of the Moscow Declaration: they pursue the line of unity and amalgamation with the right-wing leaders of social-democracy. And this is not accidental: present-day social-democracy and the modern revisionists have many things in common which link them together, they proceed in the same direction or towards a common counter-revolutionary objective.

*THE 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 socialism in the past, so the modern revisionists have betrayed these ideals and are pursuing the same road as their predecessors who are at the same time their

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\* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 242 (Alb. ed.).

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 «the problems of today cannot be solved with the old concepts». Following in their footsteps, the revisionists, too, misrepresent the new conditions and phenomena, and under the guise of fighting «dogmatism» and upholding «the creative development of Marxism», claim that today many things should be looked at with a critical eye, that what was right 30 years ago cannot be right today, that atomic weapons and the danger of a thermo-nuclear war make it indispensable to revise our views and stands on many questions of strategy and tactics, that he who adheres to 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 works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in order to analyse and explain the present historical process is afflicted with «quotation-mania», and so on and so forth. Hence, for the revisionists, too, Marxism-Leninism is outdated, is no longer appropriate in the new conditions and must be «enriched» with new ideas and new conclusions. Just like all the opportunists and reformists, old and new, 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 to be used against the bourgeoisie 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 force of present-day society, say the social-democrats. The revisionists, too, have erased the class struggle from their books, and in fact have replaced it with the idea of class conciliation 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 thermo-nuclear war», and instead of the class struggle they preach «peaceful coexistence» as the only means to solve all the vital problems facing human society. «Peace at any price and on any condition, 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 class enemies, with the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries and their agents and lackeys — the right-wing social-democratic leaders and the Titoite clique, while, on the other hand, they fight furiously against all those who remain loyal to the interests of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist ideology — the communist parties and all the revolutionary communists.

The social-democrats long ago rejected the revolution and preach that socialism will come about through reforms within the framework of the bourgeois order, democracy and legality. Following in their footsteps, the revisionists, too, have abandoned the revolutionary road, saying that the road to socialism is the road to an ever broader democracy, the road of respecting and implementing bourgeois constitutions, the road of «structural reforms». 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. Exhuming the theories of Kautsky and Bernstein, they express themselves in favour of the «peaceful», «parliamentary» road which they present as a strategic principle world-wide and have concentrated all their 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, which expresses and defends the inter-

ests 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 state, and so on and so forth. The revisionists also spread illusions that the capitalist state can change its class nature, that it can become a state that will express not only the interests of the bourgeoisie but also those of the proletariat and the labouring masses; they say that Lenin's thesis on the indispensability of smashing the bourgeois state apparatus must be modified, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an outdated idea, or, at most, suitable only for backward countries, that it may not only have various forms but can also assume quite a different content. Both the social-democrats and the revisionists slander the dictatorship of the proletariat and describe the entire period of its rule as a period of mass terror and despotism, as a period of brutal violation of socialist legality and democracy, and so on and so forth.

In their practical political activity, too, the modern revisionists are proceeding in the footsteps of the traitorous leaders of social-democracy. In fact, they have united with the enemies of socialism and the peoples — with the imperialists, especially the US imperialists, and with the reactionaries of various countries. For the sake of rapprochement with imperialism, for the sake of achieving Soviet-American collaboration, which is the highest aspiration and ideal of Khrushchev and his group, 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 imperialism. Evidence of this can be seen in such activities of the revisionists, headed by the Khrushchev group, as their adventurous and capitulationist attitude in the Caribbean crisis, in their

pressure exerted on Cuba to capitulate to American imperialism, sacrificing its dignity and its sovereignty, in their unity with the Indian reactionaries against the PR of China, with the Titoite clique and with Venizelos against the PR of Albania, in the infamous Moscow Treaty for a partial ban on nuclear tests, which is a major betrayal of the interests of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and peace and in favour of American imperialism, as well as in many other facts.

Anti-communism pervades the entire ideology and practical activity of modern social-democracy: it slanders the socialist countries and communist parties, splits the workers' movement, opposes scientific socialism with «democratic socialism», which is nothing but reformed capitalism; tries its utmost to preserve the capitalist order where it prevails and to re-establish it where it has been overthrown. The modern revisionists also carry on anti-socialist and anti-communist activities on a wide scale. The Khrushchev group and its revisionist followers have split the socialist camp and the international communist movement and are pressing on towards making the socialist countries degenerate into «docile bourgeois republics», and the communist and workers' parties from parties of social revolution into «parties of social reforms». 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 their economy with a view to changing its forms of management after the pattern of Titoite Yugoslavia, violating the Marxist principles of the construction and management of the socialist economy, they denigrate the experience of many years of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and in other socialist coun-

tries, and call on all to learn from the experience of the capitalist countries, especially from the American experience. They express themselves in favour of all-round collaboration with the capitalist countries, going as far as to hold out 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 to and enemies of socialism, living and dead. They have flung open the doors of the socialist countries to the unhindered penetration of bourgeois ideology, of all kinds of alien anti-socialist trends and manifestations in art, literature and the whole life of the country, in the name of «freedom of thought» and of an abstract «humanism» that overrides classes. This «liberal» and «humane» socialism of the modern revisionists is getting closer and closer to the so-called «democratic socialism», which the leaders of present-day social-democracy preach.

Thus, all the facts show clearly that the modern revisionists are following in the footsteps of treacherous social-democracy. This is very clear to the socialist leaders who have openly expressed their approval, their joy and hopes regarding the traitorous course followed by the Khrushchev group and its 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: «Khrushchev is trying an experiment of peaceful coexistence and the West should not make this experiment more difficult for him. It would be a terrible and inexcusable mistake to discourage him. At this moment the future line of demarcation will no longer be between communists and non-communists, between the colonized and colonizers, between ideologies and races. We are witnesses of the struggle between those who wait the opportune time and inhuman doctrinarians,

on the one hand, and those who have had faith in progress and have never ceased to hope, on the other. We must not let this great occasion slip from our hands»

In his interview of February 24, 1964, the leader of the British 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 Russia, reported to W. Churchill, who was prime minister at that time, that «a great change is taking place in Soviet policy» and that «this is of major importance as regards relations between East and West». He has every right to be proud of his long-term predictions which, today, have become reality.

Before going to Moscow with the socialist delegation to talk with Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders, Gérard Jacquet, director of the newspaper of the French Socialist Party, stated: «We have long given up engaging in polemics with the Soviet Union and accept that this country is in the full phase of evolution... The problems raised are those of democracy and the democratic guarantee of the single party, the role of the socialist party in socialist society, the nature of the socialist regime and its structure. The stand taken by the CPSU in the differences between Moscow and Peking provides a positive clarification of the attitude of this party towards dogmatism and political sectarianism.»

After his return to Paris from the talks with Khrushchev, the General Secretary of the French Socialist Party Guy Mollet, stated that he had been convinced that «a positive evolution is taking place in the Soviet Union», and in his words, it was summed up in these points: «the recognition of many roads to the construction of socialism», «the end of the dictatorship of the proletariat», «internal evolution», and so on. Whereas in an interview given to the newspaper «Unità» (February 22, 1964), Guy Mollet declared: «I am convinced that the communist world is on the road to transformation.»

These statements of leaders of social-democracy are at one with the statements made by leaders of imperialism and their spokesmen who also express their support for Khrushchev's revisionist course 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 leading officials in the State Department in the USA are of the opinion that «the United States should make Khrushchev's task easier to a certain extent», etc., etc.

#### TOWARDS A COMPLETE AMALGAMATION OF THE MODERN REVISIONISTS WITH THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

The falling of the modern revisionists into the ideological positions of the social-democrats on the major issues constitutes the basis for the complete amalgamation of revisionists with the social-democrats. By pursuing this course and recommending it to the communist and workers' parties of different countries, the modern revisionists, headed by the Khrushchev group, aim to cause the degeneration of the communist parties into reformist parties of the social-democratic type, to strengthen the influence of bourgeois ideology and reformist illusions among the working masses, to weaken the revolutionary fighting spirit of the working class movement and alienate it from the only correct course 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 demagogic slogans and cloak it with all kinds of justifications. They even try to justify

their anti-Marxist action of amalgamation with social-democracy 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 capital. Let us dwell briefly on this.

*WORKERS' PARTIES OR «BOURGEOIS PARTIES OF THE WORKING CLASS»?*

Are the social-democratic parties truly parties of the working class?

To judge whether a party is a party of the working class one cannot proceed from the name it attaches to itself. Even Hitler's party called itself «national-socialist»! The only correct criterion is whether or not it defends and expresses the interests of the working class, whether or not it fights for the cause of the working class. 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.

*«Put not trust in catch-cries,» V. I. Lenin teaches us, «but rather see who benefits from this!»\**

And if we examine the question from this standpoint, the class standpoint, which is the only correct, Marxist-Leninist criterion, then it becomes clear to every true communist that the social-democratic parties are not working class parties, but are, as Lenin has dubbed them, «bourgeois parties of the working class». We showed above with numerous facts, that from both the ideological and the political viewpoints and in all its activity social-democracy today is nothing but, as Lenin describes it, a «political detachment of the bour-

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 19, p. 37 (Alb. ed.).

geoisie», a «promoter of its influence», a «true agency of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement».

Even from the point of view of their social composition the social-democratic parties have undergone and are undergoing obvious changes. The number of workers in their ranks is steadily diminishing and the elements of the petty bourgeoisie and the workers' bureaucracy are increasing. The present-day reformists have themselves launched the slogan of the «deproletarianization» of the social-democratic parties. And this has been expressed in the new programs of many social-democratic parties. Thus, the program of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, for example, says: «At first socialism was the cause solely of the working class which was exploited by capitalism... Now socialism has become the concern of all mankind. It affects every person with a sense of responsibility for the well-being of society.»

So much for the rank-and-file, the masses of the social-democratic parties, whereas as far as the leading cadres are concerned, the higher up you go in the hierarchy of the social-democratic parties, the fewer workers you find in them. In fact many social-democratic leaders have long ago turned into real capitalists: many of them take part in the administrative councils of the biggest banks and own solid portfolios of shares, drawing millions upon millions in income each year. Thus, according to recent figures, 410 principal functionaries of the German Social-Democratic Party, for example, occupied 929 highly paid posts in the major banks and corporations of West Germany, 62 prominent social-democrats were directors of firms of Mannesman, Kleckner, Krupp, Flick and others. The same situation prevails in the other social-democratic parties of the West, as in France, Britain, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, etc.

This is the kind of «working 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 «workers' party» not only on themselves, not only on the social-democrats, but also on some bourgeois conservative party if such a thing is dictated by their anti-Marxist, anti-revolutionary plan of action.

Thus it is obvious that the argument of the modern revisionists, alleging that the social-democratic parties are parties of the working class, is utterly false. Hence their slogan about «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 of 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:

a) that unity of action can be attained only in struggle with splitters, therefore they wage a relentless and persistent struggle of principle against the splitters — the treacherous social-democratic leaders;

b) that all their efforts must be concentrated on the achievement of unity of workers' action at the base with the worker masses of the socialist parties, that the watchword of the Marxist-Leninists for unity of the working class can and must be reliance on the rank and file, alliance with the leftists, uncompromising struggle against the traitors and splitters, the right-wing leaders, in order to expose and isolate them:

c) that, while seeking unity of action with the socialists, the communist parties should consider this not collaboration between two political parties of the working class, but collaboration between a proletarian and a non-proletarian party in order to achieve certain specified objectives. In connection with this, it is essential to always keep in mind and strictly observe the teachings of Lenin, who more than once stressed with force that it is essential that, when concluding an alliance or agreement with other movements on this or that question or objective, the revolutionary party of the working class must maintain its political independence at every moment and in every situation, and clearly differentiate itself ideologically and politically from all other classes and parties so that it does not lose sight for one moment of the fundamental interests of the working class and its fight to achieve its final objective — the triumph of socialism and communism.

Any deviation from these Marxist-Leninist positions brings as a consequence the deviation of the working class from the revolutionary road and its fall into the mire of opportunism. Such is the stand of the Marxist-Leninists on the question of the unity of the workers' movement.

But what stand do the modern revisionists maintain in connection with this? Not only have they given up the struggle against the splitters of the workers' movement — the right-wing leaders of social-democracy but, what is more, they advocate unity «at any price» and «on any condition» with these splitters and traitors. Indeed the revisionists rise against all those who struggle against the right-wing leaders of social-democracy and who expose their betrayal, and describe this struggle as a «sectarian» and «dogmatic» stand, «abuse», «insults», «harmful attacks», and so on.

But everybody knows that social-democratic leaders like Spaak, Guy Mollet and others, with whom Khrushchev and his followers conduct «cordial talks» and try to

achieve unity «on any condition», are lackeys and agents of the bourgeoisie, who have been and still are at the head of bourgeois governments in many capitalist countries. Therefore unity with these traitors is by no means unity of the workers' movement, but an attempt at «unity» of the working class with the bourgeoisie, for subjection of the working class to the bourgeoisie, unity and collaboration v/ith the reactionary, allegedly «socialist», bourgeois governments.

Formerly, when they had not yet revealed their treacherous features so openly, the modern revisionists used to claim they were opposed to the right-wing leaders of social-democracy, that no unity was possible with them, and so on, and they even said a word or two against them. None other than Khrushchev said at the 21st Congress of the CPSU that the cause of unity of the working class was hindered by «imperialist reaction and its 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 the unity of action of the working class.» Whereas now it is the same Khrushchev who is holding «cordial talks» with such anti-communist leaders as Guy Mollet, Spaak, H. Wilson and their ilk and begging them for collaboration in order to achieve the «unity of the working class»! One of two things must have happened: either Guy Mollet, Spaak and company have ceased to be anti-communists or Khrushchev himself has ceased to be a communist and made common cause with the leaders of anti-communism, the lackeys of imperialist reaction. So far there is no sign to prove the former, while all the facts point to the latter.

Regardless of the demagogic slogans they employ to deceive the masses, the modern revisionists in fact are not only in favour of «unity at all costs» with the social-demo-

crats, including their traitorous leaders, but have gone even further, expressing themselves for unity and collaboration with them «on any basis». Thus, an article in the magazine «Kommunist» of the CPSU, issue 3, 1960, says: «Unity of action with the reformists, even the most inveterate ones, on this or that issue, is always possible, provided they are really trying to achieve some sort of reforms, however minor, for the benefit of the working class and the toilers.» Whereas the leaders of the French Communist Party, on the basis of a resolution of the plenum of the Central Committee of September 27-28, 1961, regarding collaboration with the socialist and other parties, have stated: «For our part, we are ready to collaborate *on any basis.*»\*

Thus, speculating on the slogan of «unity», the revisionists sacrifice the principles, erase the distinction between communists and social-democrats, trample upon and sacrifice the fundamental interests of the working class. This is a sham unity, a unity in favour of the bourgeoisie and its agency in the workers' movement the aim of which is to subjugate the workers' movement completely to bourgeois and reformist influence, to liquidate the revolutionary spirit and the revolutionary party of the working class. This is a major betrayal of the cause of the working class and of socialism.

An important conclusion can be drawn from all this: the genuine unity of the workers' movement on a sound basis can and will be achieved in stern struggle not only with the right-wing leaders of social-democracy but also with the modern revisionists, against their dangerous attempts to subject the workers' movement completely to the poisonous, counter-revolutionary influence of social-democracy and its treacherous right-wing leaders.

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\* Taken from the magazine «Kommunist», issue 3, p. 95, 1962.

THE LIQUIDATION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES — THE GOAL  
OF THE MODERN REVISIONISTS

The facts prove that the hue and cry the modern revisionists are raising about «unity» of the workers' movement is nothing but a bluff, a demagogic manoeuvre to cover up their tracks. Whereas their true objective is to cause the degeneration of the communist parties into parties of the social-democratic type, to unite with the social-democrats «on any condition» and «on any basis» and, finally, to liquidate the communist parties, to amalgamate them completely with the social-democratic parties.

The social-democratic leaders, who cannot fail to see these attempts and intentions of the revisionists and agree with them, have defined their stand and their tactics towards them. Like the American imperialists and the Titoite clique, the social-democratic leaders pursue a two-pronged tactic towards the revisionists:

On the one hand, they eulogize their revisionist course, give them support and encourage them as allies in their betrayal, incite them against Marxism-Leninism and all those who stand loyal to it. To keep ahead of the revisionists and to mislead the masses, certain social-democratic leaders, especially of late, have begun to speak in terms similar to those of the revisionists and to make statements in favour of peace, peaceful coexistence and disarmament, and moreover, have somewhat changed their attitude towards the Soviet Union and towards the communists in their own countries, and so on. This, of course, has nothing to do with any real, basic change of the position of the social-democrats, but is merely a change in their attitude *towards the revisionists* for the above reasons. It is exactly this kind of «change» that the revisionists try, in a demagogic way, to present as «an inclination to the left»

of the social-democrats, in order to justify their own move to the right, to justify their own line of rapprochement and collaboration with them.

On the other hand, the social-democratic leaders maintain a «stern» and «haughty» attitude towards the servile requests and appeals of the revisionists for rapprochement and collaboration, put pressure on them and demand new, ever greater concessions. And what do the social-democrats demand?

In the ideological field, they demand that the revisionists finally renounce the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role 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 sharing of power among them in the socialist countries, changes in the electoral system to allow the inclusion of anti-socialist elements in the lists of candidates, etc. In other words, they demand the «liberalization» of the socialist regime and its transformation into an ordinary bourgeois democracy.

In the economic field, they demand the abandonment of the cooperative system in the countryside, of the «old forms» of organization and management of the economy, in order to proceed towards rapprochement and «extensive and all-round collaboration» of the socialist countries with the capitalist countries, and so on.

In the field of international relations, they demand new and bigger concessions towards imperialism 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 for the establishment of peace in Europe.

Such are the demands put forward, for instance, by

Spaak, Guy Mollet and other social-democratic leaders. These demands are identical with 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 the facts are proving ever more clearly as the days go by that their hopes are not misplaced. In fact, having gone a long way in the social-democratic degeneration of the communist parties they head, the revisionists are now attempting to make the next move — that of complete fusion with the social-democratic parties.

At the head of these efforts stand the revisionist «trojka» — the Khrushchev group, the Tito clique and the revisionist leadership of the Italian Communist Party headed by Togliatti. The clearest example of how to proceed along this treacherous road is that of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party. Togliatti and other revisionist leaders have imposed on the Italian Communist Party a line which is opportunist and reformist from start to finish, 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, Togliatti and other revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party have long been loudly trumpeting the necessity of changing the «character, functions and organizational structure» of their party, allegedly to adapt it to deal with the great political problems it is faced with, and the «transformations that have taken and

are taking place in the economic, social and political structure of the country», «with the problems of the struggle for socialism in the advanced capitalist countries», etc., etc.

Just in what direction these changes will be made and what their objective is, is made clear by the «Document of the CC of the Italian CP for the National Conference on Organization», published in the newspaper «Unità» dated January 9, 1964. This document says: «The essential exigency is that a system of new contacts and connections among all forces which accept a socialist policy and future must be sought for and applied», with the prospect that «the division which exists among the various organizations of the working class will be organically overcome while laying the basis for a single organization». Indeed, it says that in the light of the struggle against the monopolist development of the country and in order to set it on the road of socialist development, we should look into the «problem of the relation and dialogue with the democratic catholic political movement, which is the other major force, the support of which 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 opportunist views expressed long ago by Togliatti. At the meeting of the CC of the Italian CP on June 24, 1956, Togliatti said: «In fact, we can see an impulse 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 sometimes not even a major force... This situation is apparent today and assumes special significance in those regions of the world which have been emancipated from colonialism only recently. But even in very advanced capitalist countries it may happen that the working class, in its majority, may follow 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 which comes from the working class for a move towards socialism. Even where there are strong communist parties, other parties, which have their basis in the working class and a socialist program, may exist along with them. The tendency to bring about radical economic changes in a direction which, in general, is that of socialism, may come in the end from organizations and movements which do not call themselves socialist.»

What is new about the latest document of the CC of the Italian Communist Party for the conference on the organization of the party, is the fact that now 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 the independent revolutionary 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 completely identical with those of the Titoite renegades, sanctioned in the program of the LCY and long condemned by the whole international communist movement as profoundly anti-Marxist. This revisionist program says: «The view that communist parties have a monopoly in every aspect of the development towards socialism, and that socialism is expressed by them and through them, is theoretically incorrect and very harmful in practice.» It says also: «...the LCY considers it dogmatic to claim 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 leadership of the Italian CP

with those of the Titoite clique is not confined to these questions alone, but extends over to their entire line. This revisionist unity was clearly expressed in the joint Tito-Togliatti communique signed in Belgrade on January 21 of this year, as well as in a leading article by Togliatti published in «Rinascita» on his return from his visit to Yugoslavia.

During this visit Togliatti and Tito did not conceal that they discussed the co-ordination of their activity for the spreading and triumph of the «new positive course» in the communist movement, especially in Europe, and for overcoming the obstacles in the way of the «unity» of the workers' and communist movement on the basis of this course. The talks again highlighted the «special role» which the leaders of the Italian CP have assigned themselves in the communist and workers' movement in Western Europe (let us recall the theory of «polycentrism», implying, of course, that one of the principal and most «attractive» centres of leadership would certainly be the Italian Communist Party with Togliatti at the head!).

To achieve their end — the triumph of the «new course», the degeneration of the communist parties, it was necessary for the revisionists with the Khrushchev group at the head, first and foremost, to smash, completely subdue and set moving towards degeneration not only the Italian CP, which Togliatti himself is zealously trying to do, but also the French CP, as two major parties in Western Europe. Precisely for this reason the «Trojan Troyka» — the Khrushchev group, the Tito clique and the revisionist leadership of the Italian Communist Party, are exerting strong and all-round pressure on the French CP to compel it to completely renounce the Leninist revolutionary principles. At the same time daily pressure in this direction is also being exerted on the French CP 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 Raymond Guyot and others.

The French CP is a party with revolutionary traditions. In the past it has made a valuable contribution to the struggle against various anti-Marxist trends, ranging from the right-wing socialists like Leon Blum and Guy Mollet to the renegade Tito clique. Now this criticism seems to have been suppressed, as a result either of obedience to the «conductor's baton» or of the pressure from revisionist elements who are bent on leading the French CP on the inglorious road towards anti-Marxist degeneration, to the line against which it fought.

Let us take, for instance, the latest document of the leadership of the French CP — the draft-resolution for the 17th Congress of the party which will be held in May this year. It says there that for the sake of unity and collaboration with the socialist party, the French CP has done much and is willing to do more to eliminate the «obstacles» in the way of this collaboration, that «it has given up the idea that the existence of a single party is an essential condition for the transition to socialism. This idea, which was defended by Stalin, constituted an unwarranted generalization of the specific circumstances under which the October Revolution was carried out. Subsequent experience proves that common objectives of the parties representing the working classes of the town and the countryside lead to an ever more profound unity for transition to socialism, for building socialist society.»

Here we have to do with a new major concession of principle which the leadership of the French Communist Party is making to the social-democrats. With this very serious step the French revisionists are jeopardizing the very existence of the communist party, 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 most firmly rejects the theory of the 'single party'.» However much they try to justify this step, or slander 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 social-democratic degeneration of the French Communist Party.

Stalin, like all consistent Marxist-Leninists, never denied the possibility of collaboration with other parties for the seizure of power and the construction of socialism. He never absolutized the specific 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 successfully for the first time with other parties, both during the revolution for the seizure of power, and after the seizure of power, during the construction of socialism. But it is clear both in documents of the leadership of the Italian CP and in those of the French CP that 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, and deny, in fact, the necessity for the leading role of the communist party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

J.V. Stalin, however, upheld precisely 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 only ideology of scientific socialism. This is clearly emphasized also in the 1957 Moscow Declaration which says that «the leadership of the masses by the working class, the nucleus of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, during the accomplishment of the proletarian revolution in this or other form, during the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in this or that form» is a universal law of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Time was when the leadership of the French CP sternly criticized the leadership of the Italian CP because the latter placed the communist party on an equal footing with the other so-called «workers'» parties, advocated the existence of many parties under socialism as essential and denied the indispensability of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Debating these views of Togliatti and company, the theoretical organ of the CC of the French CP «Cahiers du communisme» published in its January 1957 issue an article under the title: «Concerning the Italian Road to Socialism», pointed out that to deny the radical distinction between the communist party and other so-called «workers'» parties which are permeated with the ideology of other classes, and therefore, cannot fully represent the present and future true interests of the working class, means, in fact, to place the communist party on the same level as the 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 'road' to socialism, which is given equal importance with the revolutionary road». «Cahiers du communisme» at the time likewise stressed that this means to slip into the positions of Kardelj and other Yugoslav leaders, who have proclaimed the Scandinavian social-democratic road as one of the possible forms of advance towards socialism, thus erasing the radical

distinction between scientific socialist ideology and social-democratic ideology, which preaches conciliation, class collaboration and peaceful integration, in other words, renunciation of the aims of socialism.

To renounce the thesis on the leading role of the communist party as an essential condition for the transition to socialism, to place the communist party on the same footing as other «workers'» and «socialist» parties, as the modern revisionists do, means to sever all connections with true scientific socialism and true socialist ideology, means to renounce the principles and program of the communist party and to unite and amalgamate with the social-democratic parties on the basis of their anti-Marxist program. And that is exactly what the revisionists are doing.

There was a time when the French Communist Party did not agree with the treacherous, utterly revisionist line of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party headed by Togliatti. But does the French Communist Party have any differences with the revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party now? If it has, why does it remain silent? Why did the French Communist Party find it so easy to attack the CP of China and the PL of Albania and keep silent towards the Italian revisionists? If it has no differences, then why does it not say openly that it is in agreement with them and that it was wrong before? Or is it because «the conductor's baton» beats that tune?

To keep silent, to shut your eyes to the treacherous line and activities 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, but also to the French Communist Party itself, and the entire communist movement. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists are seriously concerned about the catastrophe which is threatening the communist and workers' parties.

They cannot and must not remain silent when a group of traitors is trying to lead the communist parties, like the GPSU, the Italian Communist Party, the French Communist Party, etc., to disaster, but 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 taking them 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 type, breaking away from the socialist parties of that time which had betrayed the interests of the working class and socialism, severing all connections with the opportunism and reformism of the treacherous 2nd International and adopting the conditions and the Marxist-Leninist program of the Communist International. Now we are witnessing a reverse process. The line of demarcation, which was established at the Tours and Leghorn Congresses is being wiped out. The attempts of the modern revisionists to unite and amalgamate with those they had earlier detached themselves from — the treacherous social-democratic leaders, by making to them repeated concessions, by renouncing the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, are daily becoming more and more evident. That is why the revolutionary communists of Italy and France, as well as those of other countries, who are being threatened by the danger of revisionism, should rise in struggle against these renegades. This is the only correct course. The attacks which the revisionist troyka led by Khrushchev are making on the communist and workers' parties are very similar to the treacherous acts of the social-democrats of the 2nd International. Therefore, the Marxists should draw lessons from history, should follow the revolutionary traditions of earlier times to defend the party, Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

On the eve of its 17th Congress, the French Communist

Party is more than ever on the horns of a dilemma: will it continue to give blind obedience to the conductors' baton and allow the revisionist group in the leadership to set it definitely on the road of betrayal, or will it break the conductor's baton, correct its mistakes, and return to the heroic revolutionary road of Marxism-Leninism?

Many leaders of the French Communist Party have hurled insults and made disgraceful attacks on the PLA and its leadership. This we will not forget. The time will come, if not today, tomorrow, when everything will be put in order in a Marxist way. We are convinced that those who have acted in this manner will eventually blush with shame... We owe the French Communist Party nothing, its leaders owe the PLA an apology. Nevertheless, we sincerely call on the French Communist Party to return to the road of the revolution, to the true Marxist-Leninist road before it is too late, for the good of the French people, the French proletariat and the international proletariat. Its place is on that road. Those who correct their mistakes command the respect of others and enjoy the support of the communists and all the progressive people of the world, while the traitors are loathed by all. Everyone despises them and fights them mercilessly, as they are doing with the Khrushchev, Tito and Togliatti groups and their loyal henchmen — all the modern revisionists.

**A STOP MUST BE PUT TO THE TREACHEROUS ACTIVITIES  
OF THE REVISIONISTS, THE COMMUNIST PARTIES  
MUST BE DEFENDED!**

With their political course and all their practical activity, the modern revisionists, with traitor Khrushchev at the head, have created a grave situation in many communist parties and in the international communist and workers'

movement. They have undermined the internal unity of individual parties and the movement as a whole, and are proceeding posthaste on the course of the social-democratic degeneration of the communist parties, trying to set the whole world communist movement on an opportunist and traitorous road. This reminds one of that period when, as a result of the betrayal of their leaders, the parties of the 2nd International deviated from the revolutionary road, renounced Marxism, plunged completely into the mire of opportunism and reformism, and 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 positions of social-chauvinism, encountered, and could not but encounter, the resolute resistance of the revolutionary communists with Lenin at the head. The latter, though in the minority, but expressing the true, fundamental interests of the working class and the working masses, waged a stern 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 Marxism and proletarian internationalism and to create 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 thorough break with opportunism, and without explaining to the masses the inevitability of the fiasco it will suffer.»\**

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 21, p. 19 (Alb. ed.).

Speaking of this struggle of Lenin, Stalin has written:

*«Every bolshevik, if he is a real bolshevik, knows that long ago, as early as about 1903-1904, when the bolshevik group was formed in Russia and the leftists appeared for the first time in German social-democracy — Lenin pursued the line of separation, of breaking with the opportunists, both amongst us, in the Social-Democratic Party of Russia, as well as there, in the 2nd International, and especially in German social-democracy.»\**

This resolute and principled struggle by Lenin and other revolutionary communists to completely smash the opportunism and betrayal of the 2nd International ideologically and politically, led to further major victories of Marxism-Leninism and 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 bankruptcy of the 2nd International and its replacement by the Communist 3rd International.

Today, too, the betrayal of the modern revisionists, who have totally deviated from Marxism-Leninism, from the principles of the revolutionary proletarian party and from the vital interests of the revolutionary proletariat and the broad masses of workers, has encountered, and could not but encounter, the firm resistance and principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionary communists. This is a struggle of major historic significance, which concerns the future of the world revolutionary and liberation movement, a struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism, in defence of proletarian

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\* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 83 (Alb. ed.).

internationalism against nationalism and chauvinism, in defence of the socialist order against liberal bourgeois degeneration, in defence of the revolutionary communist parties against social-democratic degeneration, in defence of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist parties, the international communist movement and socialism against revisionist splitters.

Just as the classics of Marxism-Leninism and all the experience of the communist movement teach us, the only right way to respond to the challenge of the revisionists is to unite all the Marxist-Leninist forces for a determined, uncompromising struggle against the revisionist renegades. The attacks and pressures of the revisionists, foreign and internal, cannot be withstood by pursuing a vacillating centrist line, nor by being solely concerned to preserve a false and formal unity. The party cannot be saved by sighs of regret, nor should it be sacrificed for the sake of preserving the «prestige» of any one, at a time when this «prestige» is being unscrupulously exploited to bury the great cause of the working class and socialism.

The Khrushchev group has led the leaders of many communist parties into a blind alley. He has impelled them to deny the revolutionary past of the CPSU and their own parties, with his false slanders against Stalin he has put the old revolutionary leaders who have had a brilliant past in a difficult position. Many of them were deceived by the Khrushchevite line of peace and coexistence, which has now been clearly shown to be an anti-Leninist line, a line of rapprochement and collaboration with the enemies of peace and of socialism — the imperialists. The tragic thing about some of them is precisely that, although they have now got wise to a number of things, although they see that the line of the Khrushchev group is a revisionist line with colossal errors, nevertheless they do not find the Marxist courage to say to themselves: stop! They do not behave towards

this matter as it befits them as revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. They try to protect the party on the revisionist road which is fatal to it. They try, to varying extents, to «justify» this road, about which they nurture doubts and are not in complete agreement, sometimes they even say, in narrow circles, that they have differences with Khrushchev. But that's all they do. They go no further. They do not take the courage to bring these matters up for discussion in their parties in a Marxist-Leninist way. They agree that the materials sent to them by Khrushchev should be discussed within their parties, but they are afraid to discuss within their parties the documents and written materials of other parties as well. A big struggle is going on in their conscience. But the Khrushchev group is at work, too. It has won over many adherents in the leaderships of many other parties, who exert pressure, blackmail with various manoeuvres to make their parties obey the conductor's baton. Following in Khrushchev's footsteps, some communist party leaders have entered into a blind alley with their political stand. Of course, it is correct to struggle against the threat to world peace from West-German militarism and from the imperialist Bonn-Paris axis, but it is altogether incorrect and anti-Marxist to give up the struggle against American imperialism, which is the main force of war and aggression, the bastion of world reaction, the international gendarme and the biggest exploiter, the most ferocious enemy of the peoples of the whole 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 blindly follow 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, this is what the «conductor of the orchestra» has ordered. But tomorrow, if this «conductor» flirts with «personal power» for adven-

turous anti-Marxist purposes, how are they going to swallow that? Or is the conductor training other musicians to open the way to new adventures?

The revisionist camp is in great difficulties. Its ship has been holed, water is gushing in and it is foundering. The Khrushchev group is striving in every way to avert the catastrophe. To escape further exposure, it is raising a hue and cry about ceasing the polemics which it itself started and which it formerly described as fully justifiable, necessary and Leninist. But under present conditions, to cease the polemics means to every true Marxist and revolutionary to unite with the traitors, to create possibilities for them to corrupt and destroy Marxism-Leninism. In his attempt to mislead people, Khrushchev swears by unity. But the true revolutionaries and consistent communists cannot be deceived by adventurers, demagogues and splitters. The revolutionary communists loyally follow the teachings of the great Lenin, who said:

*«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 distorters of Marxism.»\**

Already it is clear that Khrushchev and his group represent just these opponents and distorters of Marxism in the communist movement today. On the other hand, the Khrushchev group continues its hostile, disruptive work in diverse forms, through regional meetings, or bilateral talks, dictating new instructions and tasks with a view to compromising and leading the other parties and their leaders further down the road of revisionism and betrayal. The time has come for all to stop and think, to cease obeying the

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\* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 20, p. 256 (Alb. ed.).

«conductor's baton», to begin to resist the traitors in order to defend Marxism-Leninism and socialism, in order to defend the great revolutionary cause of the working class.

It is the duty of all communists to fight imperialism, headed by American imperialism, with all their strength. And the struggle against modern revisionism is a component 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. The words of the great Lenin, when he said that without waging a firm and consistent struggle through to the end against opportunism and revisionism, no successful struggle can be waged against imperialism, ring truer than ever today. Without exposing and smashing revisionism, the revolution cannot triumph and socialism and communism cannot be built and defended successfully.

We are firmly convinced that, just as in the past, the present fight against modern revisionists, headed by the Khrushchev group, will be crowned with new victories for Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the international revolutionary movement. The revisionists cannot succeed in turning the 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 suffering defeat after defeat, while the ranks of the parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary communists are increasing and becoming stronger, their struggle against modern revisionism is rising to an ever higher level. The total defeat of revisionism and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism are inevitable.

## **THE COMMUNIST IS THE FIRST ON ATTACK AND THE LAST TO RETREAT**

*Speech at a meeting with the communists of the party basic organizations of the cigarette factory, the MTS and the weaving factory in Shkodra, on the occasion of the distribution of new party cards*

**June 20, 1964**

Dear Comrades,

Today you are happy to receive your new party cards. I, too, am very happy that I am here in Shkodra amongst you, at this solemn moment of the distribution of new party cards to some members of the party organization of your district.

Naturally, you are happy to get the new cards, but you have some regrets at parting with your old cards, because you have a series of memories linked with them. Together with them, carrying them next to your hearts, you have fought with self-sacrifice during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, have carried out the major post-Liberation tasks, have made so many sacrifices, which have seemed to you as no more than your simple duties, and you have put all your energies into carrying out the great tasks with which the people have charged you, with honour. Hence your old cards have accompanied you in your daily struggle.

But all the same, you are happy to receive your new cards, because although the cards are changed, the work of our Party goes on uninterrupted, in a single brilliant line.

It has great importance for us Albanian communists that the party cards are not distributed every year as occurs in some parties of other countries, as well as the fact that they are not distributed while carrying out a re-examination of the political and ideological revolutionary activity of the communists, as occurs in many other parties. The re-examination of the situation of party members in our country has been carried out once, and then it was essential, in order to temper the Party, to purge it of those elements who had managed to sneak their way into the Party by concealing their past.

The Party of Labour of Albania follows a correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, a political, ideological and organizational line such that admission to its ranks has become one of the most ardent desires and aims of every Albanian. Every communist must know that admission to the Party does not bring personal advantage, does not allow him to gain even a pin-prick more than the others, but on the contrary, charges him with serious tasks, demands sacrifices, demands that he is always in the forefront of the struggle and, when the need arises, is the first on attack and the last to retreat, requires that he is honest and studies continuously.

When he joins the Party, every communist feels that he is one of the members of a great, strong family, closely linked with one another by the lofty aim of the triumph of true freedom, not only for his compatriots, but for all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. Admission to the Party develops the communist's mind, makes him strong as steel, with pure feelings, makes him kindly and generous, but not pacifist, makes him feel for his people and all who suffer from oppression and enslavement, and stern against

those who seek to deceive the people and lead them on a Wrong road.

He who joins the Party sees that it is not a sectarian Party, shut away, or a corrupt, unprincipled social-democratic party, which struggles only to gather votes, to deceive the working class, with the objective of prolonging the existence of capitalism and keeping the people in bondage. No, our Party is a quite different sort of party. Our Party differs, also, from the revisionist parties, which have no conscious discipline in their ranks because their aim is to divide the proletariat in its struggle against capital and imperialism, while our Party is a Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, tempered in battles with the class enemy. The proletariat knows that it is faced with a savage enemy and that it can triumph over it only by organizing and uniting its forces and having a conscious discipline. The proletariat has learned this discipline in struggle, with bloodshed and toil. This conscious discipline has become the line of our Party.

Hence the communists enter the Party knowing that here are certain rules which they must apply with high political consciousness, because only in this way can the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism and communism be assured. Since our Party is such, and since it educates its members with a lofty revolutionary spirit, it has not been necessary to make frequent changes of documents in our Party or to re-examine the whole life and activity of the communists. This is a great victory.

Of course, this does not mean that all the Albanian communists are cut from the one pattern, have no shortcomings, or never make mistakes. No. There are comrades in our Party who do not fully understand the great tasks with which they are faced, do not carry out the tasks with which they are charged as they should, are not always in the forefront of the work and an example of everything,

or do not make sufficient efforts in regard to their communist education, although the overwhelming majority fight self-sacrificingly on the correct line of the Party. But the norms of our Party are such that the communists assist one another to successfully perform the tasks for which the Party is responsible; the Party tries in various ways to ensure that even those who have a low cultural level or other shortcomings are corrected, become part of the vanguard and true communists.

Our Party is a steel party which has gone through great tempests and has withstood them successfully, triumphing over savage and cunning enemies. The Party has educated its members politically and ideologically to advance on the revolutionary road and to know how to discern the enemy and his methods of work, to distinguish those who make mistakes out of ignorance from those who consciously try to damage the cause of the Party and the people. The Party has educated the communists to criticize anybody who is not following the right course without hesitation. We still have a great deal of work to do in the direction of raising the level of consciousness of the communists so that each of them will look with a critical eye at the daily work everyone does, to see whether or not it serves the general interests of the people and the Party. If something is being done in the interests of the people and the Party it must be carried out. In the opposite case the communist must be vigilant.

Good criticism and self-criticism takes place not only in meetings but also continually, in the course of work. When a communist talks with his superior and considers that he is wrong, after listening attentively he should tell his superior of his opinion. In other words, this is a criticism. In this case the director or party secretary must not say that his word is law because he is superior, therefore his order should be executed even when he is wrong; this would not be

a correct stand. If he is wrong, the director or party secretary should admit his mistake there and then. Those communists who act in this way will always carry their work forward. Thus there will be less official criticism and self-criticism.

Official criticism and self-criticism have greater importance than the critical comment which might be made to the director or party secretary in the course of the work, because he might accept this but then continue as before. It is a different matter, however, when the question is raised in the party basic organization because here there are not two or four eyes, but many, which see whether he makes self-criticism just to pass the matter off, or whether he has understood his mistake and feels the proper responsibility for it. Your comrades in the party basic organization, looking you right in the eye, understand whether or not the words you say are sincere. If you are sincere the Party understands you. There are people who are not very free with words, but with those few words they have they say, «Comrades, I made a mistake and I give you my word that I will not make such mistakes again,» and the others understand that this communist says these words sincerely. In this case there is no need to say, «Go into matters more deeply, comrade!». However, there might be another communist who is very sharp with his tongue, who speaks for an hour and a half justifying himself and there might be some short-sighted individuals who say, «What a wonderful self-criticism!» Therefore, comrades, wherever there are shortcomings and mistakes we must strengthen our work, not only to carry out the tasks which the Party puts before us, but also to carry out our duties to the international communist movement to the best of our ability.

Our Party of Labour, which stands in sound Marxist-Leninist positions, has not only successfully faced up to the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, but has become an example to all the other parties and revolution-

aries of the world, showing them that, for the revolution to triumph and socialism to be built, requires a party constructed on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The parties which are guided by these principles must defeat the demagoguery of the modern revisionists who, to conceal their own treachery, raised the question of the cult of the individual of Stalin. Khrushchev's aim under the disguise of criticism of the cult of the individual was to discredit not only the figure of Stalin, but also the work of Lenin, the construction of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union. That is why our Party has a major duty to expose this gang.

The modern revisionists see clearly that there is a sound revolutionary situation in the Party and among the people in Albania, that all have set to work together for the construction of socialism, and at the same time, they keep the rifle handy. The modern revisionists know that the Party of Labour of Albania and little Albania itself have become a spark of Marxism-Leninism. This spark, which seems like a pin-point in the ocean of capitalist and revisionist Europe, is causing the revisionists exceptionally great damage, therefore they are carrying on a great campaign of slanders and intrigues against our Party and our country, but their weapons have been broken and always will be.

In the countries and parties where the revisionists are in power, the pot has begun to boil and the lid is bound to blow off. Both in the Soviet Union and in the former countries of people's democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been turned into a bourgeois dictatorship. It is no longer directed against kulaks and foreign agents, who enter their countries from abroad in tens and thousands, but against the people and communists, who do not accept the betrayal. Thus, in the Soviet Union and the former countries of people's democracy, the prisons and concentration camps are being filled. The revisionists make a

spectre of the Party of Labour of Albania and accuse it of imposing terror, while in fact there is terror in their countries, and this they have even written in the Constitution of their parties. What Tito does secretly, Zhivkov, who is the most servile lackey of Khrushchev, declares openly in the Constitution of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, where it says that those who do not follow his line are «dogmatic» and «sectarian», and therefore must be immediately expelled from the party, regardless of whether they have fought and their chests are covered with medals. Thus the Bulgarian revisionists have begun to carry out purges in the party. This shows that they are in a bad situation and weak, therefore they cannot use the just weapon of the party to educate and convince people, but they arrest, imprison and banish. Hence the dictatorship of the proletariat is used by the modern revisionists against genuine communists and to open the way for bourgeois ideology to enter their party and countries. However the demagoguery of the revisionists knows no limits. If earlier there were few who understood the betrayal of the revisionists, today there are thousands, while tomorrow they will become hundreds of thousands, irrespective of the furious terror. The communists have known terror in the struggle against capital and fascism and they are not intimidated.

With the exposure which the Party of Labour of Albania has made of it, things are not going well for the Khrushchev group in any direction. Faced with the defeats it has suffered, the sound communists and those who were deceived at the start are rising, the cause of the revolution is steadily advancing, because the more repression there is, the more the revolution mounts. Thus the revolution will begin again in the Soviet Union because the revisionists, just like the capitalists, never voluntarily give up their power. Now the revolutionary elements are finding one another, becoming acquainted and are organizing.

Although Khrushchev's secret agents are being strengthened day by day in the Soviet Union, leaflets are being distributed under the name of «the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Soviet Union». In the other countries such as Bulgaria, not only the people, but even some of Zhivkov's men are speaking openly against his policy.

At these moments we are faced with major tasks. Our Party has always carried a heavy burden on its shoulders and it will do so until these traitors are completely defeated, because the modern revisionists are allies of imperialism and their purpose is to bring about the degeneration of Marxism-Leninism and communism. This is the main direction which American imperialism has given Khrushchevite revisionism. Khrushchev is in accord with imperialism on many major questions and will continue to link himself ever more closely with it in order to discredit socialism. He has thrown mud at the Stalin era; he alleges that terror and murders characterized that period, while today socialism is being built everywhere — in India by Nehru, in Egypt by Nasser and in Iraq by Aref and even Guy Mollet is fighting for socialism in France, etc. This means to discredit socialism and to preach the construction of socialism within the framework of capitalism.

All Khrushchev's talk about disarmament is a bluff. American imperialism is well aware of this. With his talk Khrushchev wants to tell others, «You disarm while I'm going to have weapons and bombs.» He thought he would force our Party and country to surrender through his actions, but his plans failed, because our Party has long experience in struggle against enemies.

Hence you should be happy to receive your new party cards today. This card is small but it sums up and symbolizes all the stern struggle waged by our people whom the Party has raised to their feet. The Party taught the people how they must fight and unite, what ideal must lead them

and what spiritual and moral means were needed to fight and conquer the external and internal enemies. In this great struggle, in which the communists were the standard-bearers, our Party wrote glorious pages. Here in Shkodra the first communists such as Qemal, Vasil, Vojo, and hundreds of others fought to spread communist ideas and it was they who threw themselves into the liberation war right from the first days and gave their lives in the flower of their youth. Their names, and those of all of our comrades have been written in this small card, and it includes the villages which were burned, the places and crags where the war was fought. In this card have been written the great deeds of the Party: the creation of partisan fighting units, brigades, divisions and army corps, the creation of our cadres from the ranks of the working class and the working peasantry, who were not trained like the enemy officers in schools and academies, but whom the Party taught how to fight, to encircle the enemy and wipe it out and made them capable of defeating it.

The Homeland was liberated. Those who fought with weapons came down from the mountains, but those who did not take up the rifle and go to the mountains also fought, in the city. The whole people fought. Even a small act of sabotage, any hindrance, however small, inflicted on the enemy in its work was a great assistance to our just struggle. After Liberation, the country was devastated, but those who had fought and those who had not taken up arms were mobilized immediately for the reconstruction of the country, which changed its appearance within a short time. Many enemies were put in their place. They got their due desserts. The Party was severe with the enemies of the people and understanding to those who obeyed the people's laws and the laws of the Party. On the one hand, socialism was built and, on the other hand, those who had made mistakes were educated.

Thanks to the correct policy of our Party, a great love was inculcated for the Soviet Union, for Stalin and for all the other communist parties which fought against fascism and began the construction of socialism. Through the correct line of our Party we achieved the successes and blessings we enjoy today. Hence all these things, beginning from the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the old things it smashed and the successes that we achieved in the socialist construction of the country, are written in these small pages of the party card.

Twenty years have passed since the time of the liberation of the country. How few factories we had then and how many we have today! And we shall have many, many more in the future. You will see more because you are young, but even those who are 50 years of age now will live to see that within twenty years an amount of building will be done in our country far greater than can even be imagined today. The five-year plan which is being drafted is a majestic plan. When we carried out the 1st Five-year Plan, on some maps we showed the factories built during that time with lights, one here one there. If you take the map of Albania now, however, you will see that it is filled with lights, while with the factories which will be built during the coming five-year plan, the map will be completely filled with red lights.

Major successes have been achieved in agriculture also, in collectivization, in draining swamps, in irrigation works and in mechanization. If we compare these things with the past, the situation is as different as day from night. The investments of the coming five-year plan will be exceptionally high and increased yields in agricultural products will ensure that the people are supplied even better. With the building of the chemical fertilizer plant alone we shall give agriculture a great boost. The number of tractors and bulldozers as well as other means will be increased in order

to exploit the irrigation possibilities everywhere, and so on.

Our successes in the cultural revolution have been written in the party card. Today there are schools all over the country, ranging from the elementary schools to the University. In the past you could count the cadres with higher education on your fingers, while today, in every factory and zootechny station we find a great number of cadres with higher education, graduated from our University or institutes. This has been made possible because the Party gave people the opportunity to learn, because without learning, without knowledge, there can be no progress.

It's a great joy to go to the factories because one sees that they are in the reliable hands of people who love their profession. Friends who come to Albania are astonished at the work of our people and they tell the people in their countries: learn from the Albanians because they are doing marvellous things. They see the skill and determination of our cadres in their work. The education of cadres in the spirit of serving the people is an important problem. When they complete their own schooling, these cadres must set to work to raise the workers, too, to the highest category by teaching them theory. Such are the people that our Party educates.

The time has come when each year more than a thousand cadres graduate from our higher schools, both day and night schools. However, this is insufficient. Recently the Political Bureau took the decision to set up a series of higher scientific research institutes which will give a great impulse to the development of our science. The duty of our schools is to train higher cadres trained in theory and practice for the great front of production, while the best of them, those who are most outstanding in mathematics, physics and chemistry, will go to the scientific research institutes, where they will be assisted by specialists with greater experience. We have such specialists, both old and

young. There the Party will open perspectives to them so that they make efforts to extend production in all branches of the economy and to solve many problems which arise in the development of our country. For example, how much of what fertilizer you should apply to improve land which has high acidity must be known, but this cannot be done in a mechanical way. Therefore our scientific institutes will study in a scientific way how much nitrogenous or phosphate fertilizer must be spread on this land so we will get from it not just ten quintals of wheat per hectare but much more. These institutes will also study many other questions, for instance, in regard to rare minerals, will do research, prospecting, etc. In the future, other scientific institutes will be set up and they will serve as the basis for the creation of the Academy of Sciences in our country.

Hence, in the party card has been inscribed the brilliant future of Albania, the construction of socialism and communism, the struggle which we have to wage against imperialism and modern revisionism, as well as the struggle which we must wage against alien remnants which exist in people's consciousness, which when the work of the Party is weakened, raise their heads, are encouraged by the enemy element within the country, by the clergy and foreign radios. In the face of this situation, the work of the Party must be greater, more wide-awake and more organized.

We must not rest content with the successes we have achieved but must hurl ourselves into the offensive to strengthen the Party even more, to raise the glory of our people even higher, and to carry out in the best possible way all the tasks with which we are charged by our glorious Party and this will bring our people great joy and a state of plenty.

To be a member of the Party of Labour of Albania is a great honour, because it has borne and bears a great burden on its shoulders, but difficulties do not overwhelm

the communists. On the contrary, they make them more courageous. Tempering its members with the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism the Party says to them: Forward, always forward!

*Works, vol. 27*

## **THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE WITH THE COMMUNIST MORALITY IS A KEY PROBLEM**

*Closing speech at the 13th Plenum of the CC of the PLA<sup>1</sup>*

*(Extracts)*

**July 9, 1964**

### **HOW WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND AND APPLY CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM**

Unlike other weapons, the weapon of criticism and self-criticism cannot only kill you (in this direction we should never use it), but can also cure you, and save you from evils (in this direction and only for this purpose we should use it).

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**1** The plenum heard, discussed and unanimously endorsed the report of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA «On the Further Strengthening of the Ideological Work of the Party for the Communist Education of the Working People». Comrade Enver Hoxha also made a speech at the plenum, in which he dwelt at length on the problem of the education of the working people with the principles of communist morality. He dwelt in particular on the question of work and the socialist attitude towards it: on mental work and work in production, on the question of criticism and self-criticism, which appears in this volume.

Whether this good aim is achieved depends on how this weapon is used by everybody. This is not so easy, we must learn how to use it and perfect it. Criticism and self-criticism is not a «material» weapon, like the rifle with which you learn the mechanism, train your eye, put in the round, and pull the trigger. No. The weapon of Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism is something else, entirely different from the former, very complicated, since it has to do with many moral, psychological, political and economic factors, closely interconnected with one another, because it is linked with various periods of time and moments, etc. You must orientate yourself correctly in this labyrinth, among these factors, circumstances and moments, which in most cases are not material, are sometimes clear from facts and sometimes not, and then pull the trigger. People say that in order to pull the trigger you should have two yoke of oxen. In that case we should keep in mind how serious the question of criticism and self-criticism is for us Marxists. The difficulties met in this direction are not an insurmountable wall, we can and should overcome them, and there are many ways for us to overcome them. I shall enumerate some of them from the experience of the life of the Party which have served us to improve this powerful weapon.

**We should always be careful to preserve the educative essence of criticism.** Criticism should never have a devastating retaliatory character, it should never be made with ulterior motives or evil intentions, to denigrate or offend, especially on the basis of falsification and slander. Criticism should always be comradely, not mainly in its tone, but especially in its content, in the purpose for which it is made.

Criticism should be well considered in order to have an effect on the person being criticized and the entire collective which hears it, which should also be educated through this criticism. It should be substantiated with concrete, con-

vincing and correct facts and always be accompanied with educative, moral, political and ideological conclusions.

The question is that the criticized should not come out of the meeting crushed, humiliated, and completely discouraged, but come out strengthened, clear, warm and convinced that the criticism has done him good and that he will correct his mistake. The question is also that the criticism made of one comrade should have an effect on everybody. It should serve as an indirect criticism also of some others who have made mistakes, who, in this case, should come forward with spontaneous, honest, Marxist self-criticism, regardless of the fact that the criticism made was not aimed directly at them. In this way the criticism of one assumes, in essence, a comradely, educational character. Apart from this, the correct comradely form of criticism (and this has nothing to do with feeble, mild, merely formal criticism) really gives the Party the role of a strict mother, but with a generous heart, with a deep love for her children.

**He who criticizes should not proceed in his criticism from his position in the Party or the state but from his party stand;** he should not proceed from conceit and the feeling of his own intellectual superiority, or of someone who knows everything, who is infallible in his views. He who criticizes should know how to preserve the party spirit in criticism, to preserve his communist modesty, to keep a cool head, to combat hasty judgements and use a powerful Marxist logic on the basis of the facts, his maturity and experience, should know how to make proper use of these data, in order to make criticism with a truly Marxist content, with a Marxist form and truly educative.

The use of criticism in and out of place, of weak criticism when it should be strong, and strong when there is no occasion for it, instead of educating, very often has the opposite effect. This powerful weapon of education for the

people must be used correctly, must be perfected, given the greatest attention by the cadres, and we must not go into it without a care in the world as though we were going to a wedding party, must not allow it to become a harmful or demoralizing routine, oppressive and embarrassing for the people, but it should be one of the educative, mobilizing and of the most revolutionary weapons of the Party.

Measures, party measures, strong measures of criticism should be taken against those sick critics, who have «criticism» on the tip of their tongues, who use it out of place or who slander; those who misuse this weapon should be sternly criticized.

**The correct understanding of self-criticism is also of great importance.** Marxist-Leninist self-criticism has nothing in common with or similar to «confession» to a priest. The honest man, whether a communist or non-party member, who can and does make mistakes in life (there is no immunity from this) is not afraid to acknowledge his mistake, provided he has confidence in the justice of the collective, in the justice of the Party, in the justice of the state laws, provided he has confidence in the fairness of the judgement of the comrades, of the forums, in their love and continuous care for man, provided that conditions have been created there where he works, lives and militates, such that he can speak freely about the mistake or the fault he has committed. These conditions are essential if we want self-criticism to become a powerful weapon for educating the people. Generally speaking, the Party has created these conditions, but we should improve them, perfect them everywhere, in the party organizations, in the leading organs, in the work and production centres, in the administration, and so on.

**Bolshevik self-criticism takes place where criticism is also bolshevik.** Each of those two things influences the

other for the better, but also for the worse, when they are not bolshevik.

If criticism is based on unconvincing facts or on slanders, if criticism is made from a position of superiority or in anger, etc., then he who has to make self-criticism will either be left not knowing what to say, or be revolted and lose his patience, or will instinctively try to defend himself, under the influence of some petty-bourgeois hang-overs, such as indignation, the defence of his personality, and so on, which precisely have impelled him to violate the law and communist morality. Since a person has committed a mistake or a fault, something is not in order in his consciousness, in his world-outlook, and in order to correct it, to purge him of this something, we cannot and must not use those somethings that are wrong, we should not proceed from those same positions that have impelled him to fall into errors.

Both after the criticism made of a person and after the self-criticism he makes, the Party must stay closer than ever to him, everybody should stay close to him, since the person in question needs to feel the care and warmth of the Party, its justice, the justice of the criticism. He needs this more than ever, and we should not forget that he is in the process of convalescence. The criticism and self-criticism is the first step of the cure, but it is not complete recovery, and if we leave it at that, or to its own fate, confine ourselves simply to recording these things in his documents of a communist, thinking that thus the matter is ended, we can be sure that we are not acting correctly and this may have bitter results.

The Party and every communist should know the nature of the comrades, their feelings, character and abilities, because these things play a great role in the correct use of criticism and self-criticism. We may and certainly will be faced with various types of people, since not everyone is cut

to the same pattern. For example, we have before us an honest man who has made mistakes, but is not able to analyse his mistakes profoundly; it is not his way to speak freely and at length, but he feels the criticism deeply and confines himself to a frank, honest and simple admission of his mistakes. But there is no lack of those who persist in demanding that he «goes more deeply» into his mistakes, that he «has hidden» things, even when he has not hidden anything. Or we have before us not an honest man, but one who knows how to hide his mistakes, a smooth talker, and when he is caught in a mistake, he does not fail to make a long, detailed, cunning self-criticism, but he himself does not believe anything of what he says. There is no shortage of wool-blind people who are satisfied with his «brilliant» self-criticism. And thus unhealthy suspicion lingers on towards the former and he is given little support, whereas harmful trust is placed in the latter and the people are not vigilant towards his evil actions, which, without doubt, he will carry on in the future, too.

Therefore the question of criticism and self-criticism is not a simple thing and should not be understood narrowly. By this I mean that people should be criticized or they should make self-criticism not only when they make mistakes and not only in special meetings. This is one aspect of criticism and self-criticism, but it is not the whole of it.

**The fault should be avoided.** This is a major problem, and if the fault is to be avoided, people must be taught to make proper use of this weapon, and criticism and self-criticism must be developed at work, during the work, in various forms. Such an education should be carried out on an extensive scale. How can this education be carried out? In the process of work, wherever work is done and struggle is waged, people, communists or non-party people may make mistakes. Therefore, all should freely express their critical opinion about the work, and in the interest of work,

courageously and without any hesitation; they should have the courage to make their criticism, whether right or wrong, to anyone at all, to their superior or to their subordinate; they should criticize the deficiencies and not wait for a meeting, should give their opinions before and after the carrying out of the tasks. The superiors should listen to these criticisms with attention, without arrogance and without the idea that they know everything; and not only must they listen attentively to the suggestions and advice of subordinates, but when they are right, they should say so there and then; they should admit, there and then, that they were wrong (at this point the superior should make self-criticism) and the subordinates were right.

In such work criticism and self-criticism are combined, mistakes are avoided in this way, people are corrected and educated in the process of work, such evil hang-overs as servility, fear of the superior, fear that someone might have a score to settle or take a jaundiced view of whoever dares to criticize, are combated, and on the other hand, arrogance, conceit, bureaucracy, etc., are also combated. All these vices are alien to the communists and the source of many evils.

Only in this way can that sound education in the correct and proper use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, which is necessary to us communists to wipe out many of the shortcomings and vices, be created.

**But to indulge in abuse under the disguise of criticism and self-criticism, as happens in many cases, must not be allowed.** Many people try to escape responsibility for their crimes and the heavy damage they inflict on the economy, for their flagrant violation of state laws, rules of society, and the norms of communist morality, by making a perfunctory «self-criticism». In such cases, we should have no hesitation at all about bringing the culprits to justice, where they should receive the sentence they deserve. No lenient attitude should be allowed; likewise, all those who invent a

thousand and one mitigating circumstances for thieves, for those who damage or misuse socialist property, should also be punished, because, consciously or unconsciously, they do the work of counter-revolutionary elements, are a support for the foreign and internal enemies, serve the remnants of those hostile classes and that ideology against which we are waging the class struggle, and put in action the weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

*Works, vol. 27*

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST KHRUSHCHEVISM MUST NOT BE DIVERTED INTO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

August 22, 1964

The views which Chou En-lai expressed to the Rumanian ambassador in Peking are very alarming.

Chou En-lai is making a grave mistake that he is inciting the Rumanians to make territorial claims on the Soviet Union. This is not the right way to bring the Rumanians close to our line. This is neither the time nor the occasion to raise such problems which provide Khrushchev with a weapon to accuse us of being chauvinists. **The ideological and political struggle against Khrushchev must not be diverted into delicate questions of territorial claims.** From the ideological and political positions which they adhere to, as well as from the military angle, the Rumanian leaders, for their part, have not raised the question of territorial claims on the Soviet Union and neither will they do so. If the Rumanians do this they will lose in all directions, because others will raise more claims on them. Therefore, **the raising of claims and the way Chou En-lai has done it is not right, either in principle, or as a tactic of the moment<sup>1</sup>.**

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<sup>1</sup> Respecting the Leninist norms, in an absolutely correct spirit and a comradely way, the CC of the PLA openly expressed its views on the question of territorial claims to the CC of the CP of China and personally to Mao Tsetung in a letter sent on September 10, 1964.

The Rumanians Will certainly not approve of the problem raised by Chou, they will judge this as a naive idea of the Chinese leaders and, moreover, will form a bad opinion of them over this.

Even more important is the fact that Chou En-lai does not raise the question of territorial claims simply as a tactic, but as an issue of principle. **The claims of the Chinese have been built on a dangerous platform and from a nationalist position, to the point that they themselves have pretensions to Outer Mongolia. This platform has nothing in common with the struggle against Khrushchevism and Khrushchev.**

The Chinese want the re-examination of all borders with the Soviet Union by all states.

The raising of this problem at these moments is not correct. On the contrary, it is a grave error of principle. Even if we suppose they are just, the territorial claims cannot be settled at these moments, on the contrary, they strengthen the chauvinist positions of Khrushchev and, at the same time, assist Khrushchev in the unprincipled, treacherous struggle he has waged and is waging against Stalin.

This is scandalous. In no way can we accept it.

The territorial integrity of the Soviet Union must not be touched at this time, notwithstanding that history may have left problems to be tidied up. Today the whole struggle must be directed against the Khrushchevite renegades, but not with such arguments and methods as the Chinese are using.

Mao has made a great mistake in raising the question of claims with the Japanese socialists.

These actions are not correct. When Chou En-lai was here he did not raise these things at all and in these forms that we are hearing of now. Had he raised this problem with us, we would have opposed him, but regardless of this, we

must find the way, the most suitable time, and quickly, too, to tell them of our opinion on these major issues of principle.

Comrade Stalin was very correct, prudent, and principled in these delicate and complicated problems. At the period of the gravest crisis in relations with Titoite Yugoslavia, when the hostility between us and the Titoites had reached its culmination, when all of us were in struggle against the revisionists of Belgrade, who had set themselves against socialism and the communist movement, in a talk which I had with Stalin he said to me, among other things, that from the formal aspect the Yugoslav Federation, as a union of different republics, was progressive. Seen from this viewpoint, there was no reason for it to be broken up, but Titoism and the Titoites must be fought ideologically and politically as betrayers of Marxism-Leninism. The struggle against them must not be waged from the positions of chauvinism and territorial claims or against the peoples of Yugoslavia, but the nations which comprise it must be assisted so that they enjoy the right to self-determination up to separation from the Federation. We must not harm or attack Yugoslavia or the Yugoslav peoples, but must convince them that they have a treacherous leadership which is leading them to disaster. Let the Yugoslav peoples speak for themselves, let the Yugoslav communists speak for themselves.

This was the principled stand of Stalin, and we were and are completely in agreement with this stand. **The questions of territorial claims for all those countries which the Chinese comrades mention can be raised only when revisionism has been routed and Marxist-Leninist bolshevik parties have come to the head of those countries.** Then the problems of disputed borders can be raised and discussed, as amongst Marxist-Leninists, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and just solutions found in favour not only

of simple national interests, but also of the interests of international communism.

There is no other road. Any other road is wrong, and I think that the Chinese comrades have fallen up to their ears into this grave error.

*«Reflections on China», vol. 1*

## THE CHINESE ARE MAKING GROSS AND IMPERMISSIBLE MISTAKES

September 4, 1964

We gave the Chinese our reply in connection with the question of invitations to the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic. In the reply, we criticized them severely but justly, because they are making gross and impermissible mistakes.

First, we told them that it is quite inconceivable and unacceptable that the delegation of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Rumanian Government should take part in the celebration, and representatives of friendly parties and countries should not take part. We think that it is not in order to cloud a major question which is clear, or to raise unnecessary difficulties over it, because of an issue of tactics or diplomatic reciprocity. We cannot conceive how the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Rumanian Government, which up till yesterday were publicly attacking all of us, which have been in complete solidarity with all the modern revisionists, and which have revisionist ideological and political stands at present (and very likely will have in the future), can be the only party and the only state which are represented at the great celebration of the Chinese people. **We do not consider it right that the only party and government to attend China's great celebration should be that party and government which yesterday, at the 20th anniversary of their liberation, came out with a centrist-re-**

**visionist report; which took the greatest care to avoid attacking American imperialism and the modern revisionists even with one word; which have very friendly links with the major renegade Tito; which are establishing friendly relations with and receiving credits from American imperialism and the other imperialists.**

What will the communists throughout the world think when they see that the Rumanians have pride of place at China's celebration, and the Marxist-Leninist parties do not figure anywhere? It is good not to imply in any way, even from the surface of things, that the Communist Party of China approves the centrist line of the Rumanians and has cooled towards its loyal Marxist-Leninist allies.

The Rumanians do not base their struggle against the renegade group of Khrushchev on Marxism-Leninism, but only on economic contradictions, or certain national chauvinist considerations. We must show ourselves very prudent and cautious in the steps we take with them. This is our opinion, which can change only to the extent that the position of the Rumanians changes positively.

It is right that you have invited many delegations of non-communist friends to the celebration. But to invite only these and the Rumanian Party and Government to your celebration, and not invite our Marxist-Leninist parties and governments is not acceptable to these parties and world opinion.

Second, we wrote that we consider incorrect the decision that, at the great celebration of the 15th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, in which many friends of China will take part, the official representatives of peoples most faithful to the Chinese people, the official representatives of communist and workers' parties which take a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist stand and which are fighting the most ferocious enemies, world imperialism and its modern revisionist agents, are

excluded. **This is an action which, at these moments, no tactical considerations, or especially the internal tactics amongst our parties, can justify. Neither our people nor our Party will understand this.** Even in the extreme case, if we tell them the «reasons» which impel you to take this decision, we assure you that they will still not understand.

We think that **neither the fraternal Chinese people, nor the Chinese communists, will be pleased when they see that their closest friends are not present at their great celebration.**

On the other hand, we think that this will be an astonishing thing, beyond understanding, for world opinion and will be interpreted at will, in many ways.

Third, we wrote, you have taken this decision so that the revisionist renegades should not accuse you of holding a meeting before them, and hence accuse you of being splitters! We think that such reasoning is not correct. The meeting which Khrushchev is organizing for the 15th of December has another character and aim, while the celebration of the People's Republic of China is the 15th anniversary of its founding and nothing else. The delegations which are invited to your celebration are not coming to hold special secret meetings, but to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. It is natural that delegations of our parties might exchange opinions. This is our right and we are not afraid of anybody over this. The modern revisionists are holding hundreds of meetings on every possible occasion, and have not waited for us to hold meetings. In fact, we have not held any meeting which they could use to accuse us of being splitters. Despite this, the enemies have not failed to accuse us every day, but however they slander us, they do not frighten us. Slanders are second nature to them.

They long ago decided on and announced the meeting

which they are preparing to hold in Moscow on the 15th of December, and did not wait to see what we would do at the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. The revisionists know, also, that we shall not take part in this meeting in Moscow. Hence, the Moscow meeting is not brought about by our going to China for the celebration. They will accuse us who go to China's celebration not only of being splitters — because this accusation is their main leitmotif — not that our going to the celebration brought about the Moscow meeting as a reaction — because, as we said, they had decided on the meeting previously — but they will say that in the last analysis, we met in Peking to re-emphasize our steel unity in further actions against them. What harm is there in this for us? None. But one thing is true: they will tremble at our going to Peking. It is a good and desirable thing that they should shake with fright.

Hence, even if the tactic that «the revisionists must take the first step» is accepted, we do not take this «privilege» from them on this occasion by coming to your celebration. We are not holding any meeting in Peking. We have no knowledge of such a meeting and are not prepared for it. In conclusion, we think that the celebration in Peking is in no way analogous to the Moscow meeting of renegades from Marxism-Leninism.

We think that with the decision you have taken about your celebration, you are creating a difficult situation for our celebration of the 20th anniversary of Liberation. We have thought to invite you, the Koreans, the Vietnamese, the Japanese, the New Zealanders, the Indonesians, the leaders of Marxist-Leninist groups, and the Rumanians to our great celebration. If we do not invite you, who are we to invite? If you come to us, then what you sought to avoid at your celebration, you will not avoid at all at our celebration. The modern revisionists will say that they

met in Tirana in November instead of meeting in Peking in October, and so they will still accuse us of being splitters, since their meeting will be held in December.

If, for tactical reasons, you, the Korean comrades and the Vietnamese comrades, do not come to the jubilee celebration of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Albania, at a time when you have taken part in the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Rumania, world opinion will interpret this act of yours to the detriment of our common cause.

If we adopt the tactic of not inviting you, the three allied and friendly countries and parties, and invite only the Rumanians (a thing which we will not do, even if you don't come), to our celebration, and if tomorrow or the next day the Koreans and the Vietnamese do not invite us, but for reasons of tactics and protocol invite only the Rumanians to their celebrations, then the matter will be interpreted as if our parties and countries have turned out the sound horse (which is our correct Marxist-Leninist line) and are trying to mount a lame horse. Thus, unwittingly, at our political manifestations it will appear as if our political pivot is Rumania. We think this is a mistake which must not be made.

Why should we create complicated situations for our parties and countries with our actions when the issues are clear?

We shall never stop our sacred ideological and political struggle against the modern revisionists with Tito and Khrushchev at the head. If we were to act differently, this would be a colossal mistake for us. We made our tactical stand clear to the Rumanians in the talks which our comrade Manush Myftiu had with Gheorghiu Dej in Rumania, and we are sure that he and his comrades have no illusions at all that we have shifted or will shift from our principles. And this is a very good thing and may

benefit the Rumanians if they still have any good in them. We approach the Rumanians from the principle that telling the truth may taste bitter to them, but the truth is always the truth and must be said.

We tell the Chinese that we are convinced that the opinions which we express to them are sincere. We tell them what we think in an open and comradely way, because for them and for us, the great, sincere, Marxist-Leninist friendship between our parties and peoples stands above everything. We guard and shall always guard this friendship as the apple of our eye. True friendship is based on the great sincerity which exists between friends.

Possibly the Chinese comrades will not be at all pleased with our criticism, but we can't help that, because, I repeat, it is a mistake that only Rumania should be invited to their celebration. This means to publicly take a centrist position.

**To invite states and parties to a national celebration is a political question and not a private matter, as if Mao were to invite a person, say, because his son was getting married.** This action of the Chinese comrades does not appear to be fortuitous and unconsidered. There is more to this than meets the eye. We must wait and see.

## **THE CHINESE STAND: «THEY TAKE THE FIRST STEP, WE TAKE THE SECOND»**

**September 15, 1964**

This slogan of action launched by the Chinese comrades against modern revisionists **is not correct for all periods**, as they wish to apply it in the struggle against modern revisionists. In my opinion, **there is nothing revolutionary about it**, it is a slogan of waiting, restraint and the «building of militant revolutionary actions» adjusted to the moves of the opponent. In other words, you should mark time until the opponent makes his move, and adjust your move, naturally with exasperating delay (as the Chinese comrades are doing), according to the way the enemy beats the drum. The tactic of the Chinese is that, if the enemy beats his drum loudly, they beat theirs a little more softly, if the enemy muffles his drum-beat, their own drum should not beat at all.

Throughout the development of the struggle of the Communist Party of China against modern revisionists, and mainly against the Khrushchevites, some «astonishing» vacillations have appeared in its tactic. In my opinion, this tactic can only originate from pronounced lack of clarity on principles over the struggle which must be waged against modern revisionists. Even on stands of principle over basic issues we must say that the Chinese comrades have not always had mature opinions. It cannot be said that this has resulted mainly from their efforts to

find or to apply some appropriate tactic for the events which were developing, or because the Chinese were not fully informed of all the facts which impelled the revisionist enemies to come out against Marxism-Leninism.

To be noted are the moments at the Moscow Meeting in 1957. Comrade Mao publicly praised and supported Khrushchev; in fact, he approved his action in denouncing Stalin; approved the condemnation of the «anti-party group of Molotov», etc., and advocated complete unity with the Khrushchev group.

Of course, the Chinese comrades must have been in agreement, in general terms, with Khrushchev over his actions following the death of Stalin even before 1957, because, when I met Comrade Mao in Peking in 1956, in our presence he criticized the «incorrect» activity of Stalin, and especially «Stalin's actions towards Yugoslavia», because according to Mao, Stalin «had made mistakes» and the Yugoslavs were «good Marxist men», and in order to support this «idea» it was precisely the Chinese who were the first and the only ones in that period to invite the Yugoslavs to the Congress of the Communist Party of China.

Why did the Chinese comrades display such short-sightedness towards these events? Can it be said that they had no facts on which to base a stable, principled stand about these things?! Perhaps this might be true, but however few the facts to prove the betrayal of the Khrushchevites, still this could not have been the whole reason which made the Chinese «soft», because there was one major fact, the great work of the bolsheviks led by Stalin over a long period.

If the Chinese comrades had any faith in the work of the bolshevik Stalin, their confidence in and elan towards Khrushchev would have been more reserved and moderate. But the Chinese comrades must have had pent up dissatis-

faction towards Stalin, because this was apparent in Mao's statement to the Moscow Meeting, when he said that when he first met Stalin in Moscow, he was «in the role of the schoolboy, and though ours were fraternal parties, we were not equal.» Then Mao added, «Now that we meet Khrushchev, we are like brothers.» On Mao's part, these remarks in themselves were a «condemnation» of Stalin, condemnation of the «cult of the individual» and approval of Khrushchev's line. This was wrong on Mao's part.

A respectful stand towards Stalin cannot be identified with that *disparaging* concept of Mao's. Stalin earned that respect and love which all, including Mao, showed for him, with his deeds, and he deserved this for his colossal work, for his glorious struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism. I don't know how Stalin treated Mao, but, I, personally, met Stalin many times and he always tried in every way to give me the feeling of an equal comrade, to create an intimacy. He received me in his home and himself handed me the dish, he sent away the waiters, and we got up and served one another, as in our own homes; Stalin has taken me by the arm and walked with me in his garden, tired himself on my behalf many times, taking the greatest care of me, even over the hat I should wear to avoid getting a cold, and going so far as... to show me where the toilets were if I needed them.

Could you call this stand of Stalin's the stand of «a teacher towards his pupil», **when in fact we were his pupils, and young pupils, before him?** Perhaps Mao was an older pupil, **but still he was a pupil before Stalin.** Since Stalin adopted the stand of a proletarian comrade towards me, imagine what a friendly stand he must have adopted towards Mao, as the leader of the Communist Party of a big country like China.

Therefore, what Mao said about Stalin at the Moscow

Meeting seems to me astonishing, suspect, and said for the occasion, in connection with the new situation created in the Soviet Union.

Could it be that, with what Mao said, he wanted to say to Khrushchev that now, after the death of Stalin «our two countries and two parties are on an equal basis and we two, hand-in-hand, should lead the revolutionary movement»? (This did not suit Khrushchev because, regardless of the bouquets they threw at him, he sat glowering and worried.) Or did he want to say to Khrushchev: «You are a new boy, and I am going to help set you on the right course»?

Despite Mao's «modest tone» at the Moscow Meeting, still «his reasonable and correct speech» gave you the impression of a «far-seeing», «infallible», «direction-giving» speech.

**However, it is true that the Chinese comrades did not take the question of Stalin any further. They quickly drew in their horns, and in the end (with reserve) maintained a stand pro Stalin and against the Khrushchevite traitors. This change was good and correct.**

The Moscow Meeting in 1960 put the Chinese comrades, one might say, soundly on the rails on all those capital problems prior to the meeting about which they were not completely clear or had illusions, or on which their tactical stands were wrong, irresolute and hesitating. At any rate, at Bucharest and the Moscow Meeting the disguise was torn from the Khrushchevite revisionists.

It must be said that even after the Meeting, the Chinese comrades did not have a real thorough understanding of the problems. They did not assess the danger of the disruptive anti-Marxist activity of the Khrushchevites in its entirety. The Chinese comrades nurtured illusions and hoped for «some correction». After the Meeting they concentrated more on preventing Khrushchev's attacks on us

and on themselves later, than on direct and incisive attacks on the treacherous views which impelled the revisionists to act. Hence, in this way, the Chinese took more notice of the acts (and these they tried to soften or stop) than of their content and aims (which they ought to have fought and exposed).

Hence, after the Moscow Meeting and after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, together with a certain «principled defence» of the Party of Labour of Albania by the Chinese comrades (Chou En-lai), we see an orientation, more of advice, that this kind of «open polemic with the Party of Labour of Albania» should be stopped. In this period, though we were convinced that the Chinese were with us, they did not take open stands directly in defence of the Party of Labour of Albania, for principled and militant solidarity with it, against the Khrushchevites.

In principle, could this be considered to be a wrong tactic of the Chinese for those moments? No, this tactic was not completely wrong, but in our opinion, it would not yield results. Therefore, let them adhere to such a tactic, but not for long, and let them not build up hopes that it would bring the movement good results. Thus, for a long time the Chinese comrades struggled and stood in the position of «stopping the open polemic against the Party of Labour of Albania». However, the attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania by the whole of modern revisionism continued for years on end, and the Party of Labour of Albania, likewise for years on end, struggled heroically alone.

The modern revisionists attacked us furiously, but at the same time, they were fighting Marxism-Leninism, fighting to spread their revisionist ideas, to consolidate their positions, fighting to intimidate the waverers, and indirectly they were blackmailing the Chinese.

China, one may say, did not engage directly in the

struggle against revisionism. It fought when it was prompted, and precisely during this period of exaggerated sluggishness, the Chinese slogan came out, **«The revisionists take the first step, we take the second».**

As to how far the revisionists had gone, what point the betrayal by modern revisionists and the Khrushchevites' aims had reached, all these things had become so extremely clear that the static tactic of the Chinese comrades in the «struggle» became exasperating and absurd. We can say that their struggle against the revisionists has been stepped up, has become more emphatic, mostly indirectly, and in the end directly, but it has taken a long time, a great deal of time has been lost, and the slogan of «the first step...» has been applied rigorously on their part. And to bring about this first step, so greatly desired, has required many unnecessary, tiresome stratagems, and why? Over a formal issue: «Who began the attack first, you or we,» when the modern revisionists had begun the attack **not just against our Party or some other party, but especially against Marxism-Leninism.**

It was of great and special importance for the Chinese comrades that the modern revisionists should name the Communist Party of China first, and only then should the finger be put on the great sore spot. This tactic is still being applied at present by a number of other fraternal parties of Asia, at a time when the world is on fire. Naturally, this stand is an anachronism, something stale. Even for these parties which have entered the struggle, to a greater or lesser degree, this stale tactic is like a «fig-leaf».

The slogan of «the first step...» which seems «attractive» superficially, and is considered so important for public opinion, allegedly because «he who starts it is to blame», becomes very harmful when the criminal has unsheathed his sword and is wreaking havoc, while you maintain the forms lest they «accuse you». **But what are**

**you afraid they will accuse you of? Of defending Marxism-Leninism? Our struggle is being waged precisely in defence of Marxism-Leninism.**

Hence, this slogan is holding back the struggle for a great cause for the sake of a formality, which has long been a thing of the past. The importance of our struggle has not been and is not based on whether «**you attacked first and I second**», but on that **you attacked Marxism-Leninism and I am defending Marxism-Leninism, and public opinion must distinguish as soon as possible, as quickly as possible, and as clearly as possible, who is attacking and who is defending Marxism.** This is the main, decisive, capital issue, and not, «I hit back at you after you attacked me first».

But even if we take the obvious case of the Party of Labour of Albania, which was the first to be attacked by the Khrushchevites, did we close the mouth of the Khrushchevite propaganda, which slanders us and has raised to a theory the idea that **we attacked them first?** No, they are doing their work. Or we want this to go down in history like the famous words of the French officers at the Battle of Fontenoy: *Messieurs les Anglais, tirez les premiers!*\* This is absurd when it is a matter of fighting the great enemy in the ranks of the international communist move-

Under the influence of this slogan the «forecast» was made by the Chinese comrades that «**the struggle will be protracted**», that «**this struggle will have its ups and downs**». They also decided on ten basic theoretical articles about which they told us that they would print one every fifteen days. Fourteen months have gone by since then and the tenth article has not yet come out, while the modern revisionists, without exaggeration, have written thousands of articles.

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\* «English gentlemen, you shoot first!» (French in the original)

Hence rigid, hieratic, olympian tactic, according to the moves of the enemy, but in fact, they don't even follow the moves of the enemy.

Why is this? For tactical reasons? For objective reasons? For subjective reasons? Because the Chinese comrades have failed to define a consistent line?! This is astonishing! Many actions are carried out for form, in order to put the blame formally on one or the other. The Chinese comrades contradict themselves in many of their attitudes. **On the one hand, the Chinese comrades have picked up the final stone against Khrushchev, and say to him, «We are going to put you in your grave», on the other hand they say to him, «Dear Comrade..., many happy returns!»?!**

When they address him as «Dear Comrade...», the Chinese comrades justify this as done «to get closer to the Soviet people». (Interesting, to try to approach the Soviet people by addressing this traitor as «Dear Comrade...»!)

Today they say: «We must struggle for the creation and consolidation of the anti-imperialist front **including even the revisionists**»! Tomorrow Mao makes the famous statement about border claims on the Soviet Union (!!)(with which they want to form an anti-imperialist alliance), and he draws a reply from Khrushchev who tells Mao: You are a Hitler, and if you lay a finger on our borders, I have invented a new bomb which will wipe you out completely.

Yesterday Tito was a traitor to the Chinese, later he was rehabilitated, then he became a traitor again, and now, according to Li Hsien-nien, this great traitor has become a «minor devil».

There are many things like this. The Chinese are very slow to react, and also understand things very slowly. To reflect deeply and to take a correct decision, even though a late one. this is very good, and how it should be. but

to put off things for later consideration, and fail to come out with a mature decision, that is very bad. Good decisions must serve for today and tomorrow. Hence, they must foresee the morrow, and tomorrow's decision must be consistent with that of yesterday, and linked with that of the day after tomorrow, that is, all the decisions must be like links in a single chain. Some link in the chain may be weak, and this, naturally, damages the chain, but does not ruin it, but if there are gaps and splits in its links, then it is no longer a chain.

The Chinese comrades say that they have a correct appreciation of time, but they consider it something endless, from positions of passivity, in the sense that it can pass freely, quietly, thinking that «it is working for us». Therefore they are not concerned about any delay, hence, for them it will be very good if others, too, move at their pace.

It is said that the Chinese comrades are not very pleased to be criticized, although they always say, «Criticize us.»

The Chinese comrades are very shut off. They have the capacities and possibilities to extend their horizons, and this they must do. This is absolutely essential. You must know the peoples, their lives, their development and feelings thoroughly, in order to build up a correct Marxist-Leninist policy with them. Otherwise, you will make mistakes or build a stereotyped or schematic line based on formulae and chance happenings and events. And consequently, you will not understand the crucial moment of the situation, the main link you must grasp to build a far-sighted and correct Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics.

Although Chou En-lai tried to belittle my opinion that imperialism and revisionism are trying to isolate China and that we should break this isolation, I think that the Chinese comrades ought to have this question constantly

in mind. They have to break not only their political and ideological isolation, but also their cultural, commercial and other isolation. All this must be done on the Marxist-Leninist course, without violating principles, without weakening the security of the homeland and the general line, but also without exaggerating the «world» value of Chinese culture and without underrating the culture of other peoples. This cannot have results if it is done in a one-sided way, that is, «If you like what I have, adopt it if you wish, but, on the other hand, I don't like what you have and I shall not allow my people to taste what you have, that is good.» These views are not correct, they are not Marxist, they are harmful.

We must find suitable occasions to raise and discuss these and other questions of this nature in a comradely and fraternal way with the Chinese comrades. Perhaps there are some things related to them that we still do not know well enough to understand them in all their extent, therefore, comradely internationalist discussion to the benefit of our common work is always fruitful and advances the work.

Not only we, but the Chinese, too, have great need to thrash out our ideas, to exchange experience with each other on these capital issues, and to more or less define the way we will act, or the methods of work which may not be identical in form but must be correct in essence, must be aimed at one or more definite objectives for our great, wide-ranging, complicated cause.

Marxist-Leninist seriousness comes first on the order of the day. Any mistake costs dear; hence fewer mistakes will be made if we consult each other, if we coordinate our actions seriously and correctly.

## **AN OPEN LETTER**

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE SOVIET UNION

**October 5, 1964**

Dear Comrades,

A grave situation has been created in the international communist and workers' movement. The Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the communist parties, the cause for which the communists and proletarians of the whole world have fought heroically, not sparing their very lives, the cause of socialism and of communism, are facing a great danger, are passing through one of the most difficult periods of their history. Open revisionism, complete division, betrayal and degeneration are threatening them today more than at any other time.

The originator and principal culprit for this grave situation is the Khrushchev group. After having usurped the leadership of the glorious party set up by the great Lenin, and of the first and most powerful socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union, by putschist and conspiratorial methods, this group have now embarked on the road of the greatest betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism, have now become the principal bearers and disseminators of the opportunist and revisionist trend that is eroding the international communist and workers' movement today, and which has undermined the very foundations of its unity.

The Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-

Leninist parties have, time and again, urged the leadership of your party, with Khrushchev at the head, to give up the line of revisionism and disruption, to courageously re-examine its position, and return to the road of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to condemn its own chauvinistic attitudes and hostile activities towards sister parties and fraternal socialist countries, and to re-establish relations of friendship and proletarian solidarity with them.

Even since the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when Khrushchev launched his vilest public attacks and most monstrous slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, our Party has called on the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to re-examine its position and to return to the right road. As it was said in the speech delivered on November 7, 1961, «Calmly and with a clear conscience, the Party of Labour of Albania appeals to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appeals to its Central Committee newly elected by the 22nd Congress, to consider the situation created in the relations between our two parties and our two countries with Leninist justice, objectively, dispassionately and in an unbiased way. Our Party has always been ready to settle the existing differences, for the sake of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, and in the interests of our countries. But it has always been and remains of the opinion that these matters must be settled correctly and only in a Marxist-Leninist way, under conditions of equality and not of pressure and dictate.»

As late as April 1963. in an article published in the organ of its Central Committee «Zëri i popullit», our Party emphasized: «If Khrushchev is in favour of the settlement of differences and consolidation of unity, he should show this by deeds, should take real, and not

fictitious steps, to remove all the obstacles he has created in the relations between our two parties and our two countries. Just as he dared to attack our Party and our country in a slanderous way, to interfere in our internal affairs, and to undertake hostile activities against us, he should take the courage to publicly denounce these anti-Marxist stands and acts and return to rigorous respect for the internationalist norms of relations between communist and workers' parties and between socialist countries.»<sup>1</sup>

However, the Khrushchev group not only failed to listen to the voice of reason and scorned the comradely advice of our Party and the other fraternal parties, but persisted with even more vehemence in their course of betrayal, increased their assaults and hostile acts against our Party and other fraternal parties, against Marxism-Leninism, against the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement. Events and facts have proved indisputably that Khrushchev is a conscious traitor and enemy, determined to pursue his counter-revolutionary line to the end.

Their recent decision to arbitrarily call an illegal special meeting of the parties that follow in their footsteps is another great plot that testifies most clearly that the Khrushchev group are the greatest splitters that the history of the international communist movement has ever known. Khrushchev is trying to drag as many parties as he can into this new anti-communist plot which is intended to sanction the full and open splitting of the socialist camp and the communist movement. In connection with this he has sent a letter to all parties, and through them to our Party as well, informing that he has decided to call a meeting of the editorial commission on December 15 this

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<sup>1</sup> From the article of the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», April 18, 1963 entitled: «Khrushchev Again in the Role of the Demagogue. Slanderer and Splitter».

year, and the international meeting of the communist and workers' parties towards the middle of the coming year. In this letter our Party is invited to send its delegation to Moscow to take part in the work of the editorial commission and to announce the composition of the delegation as early as possible.

Taking into account the fact that the Khrushchev group have completely betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, and that all efforts and hopes of bringing them back to the right course have totally failed, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, has decided not to reply to their letter of July 30, 1964. The Party of Labour of Albania has no more to do with Khrushchev's group of renegades.

On this occasion and under these circumstances, the Party of Labour of Albania has decided to address this open letter to you, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, pioneers of the great cause of communism, for whom we have always had a profound respect and affection. In this letter, we want to tell you with open hearts and fraternal sincerity that truth which Khrushchev has hidden from you for years on end. He has deceived you and continues to do so. He has denied you any right to acquaint yourselves with the materials of our Party and of other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Party of Labour of Albania is addressing itself to you, for it is of the opinion that in this situation your responsibility and role are of historic significance. It is up to you to say your word. In the Soviet Union no one else but you can call a halt to Khrushchev's revisionist course. You are the force which can save the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the Great October Revolution and the glorious Party of the bolsheviks, from the blind alley into which Khrushchev has led it, you must defend Marxism-Leninism, the honour and dignity of the Soviet Union and raise aloft the revolu-

tionary banner of your party which Khrushchev has sullied with disgrace.

Dear Comrades,

The Khrushchev group are making a great fuss about the so-called international meeting of the communist and workers' parties. They are trying to persuade you and all the communists of the world that allegedly this meeting is necessary, that allegedly it will help to settle differences and consolidate the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement. This is a big fraud, a bluff, a dangerous manoeuvre.

In fact, this meeting by no means helps the cause of Marxist-Leninist unity, either as to the circumstances in which it is being called, and the way it is being prepared, or as to its political platform. Its aim is to undermine unity, to irrevocably split the communist movement, to consolidate the shaky position of revisionism, to intensify the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, in this way carrying out the greatest service for the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania declares that the Party of Labour of Albania is firmly opposed to this disruptive meeting of the modern revisionists, and categorically denounces this new plot of the Khrushchevite clique.

For what reasons does the Party of Labour of Albania refuse to take part in this meeting and why does it condemn it?

*First*, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is convinced that the hasty calling of the meeting of the communist and workers' parties under the present conditions and circumstances, when deep divergences on basic strategic issues exist in the international communist movement between Marxist-Leninists and revi-

sionists, about which a great polemic is being carried on, is not in the interests of settling differences and of consolidating unity on sound Marxist-Leninist foundations, is by no means the «most effective way of strengthening the solidarity of the communist movement», but, on the contrary, is the way to completely undermine it.

Through their views and deeds the modern revisionists have made the existing differences increasingly sharper and deeper, have constantly undermined unity, have plunged themselves deeper and deeper into the mire of betrayal and disruption. With all this they have made the calling of the international meeting of the communist and workers' parties even more difficult, they have postponed it even further. Greater efforts and a longer time are now required to prepare the necessary conditions for the calling of a meeting that would truly serve the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement.

*Second*, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania declares that the meeting which is now being called on the initiative of the Khrushchev group is absolutely arbitrary and illegal, since the norms and principles sanctioned in the 1960 Moscow Declaration governing relations between parties have been brutally violated. No one is entitled to call a general meeting of the communist and workers' parties to suit his whims, without first consulting the other parties and receiving their consent. We publicly declare that no preliminary consultation on this matter has taken place with the Party of Labour of Albania.

Khrushchev has quite arbitrarily decided to replace the principle sanctioned in the 1960 Moscow Declaration, of arriving at unification of views through equal and comradely consultations, with the principle of subjecting the minority to the majority. The Party of Labour of Albania has always opposed such a principle, because this is a flagrant

violation of the equality and independence of fraternal parties, an attempt to impose the will of the so-called majority on others. But even if we speak of the majority, the real majority, and not the false and fictitious one, is by no means on the side of the revisionists. A considerable number of fraternal parties, whose ranks contain about half the communists of the entire world, without reckoning here a whole army of revolutionary communists enrolled in the parties of other countries whose leaders have slipped into the revisionist position, and who also condemn Khrushchev's treacherous splitting activities, are quite definitely opposed to the calling of the international communist meeting under the present conditions and circumstances.

*Third*, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania declares that by organizing the so-called international meeting in a hasty, arbitrary and illegal manner, the Khrushchev group are in fact trying to organize a meeting of factionists. This is clearly evident in the July 30 letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which runs: «In our opinion, the commission should start its work even if any of the 26 communist parties fails to send its delegation at the appointed time.» And the letter continues: «The refusal of this or that party to take part in this collective work must not serve as a justification for further postponement of measures aimed at working out the ways and methods of consolidating the internationalist unity of the Marxist-Leninists of the whole worlds.»

Thus it is clear that Khrushchev has made up his mind to convene the meeting even without the participation of the representatives of many parties which have already expressed their opposition to an international meeting under the present conditions and circumstances. This means that the meeting which is being called now will only be a meeting of the leaders of a few parties and mainly of those

that follow Khrushchev, a meeting of revisionists. And this fact alone refutes all Khrushchev's demagoguery about alleged unity and solidarity and lays bare his anti-Marxist and divisive aims.

Now it is becoming clear to all that, by hastily convening the so-called international meeting of the communist and workers' parties, the Khrushchev group are aiming to achieve two main objectives: on the one hand, to intensify their fight against Marxism-Leninism, to condemn certain socialist countries and certain communist parties, and «to expel» them from the socialist camp and the communist movement; and, on the other hand, to strengthen the ranks of the revisionist front, to subject all the revisionists to their dictate, to force a «new charter» on them, while binding them hand and foot.

The attainment of these objectives is decisive for the fate of the Khrushchev revisionist group, who are facing grave difficulties. The determined and principled struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary communists of the world has not only torn the mask off the Khrushchevite revisionists and is frustrating their hostile schemes, but has brought about a grave situation within the ranks of the modern revisionists themselves. Deep contradictions have arisen between them, contradictions which are expressed with particular clarity by the tendency to oppose the hegemony and paternalism of the Khrushchev group.

Under these circumstances there is no other way left for the Khrushchevite revisionists: they must carry the split with Marxist-Leninists through to the end and, at the same time, hobble their revisionist allies, impose their control and domination over them, check any attempt on their part, however formal, for independence.

These plans, which Khrushchev aims to achieve with the meeting he is preparing, have encountered great

obstacles, not only from the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are quite clear about Khrushchev's treacherous aims to the detriment of communism and the socialist camp, but also from some of his revisionist allies. In the first place, it must be said that some of the revisionist opponents of Khrushchev's proposed meeting, in the preparatory stage of which they are nevertheless participating, are just as revisionists as, even more consistently revisionist than, Khrushchev himself. Their opposition to the holding of the international meeting is not inspired by any concern about the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, but from their aim that the complete split and fight against Marxism-Leninism should be carried out by methods different from those of Khrushchev, methods which they consider more effective and with fewer dangerous consequences for them, by trying to prolong their own existence through creating false illusions about their position, and so on. Moreover, their opposition is inspired by the fact that they do not want to be tied down; they want to gain their «independence» from the Khrushchevite clique, to be free to link themselves directly with the social-democrats or the imperialist bourgeoisie, how and when they want.

The manoeuvres which Khrushchev and his followers are now resorting to, the tactics they are using, cannot conceal the anti-Marxist aims of the modern revisionists, their hostility to Marxism-Leninism. They will not succeed in deceiving any one. Whether or not the revisionists hold their meeting, whether they hold it now or later, makes no difference. The true Marxist-Leninists will intensify their principled struggle for the exposure of the Khrushchevite and other modern revisionists, a struggle that will bring defeat and total destruction to these dangerous enemies of communism.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been and continues

to be in favour of the international meeting of the communist and workers' parties. But it has been and continues to be in favour of a meeting that would serve the real unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the revolutionary principles laid down in the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations. It has opposed and continues to oppose any meeting that would sanction an open rift or would create a false unity on an anti-Marxist revisionist basis.

The Party of Labour of Albania has stated earlier, and is repeating now, that in order to prepare a meeting of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist movement it is essential to take into account the present situation of the communist movement, the changes that have taken place, and the processes that have gone on in it since the 1960 Meeting, and in conformity with these circumstances and conditions to specify the measures and steps that should be taken to achieve an international meeting which would really express the opinion and wishes of all the communists of the world, and would serve to achieve and strengthen that militant unity of which our movement stands in greater need today than ever before.

The only basis for true unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement lies in Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. No unity can be achieved on the basis of revisionism. There can be no unity between Marxists and revisionists who have betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Khrushchev's plan to unite the communist movement on the basis of revisionism is a plan of disruption, and is doomed to failure and disgrace. Likewise, any attempt, any hope, any illusion of finding an intermediary platform, satisfactory to all, that would unite both Marxists and revisionists, is futile and detrimental to the attainment of

true principled unity of the communist movement, which is the only unity possible.

The treacherous designs which the Khrushchev group are striving to attain at the present meeting are by no means accidental. The Khrushchevite revisionists have always striven towards attaining these objectives. They began the split by spreading their revisionist course. They deepened it with their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist activities. And they are now carrying this division to its logical conclusion. But the revisionists should bear well in mind that the heavens will not be overturned because of their separatist meeting and because of the «collective measures» that they will take. Their meeting will be fruitful and very favourable to the international communist movement. The day of the revisionists' meeting will go down in history as the day of their complete and open betrayal, and at the same time, as the day that will mark their final catastrophe. The revolutionary communist movement will forge ahead without the revisionists and in struggle against the revisionists, and it will certainly achieve its unity in this militant way. This will be true Marxist-Leninist unity for which the Marxist-Leninists of the world are fighting and will fight courageously.

Dear Comrades,

Khrushchev is trying to persuade you, communists of the Soviet Union, the Soviet peoples and all the peoples of the world that with his assumption of power a new epoch has begun, a great turn in history. The decade of his rule is described as the decade of the «blooming of the Soviet Union», of the «triumphal march towards communism», as the decade of the «triumph of peace and peaceful coexistence», as the decade of the «consolidation of the communist movement» and of the «creative development

of Marxism». The modern revisionists begin the «real history» of the Soviet Union in 1953.

These are all lies, nothing but lies. It is true that an historical turn started when the Khrushchev group took the reins of state in their hands, but this was a big retrogressive turn, a turn that flung the doors open to opportunism and revisionism, to betrayal and degeneration, to the undermining of unity and the beginning of the rift in the communist movement, to approaches to and unity with the imperialists and other enemies of the peoples and socialism.

No other person or group up till now has caused so much harm and so much evil to the Soviet Union, to the socialist camp, to the communist movement, to the cause of socialism and communism, as Khrushchev and his group. The history of the Soviet Union and of international communism records no greater renegade, no more rabid and dangerous enemy than the group of Khrushchevite revisionists.

What the imperialists were unable to do through their armed intervention, what Trotsky, Bukharin and other enemies of the Soviet power could not do in their time, what the German fascists could not do during the Second World War. Khrushchev's group are set on doing now.

Who has defamed, discredited, assailed so vehemently, who has slandered the Soviet power, the Soviet socialist order as much as Khrushchev has done?

It is Khrushchev who cancelled out the most glorious period of the Soviet Union, when the Soviet peoples, led by the party with Stalin at the head, overcame colossal difficulties, courageously coped with the ruthless capitalist encirclement, smashed the counter-revolution, built the first socialist society in the world, reaped the great historic victory in the Patriotic War, and transformed the Soviet Union into a powerful, developed and advanced socialist state with an unparalleled authority and role in the international arena. He presented the whole of this period

as one during which terror and persecution, prisons and concentration camps, violations of the law and democracy, arbitrariness and despotism, poverty and hunger reigned in the Soviet Union. He rendered the imperialists great service through these deeds of his, providing them with weapons to attack and discredit the Soviet Union. The infamous «secret» report which Khrushchev delivered at the 20th Congress and his subsequent speeches became the main nourishment, the inexhaustible source of all the most reactionary anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

Who can believe Khrushchev's slanders about the crimes of Stalin? Can we have any faith in the concoctions of investigatory commissions appointed by Khrushchev, in the writings of the Adjubeyns,<sup>2</sup> the diaries of the Solzhenitsyns,<sup>3</sup> and their ilk? Can it be that imperialism and its agents, for whom the Soviet Union has always been an acute irritation, which they tried to get rid of by strangling it in its cradle, have sat with folded arms all this time, and have done nothing about it? In times gone by Khrushchev himself said in 1938: «The Yakirs, the Balitskys, the Tyupchenkos, the Zatonkys, and other rogues intended to bring the Polish aristocracy back to the Ukraine, to bring the German fascists, the landlords and capitalists here... We have exterminated many enemies but still not all of them. Therefore we should keep our eyes open. We should always bear in mind Comrade Stalin's words that so long as the capitalist encirclement exists spies and wreckers will be sent into our country.»

One year earlier, in 1937, this same Khrushchev said «Our Party will mercilessly crush the band of traitors, will

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**2** Khrushchev's son-in-law, former editor-in-chief of the newspaper «Izvestia», mouthpiece for Khrushchev's revisionist ideas and actions.

**3** Counter-revolutionary, ultra-revisionist writer.

sweep all the Trotskyite rightist carrion from the face of the earth. The guarantee of this is the unwavering leadership of our Central Committee, the unwavering leadership of our leader, Comrade Stalin... We shall completely exterminate the enemies from first to last, and scatter their ashes to the winds.» But instead of wiping the Trotskyite carrion from the face of the earth, or exterminating all the enemies and scattering their ashes to the winds, the renegade Khrushchev burned Stalin's remains, scattered his ashes to the wind, the ashes of this great defender and leader of the historic achievements of the Soviet Union. He rehabilitated all the counter-revolutionaries, from first to last, proclaimed them victims of Stalin, and decided to raise monuments to them.

Just who these victims are whom Khrushchev takes under his protection, we Albanians know only too well from our own experience. While Khrushchev has dubbed the leaders of the Albanian Party and state, who have led the people in the great fight for liberation and the building of socialism, agents of imperialism who have sold themselves for 30 pieces of silver, murderers and terrorists, he has openly taken under his protection the enemies of our Party and of our people, describing them as true revolutionary communists, internationalists, patriots and innocent victims.

Only a traitor, an enemy of communism, could hurl such monstrous slanders and attacks on Stalin, this great leader of the Communist Party, the Soviet peoples, and the international communist movement. In his anti-communist attacks on Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev has surpassed even the imperialists, the most rabid reactionaries and renegades from communism, Kautsky, Trotsky, Tito and Djilas. What has he not said against Stalin! He has called him a «murderer», a «common criminal», a «despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible», the «greatest dictator in the history of

Russia», and so on and so forth. J. V. Stalin, who for 30 years on end led the Party of the bolsheviks and the Soviet peoples from victory to victory, who courageously defended the line of the great Lenin, who inspired the Stakhonovs and heroes of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, who aroused and resolutely led all the workers and peasants, all the Soviet people, in the Great Patriotic War, with whose name on their lips the Matrosovs,<sup>4</sup> the Kozmodemyanskayas,<sup>5</sup> the heroes of Stalingrad, and hundreds of thousands of other heroes and fighters threw themselves into attacks on the enemy and fell in battle.

Have you ever stopped to think, comrades, why such savage hatred is expressed for Stalin, why he is discredited and attacked so furiously, why the whole glorious period of the Soviet people and their party, when J. V. Stalin was at the head, is blackened so shamefully? Don't you see a logical connection between attacks and slanders against Stalin and songs of praise for the leaders of imperialism, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and others whom Khrushchev has called «reasonable» men who «enjoy the absolute trust of their people», who «are earnestly concerned about the preservation of peace», the death of one of any of these chiefs of imperialism, as in the case of Kennedy, he described as a «great loss for mankind» and proclaimed as a day of mourning even for the communists? Only a charlatan, a man without character or shame could behave as Khrushchev has done towards Stalin, to whom, when he was alive, he used to sing the most rapturous

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**4** A. M. Matrosov — soldier of the Soviet Red Army, who educated by the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin, in February 1943, blocked the fire from a German bunker with his own body to ensure the victory of his detachment.

**5** Z. A. Kozmodemyanskaya — heroic daughter of the Soviet people, brave and dauntless partisan fighter, who was captured by the enemy and, after inhuman torture, was barbarously murdered by the German nazis in November 1941.

praises, whom he used to call «the great Lenin's close friend and comrade-in-arms», «friend of the people and beloved father», «the great Marshal of the victory over fascism», «the greatest genius and leader of mankind».

How could it have been possible that you, Soviet communists, the Soviet people, achieved such colossal victories of historic significance with your party and state headed by a man who did nothing but commit all kinds of crimes and mistakes? Can there be any greater absurdity and more clumsy falsification of history than to deny Stalin's great merits as the leader of the party and the commander-in-chief of the Soviet Army and to praise to the skies the role and merits of Khrushchev, who is presented as a great strategist, not only of the Patriotic War, but even of the Civil War, as the pioneer of the cosmic era, and so on and so forth. It is a regrettable thing that even some comrades-in-arms of Stalin who directed the major operations during the Patriotic War with him and under his leadership, are falsifying history under instructions from Khrushchev, are now denying what yesterday they admitted with their own mouths.

With his base calumnies and attacks against Stalin, worthy only of a hooligan, Khrushchev gravely insults the great Soviet people, their party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet socialist order, insults the glorious Soviet Army, the international communist movement and the workers and peoples of all the world, insults socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Time was when Khrushchev himself used to say: «Whoever raises his hand against Comrade Stalin has raised it against all of us, against the working class, against the working people! Whoever raises his hand against Comrade Stalin has raised it against the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin.» (From his speech at the Moscow rally in January 1937.)

This is precisely what Khrushchev himself has done.

By raising his hand against Stalin, he raised it against everything, against communism, against Marxism-Leninism.

By raising his hand against Stalin, Khrushchev raised his hand against the Soviet socialist system itself. He is afraid to admit this in public, despite the calls of his most consistent allies to carry the elimination of the consequences of the «cult» through to the end. But the fact remains that by calling the three decades of Stalin's leadership an anomaly, a deviation from the Leninist road, and by working intensively to undermine the socialist system, Khrushchev is actually breaking the Soviet socialist system itself and is leading the peaceful evolution of the degeneration of socialism in the Soviet Union. And the irony of it is that he calls this treacherous social-democratic road a «return to Lenin», «following the true Leninist road»!

This is the purpose and true significance of all of Khrushchev's hue and cry about the so-called struggle against the cult of the individual and its consequences.

The Khrushchev group have raised their hand against the most sacred thing, the most powerful weapon of the Soviet people for the defence of the achievements of the revolution and the construction of communism, against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist Party. They are trying to disarm the people, to take the power from the people's hands, to cause the degeneration of the party. They have trampled upon and rejected the consistent Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party, its revolutionary tradition and spirit, they have imposed an opportunist and revisionist course on the party in all fields of its life and activity, a course which jeopardizes the historic victories of socialism in the Soviet Union, for which the party and the Soviet people have fought heroically, have made great sacrifices, have shed their blood.

To carry their course through, the Khrushchev revisionist clique have carried out great and continuous purges in

the ranks of the cadres of the party and the state, from both the central organs and the base, have dismissed all those about whom they are doubtful and have replaced them with cadres loyal to their course. Within ten years Khrushchev has removed over 70 per cent of the members of the Central Committee elected at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1952, and at the 22nd Congress about 50 per cent of the members of the Central Committee elected at the 20th Congress. Likewise, on the eve of the 22nd Congress, on the pretext of the circulation of cadres, he replaced 45 per cent of the members of the central committees of the parties of the Federated Republics, of the party committees of districts and regions, as well as 40 per cent of the members of the party committees of cities and city quarters. In 1963, under the pretext of reorganizing the party on the basis of production, the Khrushchev clique once again replaced more than half of the members of the central committees of the Federated Republics and regional party committees.

The men who surround and serve Khrushchev today constitute a privileged stratum, degenerated from the point of view of ideology, who have betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Soviet working class, who are fighting against Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Their sole concern is to consolidate their economic position and their political domination. Relying on this stratum the Khrushchev group are turning the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a revisionist party and the Soviet socialist state into a dictatorship of the Khrushchevite clique.

Their theses on the so-called «party of the entire people» and «the state of the entire people», are a great fraud. They have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and serve only to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. «The march forward, that is, towards communism, passes through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it cannot be

achieved otherwise,» said Lenin. By proclaiming that the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union has been liquidated, the Khrushchev group have taken a very dangerous step back towards capitalism. Khrushchev's so-called «state of the entire people» is nothing but a mask to hide the dictatorship of his clique directed against the Soviet working class and peasantry, against the Soviet people. It is only the dictatorship of the proletariat that Khrushchev fights. He is for the preservation of state power in order to use it as a means to attain his own counter-revolutionary objectives and to keep the Soviet people and communists under oppression and subjection. Equally dangerous is his thesis about the «party of the entire people» which wipes out the proletarian class character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and opens the way for the degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist party into a revisionist one. All the organizational and re-organizational steps, which Khrushchev has undertaken time after time in the party and state, serve these aims.

Comrades, the Soviet state, the first socialist state in the world which the October Revolution established, the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are faced with the grave risk of degenerating into a bourgeois state and a revisionist bourgeois party. Passivity at these moments is inexcusable and fatal. It is the imperative, lofty, sacred and historic duty of all the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the broad masses of the Soviet people to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, to defend the Communist Party founded by Lenin.

Since he came to power Khrushchev has taken a number of steps and has made a number of reforms in the field of the economy, particularly in agriculture, about which he has bragged a great deal. But what is the purpose and real meaning of these measures and reforms? They are in opposition to the principles of socialism and communism, they

are an attempt to introduce into the Soviet socialist economy organizational forms and methods of management borrowed from the experience of Titoite Yugoslavia and the capitalist countries. The Khrushchev group have replaced the socialist principle of payment according to the work done with the material stimulus, which they absolutize and fetishize. They have undermined the planned and centralized management of the economy, and by encouraging the capitalist principle of the struggle for profits, are inciting unrestrained capitalist competition, are destroying the common property of the whole people, and are breaking it up, as they have done with the machine and tractor stations.

In essence Khrushchev's communism is a variety of bourgeois socialism. His hue and cry about his concern for the welfare of the people, for better living conditions for everyone, are hypocritical and demagogical from first to last. What the Khrushchev group hanker after is an easier life, more comfort and prosperity for a privileged and degenerate stratum which secures fat incomes in the form of high salaries, bonuses and honoraria, and by means of abuses, bribes, theft and so on. Khrushchev has reduced the lofty ideal of communism to a «good plate of goulash». The United States of America, the experience of the industrialists and the recommendations of big American ranch holders and farmers like Eaton, Hearst and company serve as a pattern for his communism. He has gone so far as to hold out his hand to the US imperialists in order «to build» communism in the Soviet Union with their dollars and credits. The Khrushchevite revisionists have flung the doors open to the penetration of bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois way of life, bourgeois decadence in art, literature and culture, to the enlivenment of all kinds of anti-Soviet, anti-socialist tendencies, to the spreading of decadent Western trends. They loudly propagate bourgeois individualism and selfishness, bourgeois humanism and pacifism.

Are all these things not clear testimony of the dangerous course on which Khrushchev is leading the Soviet Union? These are not at all steps ahead towards communism — they all lead backwards to capitalism. Under these circumstances, the revolutionary Soviet communists, and the Soviet people face the question: will they allow the Khrushchev group to carry out their criminal, counter-revolutionary work in peace, or will they rise up in defence of the victories of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and call a halt to the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist course of Khrushchev?

Dear Comrades,

As long as your party held the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism high and unsullied and pursued a consistent revolutionary line in home and foreign policy, the Soviet Union was, for whole decades, the bastion of the revolution and socialism, the standard-bearer of the struggle against imperialism, the great defender and supporter of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the great fighter for the emancipation of the working class and the cause of peace in the world. The revolutionary communists and peoples of the whole world looked upon the great Soviet Union with deep respect and admiration, took as their example and were inspired by its principled revolutionary stand. The establishment of the socialist camp, the growth of the communist and workers' movement, the great impetus of the peoples' liberation struggles are closely bound up with the internationalist role and contribution of the first country of socialism, the Soviet Union. At that time there was full unity of views and action in the socialist camp, in the communist movement, and in all the international democratic organizations. All the revolutionary forces of the world, with the Soviet Union at the head, acted united as a single body against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

But Khrushchev undermined the prestige, authority, and role of the Soviet Union in the world with his political course. In the name of the Soviet Union he splits the socialist camp and the international communist movement, he sabotages and strangles the revolution and the peoples' liberation struggles, deceives and intimidates the peoples, defends capitalism and imperialism and paints them in beautiful colours.

See, comrades, what a great tragedy the Khrushchev group are playing with your country which has such brilliant revolutionary traditions, such great historical merits! They are constantly linking and uniting the Soviet Union with its most ravaging enemies, with those against whom the communists and peoples of the Soviet Union have waged a resolute and heroic fight.

The Khrushchev group have made allies and friends of those who would like to bury the Soviet Union. They have made US imperialism, which is the head of world imperialism, the centre of reaction, and the main source of war and aggression, the international exploiter and gendarme, the number one enemy of the peoples of the whole world, an ally and friend of the Soviet Union.

They have made a friend and brother of the Tito clique, who have long since betrayed Marxism-Leninism, who carry on activity to undermine the forces of socialism, freedom and peace in the world, who serve imperialism most zealously, who are maintained on US dollars, and whom the international communist movement has unanimously denounced.

They have made friends and allies of the renegades of the working class, servants of the bourgeoisie and most rabid anti-communists, the reactionary right-wing leaders of social-democracy like Guy Mollet, Spaak, Wilson, and others.

They have made friends and allies of the reactionary Indian bourgeoisie whom Khrushchev is equipping with

armaments and whom he is inciting to oppress the Indian people and launch aggression on such a fraternal country as the People's Republic of China.

They have made friends and allies of the Vatican in Rome, this old centre of reaction and obscurantism, with all the reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces of the world, including the Bonn revanchists with whom Khrushchev is trying to come to terms.

Khrushchev has turned the sharp edge of his attacks against the true and loyal allies and friends of the Soviet Union.

You know the fierce attacks, monstrous slanders and accusations, the hostile acts which the Khrushchev group have launched against the Party of Labour of Albania, against the People's Republic of Albania, against the Albanian people and their leaders. What «crime» is there that he has not accused our Party and our people of! In his campaign against our Party and our people, Khrushchev resorted to threats and pressure, brutal interference in our internal affairs, established the economic blockade and broke off diplomatic relations. From the rostrum of the 22nd Congress he openly called upon the communists and people of Albania to launch a counter-revolution, to overthrow the leadership of the Party and the state, exhortations which are continually repeated by the Soviet propaganda organs, and especially by Radio Moscow in its broadcasts to Albania. But why all this resentment, all this hostility towards a socialist country, towards a Marxist party and a fraternal people, hatred and enmity which even the most rabid imperialist enemies have not expressed towards our country? What was the «crime» this Party and this people committed? Their sole «crime» was that they refused to submit to Khrushchev's line of betrayal, came out in defence of Marxism-Leninism, and unmasked and opposed the disruptive aims of the revisionists.

The Khrushchev group are waging a bitter struggle against other socialist countries which do not submit to their dictate, as well as against all the communist parties which oppose revisionism and uphold Marxism-Leninism. They are using against them all the weapons and methods which the class enemy uses, interfering brutally in their internal affairs, violating their sovereignty and independence, using pressure and blackmail to force them to their knees, sowing dissension and organizing plots, as they did recently against the Communist Party of Japan. They use the joint organizations of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid and the Warsaw Treaty in order to put the socialist countries under the domination of this group, to exploit them for their own selfish and chauvinistic purposes.

With the whole of his course and activity Khrushchev has rendered and is rendering great services to imperialism and world reaction, and has caused and is causing heavy damage to the cause of socialism, the freedom of the peoples and peace in the world.

Modern revisionism, which spread very rapidly following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, paved the way for the bloody counter-revolution in Hungary, to the counter-revolutionary events in Poland, jeopardized the very existence of certain communist and workers' parties, as in the United States of America, in Denmark, and elsewhere. Following Khrushchev's course, the Communist Party of India, with Dange at its head, transformed itself into a tool of the reactionary big bourgeoisie, into a national-chauvinist party that has betrayed the ideals of the Indian working class and people. In Algeria the revisionists diverted the party from the armed resistance together with the people, isolated it from the masses, placed it at the tail end and made it lose its place in the political life of Algeria. A real tragedy befell the Communist Party of Iraq, which, having succumbed

to pressure from the Khrushchev group, followed an opportunist course, lost its vigilance, and as a consequence, received a heavy blow from the reactionaries, and the cause of the revolution in Iraq suffered a big defeat.

Revisionism is eroding many communist and workers' parties, particularly in Europe, which is full of revisionism. They are being transformed from parties of social revolution into parties of social reform, they are approaching and amalgamating with the social-democrats, departing from the revolutionary traditions and the revolutionary spirit, they are nurturing themselves with illusions about the peaceful parliamentary road, which the revisionists have raised to a principle of world strategy.

For the sake of his rapprochement under any conditions and all-round collaboration with the US imperialists who are the real beneficiaries from the whole of his policy of so-called peaceful coexistence, Khrushchev has committed grave crimes against the peoples' freedom and independence, against peace, against the Soviet Union itself, against its security. For the sake of this rapprochement and reconciliation, following his adventurous actions, Khrushchev capitulated shamefully to US imperialism during the Caribbean crisis, when he did not hesitate to sacrifice Cuba's sovereignty. He brought great shame on the Soviet Union, on its armed forces, when he allowed the US imperialists to search Soviet ships on the open seas in a most humiliating way, while Cuba, a tiny country, only 90 miles from the USA, honourably upheld its dignity, did not allow any imperialist searches within its territory, even of Soviet ships in Cuban territorial waters.

Khrushchev sacrificed the national interests of the Congolese people when he voted in favour of the intervention of UN troops under the direction of the US imperialists. This compromise brought tragic consequences to the cause

of freedom and independence of the Congolese people, as everybody now knows.

A great betrayal and deception of the peoples was the Moscow Treaty on the Partial Ban of Nuclear Weapons Tests, which is in fact directed against the interests of the Soviet Union itself and the socialist camp, gives the US imperialists the possibility of continuing their underground tests unilaterally and of increasing their atomic potential, of continuing their nuclear blackmail to threaten and intimidate the peoples.

Khrushchev has made many deals with imperialism at the peoples' expense. In spite of the great noise made for years on end about the signing of the peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the West Berlin problem, Khrushchev has now virtually dropped this matter, and on the eve of his visit to West Germany, is preparing to make further compromises with the Bonn revanchists to the detriment of the vital interests of the German Democratic Republic. While all the peoples throughout the world rose in anger and resolutely denounced the new aggressive acts of the United States of America against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Khrushchev, to avoid losing favour with the Americans, raised only a feeble voice, with difficulty managed to say a couple of words in an undertone to express his regrets over the Tonkin Gulf incidents, at a time when a fraternal socialist country was faced and is still faced with grave danger.

Not only has Khrushchev given up the fight against imperialists himself, but he is doing his best to stop the other peoples from carrying out the revolution and from fighting imperialism, and trying to restrain and strangle the world liberation movement. He spreads all sorts of pacifist illusions about imperialism and its leaders, advises the peoples to be docile, not to irritate the imperialists but to submit to them, because, according to him, a «world conflagration could

be kindled from any little spark». He threatens and intimidates them with the horrors of atomic war and preaches peace under any conditions and at any price. He has gone so far as to suggest the setting up of an international police force within the framework of the United Nations Organization, to become an international gendarme, together with US imperialism, in order to suppress any peoples' liberation and revolutionary movement in the world.

It is not by chance that the US imperialists, the right-wing leaders of social-democracy, and reactionaries of all hues lavish praise on the person of Khrushchev, on his policy, on his attitude. They describe him as a «great realistic politician with whom one can readily come to terms», «the most suitable man for the West in Moscow», «the Soviet premier who acts like an American politician», «the man who is putting the communist world on the road to great transformations and evolution», and so on and so forth. They have rested great hopes on Khrushchev and his group, and that is why they come to meet him half-way and give him all kinds of aid and support to lure him further down the road of betrayal on which he has long since embarked. They speak openly about «not allowing this great occasion to slip through their fingers» and that «the USA should, to a certain extent, make Khrushchev's task lighter», and so on and so forth.

History has not recorded any other case of this kind, in which the leaders of imperialism, the class enemies, have lavished so much praise on, are so enthusiastic about, a leader of a communist party as Khrushchev, have expressed so openly their approval, joy, and hopes regarding his political course. This fact alone makes clear who benefits from Khrushchev's actions, whom his views and deeds serve.

Dear Comrades,

In face of the great danger of Khrushchevite revisionism that is menacing the socialist camp, the international communist movement, and the Soviet Union itself, today the communist parties that have adopted sound Marxist-Leninist positions, all the revolutionary communists the world over, have risen in resolute and principled struggle.

And it could not happen otherwise. The communists, who have dedicated their lives to the cause of the revolution and socialism, could not have failed and cannot fail to rise up against this great betrayal of the working class on the part of the modern revisionists. We are fully convinced that this struggle will take ever greater proportions, and that this is precisely what will bring about the final defeat of revisionism.

In this great historic battle between Marxism and revisionism, on the outcome of which the present and future of socialism depends, a great responsibility and role devolves upon you, dear comrades, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is precisely in the leadership of your party that the great evil has taken root, it is the centre of revisionism today. The great danger which revisionism constitutes for the entire international communist movement today lies in the fact that it has manifested itself in the oldest and most authoritative party in the world, in the Bolshevik Party, in the Party of Lenin and Stalin, that it has infected the first and most powerful socialist country, the Soviet Union.

Taking advantage of the authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet state, and utilizing the state power with all the colossal means at its disposal, the Khrushchev group are trying to deceive the Soviet communists, to force their course of action on them, to confuse the leaders of many parties, and to plunge them into the mire of opportunism.

In this grave situation created by Khrushchev's betrayal, the time has come for you, Soviet communists, to perform your lofty revolutionary duty towards your glorious party, people and country, towards the communists, the proletarians and peoples of the whole world, to prevent the treacherous Khrushchevite clique from jeopardizing the future of socialism and communism. The Soviet revolutionary communists have never sat back on the strength of their traditions and merits of the past. Today more than ever before these traditions should be reasserted in the same revolutionary spirit, with the same determination and devotion to principle, to defend the name of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to raise high its revolutionary banner flung to the ground by Khrushchev. The vital interests of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the revolutionary and liberation movement of the world demand this.

You live and work in the country where the leaders of modern revisionism hold sway. Therefore your fight in defence of Marxism-Leninism is of decisive importance. No doubt this fight is far from easy. It demands great efforts, courage and determination, even sacrifice. But the Soviet communists during their glorious history have given many proofs of their heroism and self-sacrifice for the great cause of the working class. They have never been intimidated, they have never retreated before the enemy, carrying out their duty gloriously even in the most difficult moments.

The Party of Labour of Albania addresses this open letter to you, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, because we love you, because we consider you today, as we have always done, our comrades-in-arms. The attempts of the Khrushchev group to smash the Soviet-Albanian friendship, to sow dissension and enmity between our peoples, will fail. The sentiments of friendship and brotherhood of our Party and our people towards your party

and peoples have not been extinguished and never will be. The Albanian communists and people are lifelong friends of the Soviet Union. Regardless of the fact that a group of renegades stands today at the head of the Soviet Union, the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people will always defend the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, created by the great Lenin, against all the foreign and internal enemies. We have never forgotten, nor will we ever forget, what the Soviet Union means to us, we will never forget its internationalist aid for the liberation of our country and the building of socialism.

The stand of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the Albanian people, has been and remains clear-cut: an uncompromising struggle of principle through to the end for the destruction of the Khrushchev revisionist group; friendship, loyalty and full internationalist and fraternal solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Our Party abides strictly by the statement made at the solemn meeting on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, on November 7, 1961: «Our Party and our people keep intact in their hearts pure sentiments of friendship towards the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, regardless of the attacks, slanders, and hostile acts to which they have been subjected. Our Party has taught us to love the Soviet Union, the great Homeland of Lenin and Stalin, both in good times and in difficult ones.»

Guided by these principles, these feelings and this spirit, the Party of Labour of Albania turns to you, confident that the Soviet communists will know in these historic moments how to fulfil their revolutionary internationalist mission with dignity, will face every storm as worthy sons of their party, of its heroic road and history.

How many plots and attacks have been made

by the class enemy, the enemies of the Soviet party and people, against the Soviet Union since the time of the October Revolution! But the enemy has always been crushed. The cause of socialism, the Soviet power has been defended with honour. You, the sons of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, smashed the intervention of the imperialist powers, which like ravening beasts tried to strangle the revolution, and you triumphed in the bloody Civil War against the rabid class enemies. Supporting you, heart and soul, with militant actions during those days were the communists, the proletarians, all the revolutionaries and oppressed peoples of the world. You, the sons of the Bolshevik Party, fought with unparalleled heroism under the leadership of the great successor to the work of Lenin, J. V. Stalin, during the Patriotic War, bravely vanquished German fascism on the field of battle, and became the saviours of the peoples of Europe. In this great war, again you had as allies the communist and workers' parties throughout the world, the proletarians and all the peoples, the whole of progressive mankind.

Today a great danger is again threatening your party and the Soviet Union. They are being menaced from within and from abroad by the plot that the imperialists, together with the modern revisionists, are hatching up. This plot, which is being effected under peaceful conditions, is, in fact, much more dangerous to the fate of socialism in the Soviet Union, to all the international communist and workers' movement, to the fate of the revolution in general. At the head of this plot are the leaders of US imperialism and world reaction and the Khrushchev clique. The cause of socialism and the October Revolution, to which you have dedicated your lives, calls on you once more to defeat the great counter-revolutionary plot, which is threatening you, with the same heroism and revolutionary spirit that have characterized your whole life as militant Leninists.

And today, as yesterday, in this just fight in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet Union you are not alone. Standing by you are the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties, all the revolutionary communists, all the proletarians and the peoples of the world, who comprise a much greater force than the supporters and allies you had in your battles against the class enemy, the enemies of the Soviet Union in the days gone by.

The Party of Labour of Albania, which is not accustomed to whispering behind the door, but speaks openly and frankly, declares resolutely with a clear conscience that it is with you. We consider the struggle that must be waged against the revisionist and imperialist plot, in defence of Marxism-Leninism, in defence of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, a lofty internationalist duty. And the Soviet Union cannot be defended by saying. «We are with the Soviet Union, right or wrong.» Only traitors think that way. The Soviet Union cannot be defended in that manner. That would only defend the betrayal. We do not want a Soviet Union dominated by the revisionist traitors. We do not want to see the revisionists wreck the achievements of the October Revolution and push the country towards alliances with imperialism for the restoration of capitalism over the soil drenched with the blood of the finest sons of the party, the working class, and the Soviet people. We want to see the Soviet Union remain today, tomorrow, and always, a powerful bastion of the cause of socialism and communism, of the revolution and the freedom of peoples, of peace in the world.

We Albanian communists, all the workers and patriots of socialist Albania, regardless of our being few in number and the object of continuous ruthless attacks from the imperialists and revisionists, are fighting and will fight resolutely, unyieldingly, to the end in defence of our great common cause, Marxism-Leninism, in defence of the Soviet

Union. In this fight we accept all the responsibilities that fall on us and we think that it is time for all true communists and revolutionaries, for all those to whom the cause of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the revolution are dear, to boldly assume their full responsibilities in this situation.

Once again we express our full confidence and unshaken belief that our comrades, the communists of the glorious party of Lenin and Stalin, who yesterday were an example of great inspiration for all the communists and peoples of the world, today, too, with a lofty revolutionary consciousness, will know how to carry out the very responsible duties with which history charges them.

In defence of Marxism-Leninism, in defence of socialism and communism, in defence of the Soviet Union, under the great banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet communists will unite their efforts, their powerful struggle with those of all the communists and proletarians of all countries, for the complete exposure and defeat of modern revisionism and imperialism.

The Central Committee of the  
Party of Labour of Albania

First Secretary

*Enver Hoxha*

*Works, vol. 27*

## **THE CHINESE IDEA ABOUT AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT INCLUDING EVEN THE MODERN REVISIONISTS IS ANTI-LENINIST**

**October 15, 1964**

The Chinese comrades, Liu Shao-chi, in particular, if I am not mistaken, in a talk with a delegation of ours which had gone to Peking, launched the idea that in order to fight imperialism, and especially American imperialism, **we must work to create a broad anti-imperialist front, including even the modern revisionists.** Chou En-lai also mentioned such an idea in passing, when he was here nearly a year ago. **We opposed his idea of collaborating with the modern revisionists for such a thing, but with the creation of an anti-imperialist front we are in agreement, naturally, and we are working for this.** However, Chou En-lai did not retract or develop this idea, but left it in silence. He cast the stone and let it lie.

This very important matter was raised at certain particular moments which seem quite inappropriate. This idea was thrown in when our ideological and political struggle

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**1** The vacillating stand of the CP of China in its struggle against revisionism became more clearly obvious in June 1962. At that time the PLA sent a delegation to Peking to talk with the leadership of the CP of China. In the talks the Albanian delegation clashed with the very mistaken view of the Chinese leaders according to which the anti-imperialist front must, without fail, include the revisionist Soviet Union. The delegation of the PLA opposed and rejected this view of the Chinese leaders.

with the modern revisionists had become extremely acute, and especially when the Khrushchev group was up to its neck in serious, concrete collaboration with the American imperialists. Without any hesitation, it was putting into practice its whole anti-Leninist policy of Khrushchevite «coexistence», making concessions to the American aggressive policy, prettifying American imperialism, weakening the peoples' liberation struggle and activizing and sharpening the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania.

**When the group of Nikita Khrushchev, at the head of the modern revisionists, was weakening the struggle against imperialism, the Chinese comrades launched the idea of the creation of an anti-imperialist front including even the modern revisionists.** Astonishing!!

However, we did not see any concrete action in this direction on the part of the Chinese comrades, with the exception of the fact that their propaganda against the Khrushchevites was not developed at the necessary rate the moments demanded, although signs of softening in their anti-Khrushchevite polemic did not appear. We thought that this idea launched by the Chinese was not well-considered, like many of their ideas which later, with the passage of time, they return to and think over again. However, for a long time no more was said on this question.

But three or four days ago this idea of the Chinese came out openly, publicly, in the leading article of the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, **which, while condemning the meeting proposed by Khrushchev for next December, proposed a meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties to discuss and decide on the creation of an «anti-imperialist front».**

As it appears, the Chinese have worked out their idea

with the communist parties of Asia and have come to the conclusion that this idea should be made public and discussed among world opinion and international communist opinion. If a «son» is born then its father becomes recognized, if nothing results then there still remains the «good», «kind intention», because the front had the word «anti-imperialist» in its title.

This is no minor matter, but one of the most important. **This is the laying of a revisionist turn of policy and ideology on the table for discussion, regardless of the fact that this has been dressed up as an «anti-imperialist front».**

We must look a little deeper into what is hidden behind this ideological-political action of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, and who benefits from this «new line» which is emerging in international policy and the international communist movement.

In broad outline, what is the objective of our policy and actions in the international arena? The struggle against world imperialism, against colonialism, old and new, in whatever form it appears, the struggle for the consolidation of socialism and the spread of it throughout the world, unceasing aid, with all our means, for the peoples' national liberation struggles to break the chains of imperialist, capitalist and colonialist slavery, the provision of all-round aid to new states to consolidate the independence won, to consolidate the people's democratic state power, and to raise their economic and cultural level. Our struggle in the international arena consists of effective disarmament of the imperialists, who are preparing a nuclear war, preparing new chains for the peoples, preparing a new catastrophe for them.

To fight for our triumph in these fields implies that we must defend world peace, or more precisely, must struggle to establish world peace. The imperialists, their military and economic strength and their ideology are hin-

dering this world peace. We must fight and destroy them through repeated battles **on a world anti-imperialist front.**

The world anti-imperialist front is based, naturally, on the building of some alliances by our side against imperialism, on the defining of certain stands on our part with objectives, more or less remote from one another, according to the targets which we attack and the progressive or backward political potential of the forces running these targets, etc. But in all this labyrinth of alliances and stands we must not for one moment make concessions over principle, and at no time should our actions be fortuitous, arising from hasty judgements and based on passing circumstances.

On the other hand, none of us should proceed from the idea that «since I have prestige, authority and strength, I judge more correctly, I am in a position to judge more correctly, and the others must support me, follow me, and contribute themselves, in their own spheres where they have the possibility, but always following me.» Such a thing is neither correct nor fruitful. In such important actions, at the start of each new common action, with an international, general character, we must always be guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles and Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation. And for this to be done properly, it is not sufficient simply to «launch the idea» and let whoever wants follow you, but you must throw in the idea and discuss it long and thoroughly with the comrades. The way the Chinese and Japanese comrades are operating is incorrect and is unacceptable.

To launch the idea of an «anti-imperialist front including even the modern revisionists» is politically and ideologically inconceivable, bearing in mind the stage the situation has now reached. If you base this «idea» on the «experience of the past», and deliberately overlook the result, or better, the fact that this «experience of the past» suffer-

ed defeat when social-democracy voted for the war budgets in the First imperialist War and was transformed into a social-chauvinist means «for the defence of the Homeland», then this is open betrayal. The open betrayal by social-democrats, social-chauvinists, brought about as a logical consequence the split with the Marxist-Leninists, brought about the creation of the revolutionary 3rd International, which opposed the traitor 2nd International.

Now the idea is launched of the «anti-imperialist front even with the modern revisionists». But what is the policy and ideology of this modern revisionism, with which we are supposed to unite to create this anti-imperialist front? A policy and an ideology precisely the opposite of our Marxist-Leninist ideology, a policy and ideology which are actively in struggle to sabotage the fundamental issues of our struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for the triumph of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, for the real solution to the problems of general and total disarmament, etc., etc.

Since we are in fierce and open struggle with modern revisionism on these main questions of principle and practice, how can we conceive an alliance or a political and ideological front against imperialism and the world bourgeoisie with the agency of the bourgeoisie and its ideology?! The anti-imperialist front means a political front, first of all. The question arises: Is it possible for us Marxist-Leninists to create a common front with the modern revisionists? Apparently, to the Chinese and Japanese it is possible. To us no, this can never be! But is it possible for the Marxist-Leninists to form a «political» front with the modern revisionists against American imperialism, while continuing the «ideological struggle» with them, or by «putting aside the questions which divide us ideologically», as the Japanese comrades say? We say: No, in no way!

**For the Marxist-Leninists there is no policy without:**

**ideology.** With Egypt, with Mali, with Burundi, and with many other national states, an anti-imperialist front can be formed. Here there is policy, but there is also ideology. However, even in this case, we make no concessions or deals over principles with them. They know our principles, because we do not conceal them. On the contrary, it is those principles which constitute our strength and the success of this alliance, from which a number of bourgeois national states want to benefit in their struggle against imperialism. This is of interest to us, because in this way we weaken imperialism, and this is of interest to them, too, because by weakening imperialism they strengthen themselves. However, the struggle against imperialism automatically strengthens the revolutionary popular forces, first of all, hence, the revolution, socialism, reap all-round victories. At the same time, amongst the bourgeois national states which are fighting on this anti-imperialist front, too, a differentiation will take place, the class struggle and the revolution will develop, here more quickly there more slowly, but nevertheless always with struggle and efforts.

But the modern revisionists, Khrushchev, Tito, etc., with whom we are asked to form such «alliances» and «fronts» as those proposed, what are they fighting for? Are they fighting for socialism, for the revolution, for Marxism-Leninism? You have to be a revisionist to say yes.

**Marxists say that the revisionists are and always will be anti-revolutionaries, anti-Marxists,** that they are fighting against socialism and communism, fighting to extend the existence of capitalism. Then, **to form an «anti-imperialist front with the modern revisionists», means that the Marxist-Leninists must turn into Don Quixotes and wage a «stern struggle against windmills», that is, wage a struggle against the «imperialist wind», a «struggle» against imperialism, which has no Marxist-Leninist flavour either politically or ideologically.** Only the modern revisionists wage

a Quixotic struggle against imperialism. If you have a mind to wage such a struggle then, of course, «the anti-imperialist front with the modern revisionists» is possible and realizable. This is the ideal of the Washington chiefs, Tito, Khrushchev, the modern revisionists, social-democracy, and so on. If you have this idea, that means you are no longer a Marxist, but a revisionist. The Marxist-Leninists cannot take this course of betrayal, and must fight such an idea, which is utterly revisionist and treacherous from start to finish.

The revisionist traitors, Khrushchev, Tito and company dream of an idea, a «stroke of genius». This idea gets them out of their difficulties, pulls them from the grave, which we Marxists have dug for them, and it is the Chinese and Japanese comrades who are holding out their hand to pull them from this grave!

Khrushchev wants to hold the meeting of the 81 parties and expel us. In acting in this way he is committing suicide. This is precisely what we want and are fighting for: to bury modern revisionism. We are acting correctly in refusing to go to their meeting and we want the meeting to be held without us. The Chinese and the Japanese are opposed to Khrushchev's meeting, but their desire is that the meeting which they themselves proposed should not be held without our participation. For the meeting to be held without us is a defeat for modern revisionism. As usual, Khrushchev has got into a trap, into an adventure. His revisionist associates held back, opposed the meeting, some vociferously some in a low voice, but all of them in order to save modern revisionism from this predicament. The revisionists are able to do many things to extend their existence. Hence, Khrushchev's meeting was compromised, reached an impasse. And instead of working to deepen the crisis in which modern revisionism is wallowing, to exploit this success, the Japanese comrades, with their proposal of

a «new 81 parties' meeting with the aim of creating an anti-imperialist front» did the modern revisionists the favour of holding out a branch to pull them from the grave. This is an «olive branch», a typical example of a completely anti-Marxist act.

What does the proposal of the Japanese comrades mean in practice? «You, Soviet comrades, give up the idea of the meeting which you have raised, allegedly to iron out the ideological differences and bring unity to the ranks of the international communist movement. Preparations are needed (until the printing of the 10 articles of the Communist Party of China, this famous series, is complete!). Let us prepare another meeting, which we propose for the creation of an 'anti-imperialist front'. This is very interesting, very much needed today and urgent. It is 'acceptable' to all parties. Let us put aside what divides us, and look at what 'unites us'. (And this is what you Nikita Khrushchev have said and want.) At this meeting we should not speak about our differences, but only about the 'anti-imperialist front' (which you are in favour of and talk about, too, Nikita).

«Hence we are to go to the meeting and grind away like a mill without grain, make a noise and come out in struggle against windmills. (We think that you Nikita have no objection to the roar of artillery with blank charges.) But we shall come out of the meeting with something 'important', with a 'steel unity' against imperialism. This is a colossal success on a colossal issue. (This automatically, dear Nikita, softens the polemic and smooths over the other disagreements.)» This is what the Japanese want to say with their «brilliant» proposal about a new meeting.

And Nikita Khrushchev, if he is not entirely an ass, will say to the dear Japanese comrades: «But where have you been up to now? We want this, too, this has been my aim, to cease the polemic (after all, let the Chinese fire

their last shot?), and let us kiss and make up, bring out a statement, even with a bit more bite than the Moscow Statement, and put an end to this difficult situation that has been created for us. As to how things will go after the meeting, that is up to me, or are you going to accuse me again of violating the second statement as I did the first? In that case, I shall reply that you are slandering me, that you have violated the second statement and not I.»

In other words, the «Chinese idea», concretized by the Japanese in the proposal for a «new meeting of communist and workers' parties of the world», is a revisionist deviation from the Marxist-Leninist positions of the struggle against modern revisionism, a revisionist compromise with the anti-Marxists. We must reject, oppose and fight this because it will have evil and dangerous consequences for Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism. We must be vigilant towards the ways and methods which the Chinese and Japanese comrades will employ to develop this «brilliant idea». Are they going to consult us? In principle this should be done. If they act in this way, we shall tell them of our opinion. If they do not act in this way we shall still tell them of our opinion. If they act publicly, without seeking our opinion, or while refusing to discuss our opinion, then we shall be obliged to make our stand on this problem known publicly, too.

*«Reflections on China», vol. 1*

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**2** This refers to the tenth article of the CP of China against modern revisionism which was never published.

## **IN NO WAY CAN WE RECONCILE OURSELVES TO THESE VIEWS OF CHOU EN-LAI**

**October 31, 1964**

Yesterday Comrade Nesti Nase communicated to us what Chou En-lai, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, told a group of ambassadors for the central committees of their respective parties. The same day, all the comrades of our leadership were informed of the exact content of Chou En-lai's statement. He pointed out to the ambassadors that what he was telling them, he had also previously told Chervonenko, the Soviet Ambassador in Peking.

The views expressed by Chou En-lai are entirely unacceptable to our Party, both in essence and in form, because they are profoundly opportunist, capitulationist towards the Khrushchevite revisionists, fraught with aims dangerous to Marxism-Leninism and the further struggle against modern revisionism, and are utterly provocative towards our Party.

Chou En-lai's views, expressed in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, about the fall of Khrushchev, about the people who replaced him, about their aims and future policy, about the unity of the world communist movement, about the unity of the socialist camp, and about the method and the line which we must follow in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, in all the key directions of this new

situation which has been created, in my opinion, are very unclear, vacillating, conciliatory and opportunist from start to finish (not to use stronger terms for the time being). These opinions indicate a capitulation to modern revisionism. **We cannot reconcile ourselves in any way to these views of Chou En-lai, because they are revisionist from start to finish, anti-Marxist, capitulationist, and lead to the road of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.**

In presenting such views, the Chinese comrades are making very grave mistakes, and are and will be bringing colossal harm to communism.

The views which Chou En-lai expressed and the manner in which he expressed them to the ambassadors are full of anti-Marxist «great state» and «big party» sentiments, which must be condemned, of the feeling of scorn and disregard for the personality of a Marxist-Leninist party, which, according to the activity and judgement of Chou En-lai, does not need to be convinced after serious Marxist-Leninist discussion, but must be driven with a stick, according to the «conductor's baton», a term fabricated by them appropriately against Khrushchev, which it is quite obvious that they themselves are now using against our Party. There is no trace of Marxist honesty, or political maturity, let alone ideological maturity, about the hidden aims of the actions which the Chinese have in mind.

Such an immature, vacillating stand of the Chinese, with frequent, marked and astonishing oscillations, sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right, comes as no surprise to us. We have encountered such a stand on their part during our common struggle, especially against the Khrushchevite, Titoite and other modern revisionists, although we cannot say we have observed such a thing in regard to their stands on principle and in practice against imperialism, and especially against American imperialism. What they will do later is another matter. Let us hope they

don't have oscillations and let us make our contribution to this end.

From all these observations we can reach a conclusion (and this declaration of Chou En-lai's further confirms our opinion) that **the Chinese comrades did not want to go so far in the struggle against the modern revisionists, and had not envisaged such an extension of the struggle against them, such bitterness with them.** This comes about because they had probably not thought out and understood the danger of modern revisionism, its ferocity, in all its real extent, and therefore were not spiritually armed for such a struggle. The Chinese had thought that matters would not become so acute with the modern revisionists, nurturing the idea that the modern revisionists would prove reasonable, that the article entitled «Long Live Leninism!» and some internal articles and debates would suffice «to convince» Khrushchev and his associates to return to the line which the Chinese would show them. However, this did not and could not occur. Our Party foresaw such a thing correctly. It was prepared from every standpoint for a resolute struggle to the end against modern revisionism. Thus the Chinese comrades found themselves on the defensive and not on the offensive. They began and continued on the defensive, while the revisionists attacked us openly and we, likewise, attacked them openly.

The stand of the Chinese, even after the public attack of the Soviet revisionists on us, was that «the open polemic must be stopped». Later this polemic went too far and could no longer be stopped. But during this struggle, hesitation, temporary halts in the polemics, were apparent among the Chinese comrades.

From the assessment which the Chinese make of the struggle against revisionism in this situation, and from the way Chou En-lai expressed himself to the ambassadors, it is clear that they are tired of this struggle, which was

a heavy burden for them, that they want to pull out, and that is why they judged the downfall of Khrushchev as the most appropriate moment for them to retire «with honour». And in the most anti-Marxist, unfriendly, uncomradely way (formally, at least, they ought to preserve the forms of friendship with the ally with whom they have fought shoulder to shoulder), the Chinese comrades took their own decisions (and what sort of decisions!!) and tried in the most brutal way to impose an impermissible meeting on us, too.

How did the Chinese comrades judge the new situation? In the most deplorable way. They have not thought with their heads, but with their feet, if we are still of the opinion that they are Marxists. But, however they have thought, with their heads, their hearts or their feet, this is revisionist thinking to achieve revisionist results.

In short, **for them the fall of Khrushchev is everything. According to them, the major thing has been achieved, and now it is only a matter of time for everything to be put right.** The Chinese comrades say: **We must hold out our hand to the «Soviet comrades», the associates of Khrushchev, must forget the past, it's over and done with, we must be understanding with the «Soviet comrades». Hence, according to them, we must assist these fine Soviet comrades. Khrushchev died, Khrushchevism died. There is no one left who must acknowledge the mistakes made, there is no one who ought to make self-criticism. Of course, the «dear Soviet comrades» made the self-criticism they had to make with the bringing down of Khrushchev. Now,** continue the Chinese comrades through the mouth of Chou En-lai, indeed before all the ambassadors, **nothing remains but to pack our bags quickly, because time does not wait, and set off for Moscow, to kiss one another on the day of the celebration of the Great October Socialist Revolution.** And the gesture is solemn and theatrical (because Chou En-lai also speaks about the theatre which they made of their National

Day, the 1st of October), but then the celebration is a solemn day as well. Hence, we are to go to Moscow, as the revolutionaries we are, and steel our unity together with the «great revolutionaries» that we find there. What a comedy!!

As if this were not enough, Chou En-lai rose to his feet, and in front of all the other ambassadors, said to our ambassador: **«I know that you don't have even diplomatic relations with the Soviets because they broke them off. But now there is no one to make self-criticism because Khrushchev has been removed; therefore, Mehmet Shehu should pack his bag quickly and set off for the celebrations in Moscow.»** And he added further: **«When I leave you, Chervonenko will come to a meeting with me and I shall tell him that the Supreme Soviet should invite the 12 socialist countries to the celebration»!** **What infamy!!** He did not forget to say to the ambassadors also, and this certainly addressed to the Rumanians (as they told me, they had reached agreement with the Rumanians earlier), **«If one of you has any special proposal, I could make it directly to the Soviets.»** **In other words, «You may propose that the Yugoslavs should be invited to the celebration, and we have no objection to this, indeed, between ourselves, this would please us».** **What a treachery!!**

This whole decision, this whole idea, this whole way of raising this question of such importance for the future of communism, has nothing Marxist about it, is anti-Marxist, opportunist, revisionist treachery in its entirety. This is absolutely identical with the action of Khrushchev when he went to Belgrade for the first time to embrace Tito, to beg his pardon for the «crimes of Stalin» against him and to rehabilitate this traitor.

Such a thing proves all that I have said above about how the Chinese conducted the polemic and how they understood the struggle against revisionism, but at the same time this proves that they are idealists, fatalists, and

see the question of the struggle against modern revisionism from the angle of the «struggle against the individual», from the individualist angle, not the principled angle, see it from the chauvinist position of domination, prestige, etc. How undignified they show themselves towards the class enemy, the enemies of the revolution, the enemies of our ideology!

On the other hand, and apart from what I said above, from this scandalous performance of Chou En-lai's we must draw other logical conclusions which, regrettably, confirm their betrayal.

What are they?

1 — To assemble the ambassador of Rumania, and finally even the ambassador of Cuba, together with us, means to say to them: «You, Rumanian comrades (who up till yesterday were on the road of betrayal), and you, Cuban comrades (although you never failed to pour all those praises on Khrushchev), fully deserve the honour of being called those who brought down Khrushchev. We, the popes of Peking, consider you as such. Amen!»

2 — «As to you Albanians, we do not even ask your opinion about these situations, or what you think about the proposals we are making. **You must do as we say immediately. Put aside any claim you have on the 'Soviet comrades', it doesn't matter that the 'Soviet comrades' have done all these things to you for five years on end, up to the point that they called you spies of imperialism and broke off relations with your state, but you should bow your heads and hurry to Canossa!**» What a dirty feudal, fascist mentality! No bourgeois could speak in such a way. Even bourgeois dignity and standards do not permit such disgraceful arrogance. As is known, we immediately slapped back our reply, scorching their faces like a branding iron.

3 — All this was a provocation against us, and on the other hand, it was a scene prepared to tell the Soviets, the

Rumanians, the Cubans and others of this ilk: «From now on, I am breaking with the Albanians, I am no longer in solidarity with them, on either the political or the ideological issues. From now on, the Albanians are acting on their own, and they must bear the responsibility for everything they do!!» This is evident, because the Chinese comrades knew very well that we would not proceed on this road of betrayal, as they are doing, that we would reply to them, therefore they gave their reply on this issue to the Soviets and others in advance.

4 — From the haste with which they acted in connection with this so important a question, without previously consulting us (and this demand of ours is lawful), and without waiting at least for our reply, we are obliged to think that they created a *fait accompli*, because they might have been afraid lest some part of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, impelled by our reply, would react, and consequently, this treacherous action would be stopped.

5 — Regardless of the servility, the lack of dignity v/hich they display in begging the Soviet revisionists to invite them to the celebration of the October Socialist Revolution or to meetings (as the Soviet renegades please), their begging to go to the celebration of the revolution in Moscow conceals in itself a base aim, hankering after «fame». Their intention is to go to Moscow and say to the world, say to the Soviets: «See, we have come as the cosmonauts of Peking, as the victors who brought down Khrushchev, **we are the 'brilliant', 'infallible brain'** of the communist movement. **All have been brought down, all were wrong — Stalin, Khrushchev and the others. Mao, alone, saw and sees things correctly. Hence, now it is completely right to say: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao!**»

However, if the Soviet revisionists, who are always amongst the worst revisionists, are intelligent, they will

hardly fall for this clumsy trap of Chou En-lai's (unless they consider they will gain more than they lose from this). It is possible that they will not act as Chou En-lai wishes. They may invite him, or someone else, later, not as the «victor», but as the «vanquished» to Canossa.

Briefly, this is the situation, a grave situation, very dangerous and harmful to the international communist movement. The Communist Party of China has a colossal weight in the international communist movement. This weight has been increased by its stand against modern revisionism, but many of its waverings and mistakes, which we know, the others do not know yet. The weight of China in the international arena and its role in the world is great. Whether or not the Communist Party of China is on a correct and resolute Marxist-Leninist line means whether the revolution will advance or will be slowed down, delayed and damaged. But in the end, whatever occurs, the revolution, Marxism-Leninism will triumph.

The course on which the Chinese comrades want to set out and are setting out, is very dangerous, very harmful. Chou En-lai declared: «The polemics ceased on the 16th of October, we declared an armistice. We shall have some contradictions and the polemic might flare up again, but again it will die down,» and so on. This is precisely the tactic of the revisionists towards their comrade Tito. This is just how they acted with Tito: kisses, while not forgetting to say, «We have some contradictions», sometimes they engaged in polemics with the Titoites (but always reluctantly, because if they had failed to do so they would have been exposed more rapidly), and then kisses and more kisses, but not only that. During this period Tito was inspiring them, one might say, in policy, in ideology, in organization, and degeneration. And in the end, even the famous «contradictions» disappeared from their vocabulary and unity was achieved.

Chou En-lai's «theory» is a forewarning of the same tactics and actions. We must be very, very vigilant, and continue to struggle resolutely. We shall encounter many difficulties, they will isolate us, but with struggle we shall break out of the encirclement, because Marxism-Leninism cannot be isolated or suppressed. We are Marxists, the Party of Labour of Albania is a glorious Marxist-Leninist Party, therefore we shall break out of any encirclement, any isolation. It will tell the truth with force, and the Marxists everywhere in the world will hear it. Justice will triumph.

**In no way will we accept the revisionist views and actions of the Chinese. On the contrary, we must expose and fight them.** The bridges connecting us with them are collapsing, but we shall strive to the end to influence them with our correct stands.

**We must do the maximum which principle permits to avoid coming out openly against the Communist Party of China, but indirectly, after a time, there is no way to prevent the split from becoming obvious.** This has its harmful aspects, but also its good aspects. The just struggle we **have** waged up to now against revisionists has opened the **eyes** of many people in the world, and they are able to understand quickly who is on the right road and who is not. **We must use both methods, to the Chinese we must openly express our views on everything, we must point out clearly our disagreements, everything about which we are not of the one opinion with them<sup>1</sup>, while in the press we must publicly maintain an open stand on every problem, without mentioning the Chinese and regardless of whether it will be understood that it is directed against the Chinese views and**

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<sup>1</sup> On November 5, 1964 the CC of the PLA sent a letter to the CC of the CP of China in which it explained patiently and with Marxist-Leninist correctness that the assessment which the Chinese leadership made of the changes which occurred in the Soviet Union with the fall of Khrushchev was mistaken and that their proposal to go to Moscow was unacceptable.

**stands.**<sup>1</sup> This is the only correct, Marxist-Leninist course. Wherever our opinions on certain actions are compatible, we shall be in accord, wherever we are not of one opinion, we shall never be in agreement. If things reach the point of the breaking of relations and for our differences to come out in the open, let the Chinese do this, let them use even the Khrushchevite arsenal, if they want to. Then our fire will reply to them differently.

**Cautiously and progressively, we must make the Party aware of this new situation, must strengthen and temper the Party and the people, and arm them for possible dangers in the future, and must strengthen our management of the economy.** We must re-examine the draft-plan more closely in connection with the existing situation. **It will be impossible to prevent the disagreements with the Chinese, which have begun on ideological and political questions, from influencing our economic relations with them.** Perhaps the effect will not come immediately and brutally, as Khrushchev acted, but the coercion, delays and pressures will come gradually. Therefore, we must not go blindly into investments and constructions, into an extensive development, because such a thing could break our backs; we must not become dependent on the credits they might grant us, because they might slow them down and cut them off at the moment they find most appropriate.

We must follow events and situations with great care, must be cool-headed, must always preserve our aplomb. **If up till now we have had to be patient and cool-headed ten times over, from now on we must be much more so, because the dangers will be more numerous, the situations more complicated, and the enemy cunning, strong and powerful.** Our responsibility to our own people, as well as in

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<sup>1</sup> See the article in this volume «The Fall of Khrushchev Does Not Put an End to Khrushchevite Revisionism» (November 1, 1964), p. 657. |

the international arena, to the international communist movement, will become even greater. It is not a matter of giving ourselves importance. We must preserve our Marxist modesty. **Although we are small, a small party, a small people, we must perform the role and the task that belong to us honourably, courageously, valiantly, and to the end, to victory.**

We leaders have colossal responsibility and we shall do our duty to the end, until victory, because the Party is with us, we have a strong Party and we shall make it even stronger, because we have an heroic people, linked to the Party like flesh to bone; Marxism-Leninism is our ideology which guides us to victory.

A new epoch full of even sterner battles is opening to us. We are not afraid of the struggle. The people's song says, «The Albanians are fighting the Seven Kings». For us, as revolutionaries, it is a glory to fight and continue to fight till final victory. If the total victory is not achieved in our time, **we must hand on the torch to, and leave the banner of Marxism-Leninism unsullied in the hands of, communist and patriotic generations of our country and it will always wave unsullied in Albania, and the name of our heroic Party will be unsullied and glorious for ever.**

## **THE FALL OF KHRUSHCHEV DOES NOT PUT AN END TO KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM**

*Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»*

**November 1, 1964**

Khrushchev, the principal representative of modern revisionism, the renegade from the great cause of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded by V. I. Lenin, the splitter of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, or as the imperialists used to call him, «the man most suitable to the West in Moscow», has been ousted from the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and discharged from his functions as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup>

The inglorious end of Khrushchev is a result of the resolute, courageous and principled struggle of all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism from the positions of proletarian internationalism, of the struggle of all revolutionaries to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, a result of the open and merciless exposure of the activities of this renegade from communism. His

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<sup>1</sup> Khrushchev was discharged from these functions on October 14, 1964 allegedly «because of his advanced age and deteriorating state of health».

end is a great victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism.

In the ousting of the person of Khrushchev from the leading posts in the party and the Soviet state, the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries see the failure of the political and ideological course of modern revisionism formulated at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU. The casting out of Khrushchev like a squeezed lemon shows the decay of Khrushchevite revisionism, its degeneration, the irreparable discredit its practical activities have suffered and are suffering every day. It bespeaks the fact that complete and sure defeat is the natural result of the present revisionism. It testifies that the days are numbered for whoever dares raise his hand against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism. Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary forces have triumphed and will triumph over their enemies under whatever name or guise they may appear.

The elimination of the traitor Khrushchev from the political scene proves once again what our Party has always emphasized, namely, that the truth is on the side of the Marxist-Leninists, that our cause is just and will triumph. Marxism is invincible. Revisionism is doomed to failure. At the time of the Statement of October 20, 1961,<sup>2</sup> a few days after Khrushchev and his revisionist group launched their anti-socialist and anti-Albanian attacks at their

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<sup>2</sup> This statement of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» on October 21, 1961.

The statement was an immediate, resolute and courageous reply to the base anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian attacks made publicly by Khrushchev and his lackeys on the PLA at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. It stressed that, in face of Khrushchev's organized attack, the PLA, «with facts and documents, will make the truth about the relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union known to the entire communist and workers' movement, as well as to the world public so that they may

22nd Congress, the Central Committee of our Party expressed the conviction that *«the fight imposed on our Party and people will be protracted and difficult. But difficulties have never frightened our Party and people... They will never bow or fall to their knees before the slanderous assaults, blackmail and pressure of Khrushchev and his followers. Party and people, in steel unity, will, as always, forge ahead with determination and will triumph on their right road, the road to the victory of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism and communism.»\** Experience, time, and facts have proved that our Party was right, that our Party was on the right road and that on this road it scored victory over the Khrushchevite revisionists. It will march on this road, resolute and unfaltering, until the complete and final defeat of modern revisionism.

The ousting of Khrushchev is a clear expression of the fact that revisionism is being eroded by numerous contradictions which the revisionists will never be able to resolve. It is another confirmation of the old teaching that whoever departs from Marxism-Leninism, whoever makes common cause with the enemies of the proletariat, with the enemies of the peoples, of socialism, will be ruthlessly crushed by the wheel of the revolution, by the wheel of history. It is a vivid proof that whoever follows the road of revisionism, whether that of Kautsky, Tito or Khrushchev, will be utterly defeated.

Khrushchev is the principal representative of the revisionist line worked out at the 20th Congress and developed at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. By planning and working to put this anti-Marxist line into effect, he branded

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see which side is right, and will expose the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian actions of Khrushchev and his group». This statement is also included in the «Principal Documents of the PLA», vol. 4, pp. 153-155, Tirana 1970 (Alb. ed.).

\* «Principal Documents of the PLA», vol. 4, p. 154 (Alb. ed.).

himself as the most dangerous traitor to and enemy of Marxism-Leninism, of the Soviet Union itself, of the socialist camp, of the revolution, and the peoples.

Through this line, under the guise of the so-called struggle against Stalin's cult of the individual, or the struggle for «de-Stalinization», as their Titoite friends and imperialist allies called it, the Khrushchevites opened the doors to opportunism and revisionism, to betrayal and degeneration. The Khrushchevites undermined the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement, thus becoming the greatest splitters known in the history of the revolutionary communist movement, made approaches to and united with the US imperialists and the other enemies of the peoples and socialism, united ideologically with Titoism, with this aggressive agency of US imperialism, and wrecked the cause of the revolution and opened all the doors to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The history of the Soviet Union knows no agent more rabidly anti-Soviet than Khrushchev. No one has discredited and disgraced the land of the Soviets as much as he. No one has slandered the Soviet state, the Soviet socialist order more than he. By attacking J. V. Stalin and concocting the most monstrous calumnies against him, Khrushchev cancelled out the most glorious period of the history of the Soviet peoples, the period of the reconstruction of the country, of the transformation of the Soviet Union from a backward country to a powerful colossus with advanced industry and agriculture, the glorious period of the struggle to defend the achievements of the October Revolution from the imperialist enemies and renegades of every hue, the heroic period of the Great Patriotic War, when the great Soviet people, under the leadership of J. V. Stalin, vanquished the most savage enemy of mankind — German fascism, thus becoming the liberators of the enslaved peoples of the world.

Pursuing his line of betrayal, Khrushchev raised his hand against the thing most sacred to the Soviet peoples, against the dictatorship of the proletariat and its Communist Party, the guarantee of the triumph of socialism and communism, under the demagogic revisionist slogans of the «party of the entire people», the «state of the entire people», a blow which was intended to bring about the degeneration of the Bolshevik Party into a bourgeois social-democratic party, and of the socialist state into a bourgeois state.

He belittled and poured scorn upon the heroic work, the abilities of the Soviet people in building socialism, and set up America, raised and fattened on the blood of the proletarians and the oppressed peoples of the world, as a model for the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev pursued the line of wrecking the fraternal Marxist-Leninist unity of the countries of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. He isolated the Soviet Union from its true friends and brothers and linked its destiny with that of the most rabid enemies of socialism and peace, of the freedom and independence of peoples — with US imperialism, with the Tito-clique of renegades and with all the reactionaries of the world.

As a consequence of this treacherous line, the Khrushchevite revisionists launched savage attacks against the PLA and the PRA, against a fraternal party and a fraternal socialist country. Khrushchev personally made open calls for counter-revolution to overthrow the leadership of the Albanian Party and state; the economic blockade was established against the PRA; hostile plots were organized with the collaboration of the Tito clique; diplomatic relations, and all other economic and political relations were severed with the PRA.

From these anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary positions, Khrushchev and the Khrushchevite revision-

ists hurled themselves with the fury of the class enemy upon the CP and PR of China. Thus the friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples and their fraternal collaboration were undermined.

Brutal interference, violation of sovereignty and independence, pressure and blackmail for subjugation and submission to his dictate, violation of the national interests of socialist countries, sowing dissension and organizing plots, breaching of all Leninist norms in relations between socialist states and fraternal parties, great-state chauvinism, — these are the typical features of the revisionist line of betrayal that inspired all the deeds and attitudes of Khrushchev towards socialist countries, towards fraternal peoples, towards Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries.

His rapprochement with US imperialism and all the reactionaries and enemies of socialism and peace is the other side of the medal of the revisionist line followed by Khrushchev. Under the demagogical slogan of ensuring peace and implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence worked out by the revisionists, Khrushchev capitulated to US imperialism, to its nuclear blackmail, not hesitating in the least to betray the interests of freedom and independence not only of other peoples, but also of the Soviet Union, for this purpose. Cuba, the Congo, the signing of the Moscow Treaty, the German problem and that of Berlin, etc., remain grave indictments of the betrayal by Khrushchevite revisionists, and are crimes against peoples' freedom, sovereignty and independence and in favour of US imperialism. Under the slogan of the «peaceful way» and «total disarmament», Khrushchev and all the modern revisionists, not only abandoned the revolution themselves, but they hampered the revolutionary struggles and movements of the peoples, the working class, and the proletariat of various countries in every way, thus ensuring peace for imperialists, colonialists and blood-sucking exploiters.

The list of Krushchev's hostile deeds is very long. The roots of his betrayal are deep and fraught with lethal consequences for the future of socialism and the revolution. Therefore, while the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists consider Khrushchev's end in disgrace, his disappearance from the political arena, a very important victory over modern revisionism, a proof of the failure of the political and ideological course of modern revisionism, at the same time they consider that their fight is not over.

Despite the fact that Khrushchev was the head of modern revisionism, his political liquidation as a person does not mean the liquidation of his political, ideological, economic and organizational course, which has brought so much evil and harm to the Soviet Union, to Marxism-Leninism, to the socialist camp and the communist and workers' movement, to the cause of the revolution and of the freedom and independence of peoples, to the cause of peace. With the expulsion of Khrushchev from the leadership of the party and Soviet state, Khrushchevite revisionism is not dead, his ideology and policy expressed in the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU are not liquidated. It has deep roots and in order to eliminate the danger, to cut off the possibility of its recurrence, revisionism must be wiped out root and branch. This is the only remedy.

We should not create and nurture illusions. We should not be deceived by demagoguery and disguises. Marxism-Leninism teaches us to judge not by words but by facts, by the concrete, practical attitudes towards great essential issues. For the Marxist-Leninists the fight against Khrushchevite revisionism will end when its course has been liquidated politically and ideologically, when the Khrushchevite revisionist spirit, practice, and stand have been liquidated, when every party, in its policy, ideology and practice, proceeds from and bases itself only on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, consistently implements

the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declarations, resolutely fights the common enemy — imperialism headed by that of the United States of America, and its agents of every hue, fights persistently, as for a sacred duty, to consolidate the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the communist and workers' movement, defends the principles of proletarian internationalism and puts them into practice, supports the cause of the revolution, of the freedom and independence of peoples, the cause of peace, without reserve. Every step taken in this direction will be considered positive and will have support from the PLA.

Without resolutely condemning Khrushchevite revisionism and its whole ideology and consequences with bolshevik courage, unimpressed by the troubles and threats made by the imperialists, by the tears and pressures of its most determined friends who are not only the enemies of Marxism-Leninism in general, but rabid enemies of the Soviet Union in particular, any genuine return to Marxism-Leninism, any genuine return to the Leninist norms of relations between parties and socialist countries, so brutally trampled upon by Khrushchev, is unthinkable.

The Party of Labour of Albania, like all the true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, will resolutely continue its just struggle until the final destruction of modern revisionism. Without falling victim to illusions, without falling into the trap of demagogy and bluffs, however camouflaged they may be. after the victory they have scored against the head of modern revisionism, Khrushchev, the revolutionary communists will tighten their ranks even more, strengthen the great anti-revisionist front, raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism even higher, sharpen their revolutionary vigilance against the enemies of the people, the imperialists, and intensify the fight against Khrushchevite revisionism which constitutes the main danger in the communist and workers' movement in our days.

We are fully convinced that in the great battle against imperialism and the offspring of bourgeois ideology — modern revisionism, Marxism-Leninism, socialism, will triumph completely. The days of revisionism and betrayal are numbered and their approaching defeat will be decisive.

*Works, vol. 28*

## THE CHINESE WANT TO IMPOSE THEIR OPINIONS ON US

November 3, 1964

The Chinese comrades are not behaving like Marxists and with modesty towards our criticisms. They are angry and their stands towards us are neither Marxist nor correct. They are displeased that we are not following them in the actions which they have decided to undertake as to the Soviets. The Chinese want and are trying to impose their mistaken opinions and actions in this direction on us. They do not even agree to prior discussions with us about the common stands that should be maintained in the common interest.

In the new situation which was created after the fall of Khrushchev, a consultation at least between the communist and workers' parties of China, Albania, Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia, Japan and New Zealand was absolutely essential. This was not done. The Chinese comrades avoided such a meeting earlier, and despite our repeated insistence, they are avoiding it again now.

Before any change, the leaders of the communist and workers' parties meet, discuss, define their stands and take decisions. This is essential. The problem is of a general character for the world communist movement, it does not have the character of a specific interest for a particular party, therefore **it was essential to hold a joint consultation at which the views of our parties would be put for-**

**ward and discussed so we could come out with a common stand.**

It is absurd and unacceptable that, without such a preliminary consultation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China should come out and say to us: «This is how I judge matters, this is what I have decided, therefore you must follow me like a pet lamb»!

These are anti-Marxist methods which they themselves have condemned when others have wanted to impose them on us through the «conductor's baton». Now they are forgetting these evil actions of others, are adopting them without the slightest shame, and using them as if there were nothing wrong in this.

Of course, the refusal on our part ever to accept these wrong methods and stands leads to quarrels, disagreements, splits, and differences, and if errors are not caught in time, and if they are not understood and corrected immediately by those who make them, they get worse and gradually the road of Khrushchev is adopted.

What is impelling the Chinese to fall into this error of principle which is so simple and easily understood, but which has grave consequences for them and the international communist movement?

**Petty-bourgeois conceit.** This shows that the Chinese leadership is not so essentially modest as it pretends to be and as it says it is.

**The spirit of great-state and big-party chauvinism.** There is no speech and article in which they don't «denounce» these dangerous anti-Marxist views as such. They are constantly accusing the Soviet revisionists of this sin. But how can you describe their disdain for the other parties, for their opinions, individuality and dignity, such as Chou En-lai displayed, when in other words, he said, «Pack your suitcase and go to Moscow — to Canossa». These things cannot be described as anything but great-state and

big-party chauvinism. Chou En-lai's outlook must be no different from that of Kosygin, when the latter tried to convince me not to express our opinions at the Moscow Meeting in 1960, by saying to me: «You must bear in mind the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union». And I replied to Kosygin: «I love the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and I am protecting its prestige which you, yourselves, are violating. However, you, too, must consider the prestige of the Party of Labour of Albania».

The Chinese leaders consider, unrealistically, that the whole «victory» and «glory» in the exposure of Khrushchev and his elimination from the political scene belongs to them, that the others have been, as you might say, their «drummer-boys». Thus, they have made their judgements and decisions, prompted not by Marxist modesty, but by big-party chauvinism.

Nobody can deny the contribution of the Communist Party of China to this battle, but there are others who have not twiddled their thumbs and who «have not beaten the drum for nothing», but who have fought and made sacrifices, possibly proportionally even more than the Chinese. To underestimate the struggle of others is impermissible, but the others do not allow this, either, and are not concerned at all about your anger, which is unjust and out of place.

If the Chinese comrades do not stop their career down this course towards the Soviets, which was wrong from the start, if the Chinese comrades do not consult, discuss, and decide with the other communist and workers' parties, which have fought shoulder to shoulder in this struggle, if the Chinese comrades do not show themselves to be realists who judge events and their stands from a sound Marxist-Leninist platform, but are impelled by egoism, megalomania, or aims of domination, they will certainly slip into grave errors and will end up the losers.

Why did the Chinese comrades, who in words pose as models of «patience» (they had set 20 years for bringing down Khrushchev and they have set three hundred years for the triumph of socialism in China), not wait at least one month, until the «Soviet comrades» could have said at least two words about Khrushchev and two words about their line? Why this impatience to embrace the Soviets?! Why this great haste and zeal to go to Moscow «in order to help the Soviet comrades and the Soviet people»?!

A few months before Khrushchev was overthrown, and at a time when our struggle with him was at its fiercest, the Chinese comrades sent a telegram to «Dear Comrade Khrushchev» and wished him a «long life». «We did this,» they said, «because of our friendship with the Soviet peoples, in order to strengthen this friendship.» A fine way to strengthen it, by wishing him, who was digging the grave for the Soviet people, a long life!!

Today the Chinese comrades are rushing to go to Moscow as quickly as they can. Why? To assist the revisionist «dear comrades», the closest collaborators of the traitor, and «through them to help the revolutionary forces in the Soviet Union», etc., etc. **Astounding views!!!**

For us Marxists these reasons don't hold water. Behind them there are other, unhealthy, non-Marxist aims.

We do not bring down the Soviet leaders, it is up to their party and people to do or not to do such a thing. Our correct militant stands should assist the Soviet revolutionaries to make the right decision.

The question arises: Can it be that by assisting the revisionists with such zeal you have assisted the Soviet revolutionaries?! To accept this means that you are not a revolutionary. Or is it a revolutionary gesture that, when the enemies of the revolution suffer a heavy defeat, precisely in these moments favourable for the revolution, you rush to offer your hand to counter-revolutionaries to help

them, at a time when not only are they giving no sign of any change but, on the contrary, are declaring loudly that they will continue on the treacherous course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses?! No, this is counter-revolutionary, anti-Marxist and revisionist.

After all, it was not required of you, Chinese comrades, to hurl yourselves into «major attacks», because you had broken off these polemical attacks long before, but could you not have been patient at least a few months in order to see what these «Soviet comrades» would do?!

Wouldn't it have been in order, legitimate and worthy of your party and state for the defeated enemies to have asked to come to you, to have been obliged to come to you? All these things are ABC.

Why are you so generous, to the point of opportunism, towards enemies, now at these moments, when yesterday you demanded from the Soviet Union the «territories which it had seized from you», and «Mongolia which it had cut off from China», when you said the Rumanians were right to «demand Bukovina», etc., and said that «Stalin made mistakes over the borders», and that you did all these things and set about conciliating the Rumanians, Poles, Germans and other revisionists like these, as pressure to isolate the Soviet Union? What are these stands? How can you change them so quickly in a matter of months? Why were you angry with us when we criticized you in a comradely way over these wrong stands? Your anger with us, who told you the truth, remained, while your incorrect «leftist» stands, your sectarian, even hostile stands towards the Soviet Union have turned completely round to the right, and you describe them as Marxist, and at the same time, you still bear us a grudge because we say to you: «Let us discuss matters, don't be hasty».

It is evident that the Chinese comrades are making mistakes. They have no stable line. There are waverings in

their line, as far to the right as to the left, and their policy, likewise, cannot have a principled Marxist-Leninist stability.

Finally, let us also judge the Chinese stands by the *par l'absurde* method. Let us say that the Chinese comrades had full knowledge of the putsch against Khrushchev beforehand. They had been secretly informed by the Soviet «comrades». The Chinese comrades kept the secret from their Marxist-Leninist comrades in the struggle for no other reason but for security (here we are judging all the time *par l'absurde*). Being aware of this impending putsch, the Chinese comrades slowed down the polemic, and left us to continue it, because this is what their secret tactic required. Fine. Now the putsch was carried out. Khrushchev was eliminated. This phase was over. The Chinese knew, we did not.

The second phase begins (always by the *par l'absurde* method). The Chinese comrades are informed about the future plans of the Soviet «comrades». They have told the Chinese: Today we shall do this, tomorrow that, the day after tomorrow something else, and so on; they have reached agreement with each other, and this plan is very good (I am still continuing by the *par l'absurde* method). But this new phase can no longer be a putsch phase. It is a constructive phase (always *par l'absurde*) which requires the co-ordination of actions by Marxist-Leninist parties.

In the first phase of the operation of the putsch, the Chinese comrades did not inform us of it, and they are continuing not to inform us even in the second phase, that of the «consolidation». Does this reasoning worked out by the *par l'absurde* method hold good? Not even this method can explain the wrong stands of the Chinese. It (the Communist Party of China) cannot deceive us for long, and cannot lead us, the other parties by the nose, blindly, and say to us, «Come this way, because this is what I want, I know what I am doing. Yours is not to reason why». This is absurd!

Are the Chinese comrades fully convinced that the two biggest parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, are going to solve and ought to solve all the problems in international communism, and the others ought to follow them meekly? Previously, there was one conductor's baton, and this did not please us (the Chinese). Now there must be two conductor's batons and they must act à *l'unisson*\*. Previously, you the Soviets with Stalin (continue the Chinese) walked all over us (the question of the pupil and the teacher). Stalin died. You the Soviets discredited him, meanwhile this opened up great expectations for us the Chinese. Khrushchev came, we applauded you, we were happy, but Khrushchev became a conductor with a heavy stick, who not only did not accept us (the Chinese) in the leadership of the world, but attacked us with his big stick.

Now Khrushchev has been liquidated. Great joy. We forget all you Khrushchevites have done to us, as long as you accept that the two of us, the Chinese and the Soviets, should conduct together now, and this, you the Soviets must accept, because Stalin made mistakes, Khrushchev made mistakes, only Mao has not made mistakes. It is «legitimate», «Marxist-Leninist» that in case you do not agree that I (the Chinese) should conduct and give leadership, we must at least agree that both of us should conduct, therefore if we two come to agreement, everything in this world will be put right!

But how will it be put right? We are the conscience of the world. But Marxism-Leninism? We are Marxism-Leninism.

However, Marxism-Leninism does not teach us to act **in this way. Just as Marxism-Leninism struck one «conductor's baton» an iron blow to the head, it will strike an**

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\* In unison (French in the original).

**equally powerful blow at another «conductor's baton», or at two «conductor's batons» together, or a combined clique of other conductors.**

No, Chinese comrades, I am convinced that you are wrong, terribly wrong, and you should pull back from these mistakes, which will become dangerous, very dangerous, later. We, as Marxists, are greatly interested that you should not make mistakes, but although we are small, although our Party is a small party, although our people are a small people, no one has the power to shut our mouths, to stop us telling the truth, defending the truth, defending Marxism-Leninism.

*«Reflections on China», vol. 1*

## **TOGLIATTI'S «TESTAMENT», THE CRISIS OF MODERN REVISIONISM AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE MARXIST-LENINISTS**

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**November 13, 1964**

The theoretical journal of the CC of the Italian Communist Party «Rinascita» in issue No. 35, dated September 5, 1964, has published Togliatti's last writing, which the Western press has dubbed his «testament». The question is about a memorandum «about the problems of the international workers' movement and its unity», written by Togliatti in Yalta (USSR), in August 1964, which was to have served as a basis in his talks with Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders about the problems which have arisen in connection with the calling of an international meeting of communist and workers' parties by the Khrushchev group.

The leadership of the ICP headed by L. Longo, who was elected General Secretary after Togliatti's death, hastened to publish it and to proclaim it as its own platform. «The leadership of our Party,» wrote Longo in a brief foreword to Togliatti's «testament», «learned with great excitement about the document prepared by Comrade Togliatti, agreed that in it the positions of our Party in regard to the present situation of the international com-

unist movement are presented with great clarity, and adopted it as its own. Therefore we are publishing Comrade Togliatti's memorandum as a precise exposition of the position of the Party about the problems of the international communist and workers' movement and its unity».

The publication of this document met with a lively response both among the revisionist circles and in the bourgeois press. While the Khrushchev group maintained a reserved stand towards this document and was satisfied simply to publish it without comment, the imperialists and the Titoite clique hailed it and welcomed it with glee. And this because of the fact that in this document Togliatti not only reaffirmed the hostile anti-Marxist position of the Italian revisionists, but also disclosed the differences which the Italian revisionists have with other revisionists, and with the Khrushchev group in the first place.

Togliatti's whole «testament» is pervaded from end to end by distortion of Marxism-Leninism, by efforts to replace it in theory and practice with modern revisionism. It reflects and boosts the line of «Italian socialism» and the theory of «Italian polycentrism».

As such, Togliatti's «testament» has great importance for us Marxist-Leninists because the revisionists exposed themselves in it. Through this document the genuine revolutionaries can see the results of their resolute struggle up till now, which has not only seriously hindered the realization of the hostile aims of the revisionists, but has also caused them great difficulties and has made the contradictions between them even deeper and more acute. At the same time, through Togliatti's «testament», the Marxist-Leninists can also see more clearly the plans and methods of struggle which the modern revisionists will try to use now and in the future against Marxist-Leninist parties, against genuine revolutionaries, against communism.

These cunning revisionist plans must be resolutely and

unhesitatingly unmasked. The illusions which the various revisionist groups try to create about their positions must be exposed and destroyed. The genuine revolutionaries must be clear about the present and future danger from those enemies of communism. For this reason it is necessary to carefully analyze the «testament» of Togliatti.

#### THE MAIN AIM OF REVISIONISTS IS TO FIGHT MARXIST-LENINISTS

In reading the «testament» of Togliatti it becomes clearly apparent that the main aim of this document is not at all to achieve unity in the international communist movement and the socialist camp, but to show the methods, forms, and means which, in the opinion of Togliatti and the whole revisionist leadership of the Italian Communist Party, will make possible a more effective struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties and their positions, against their ever-increasing influence. Togliatti makes no attempt to conceal this, indeed in his memorandum there is a special chapter entitled precisely, «How the Chinese Positions Can Be Attacked more Effectively». And this is because the revisionists see that their positions are becoming weaker, that nobody is fooled by their demagoguery any longer, that revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and groups, around which the revolutionary masses of the working class and the people are uniting, are being formed everywhere.

In fact, as is expressed in his «testament», Togliatti is greatly concerned about the fact that things in the revisionist herd, in its struggle against Marxism-Leninism, are not going well, and he sees the main cause of this situation in the «wrong», «dogmatic» and brutal tactics of Khrushchev and his group. He writes: «The plan which we proposed for a powerful struggle against the incorrect political

positions and disruptive activity of the Chinese communists was different from that which was followed in fact... A different line was followed and I do not consider the results completely satisfactory.»

The Togliatti revisionists are among the most cowardly, but at the same time, the most consistent revisionists. Therefore they demand, as their dead leader clearly states, that the open polemics against the «dogmatists» must be carried on unceasingly.

With this the Italian revisionists show themselves to be, as they are in fact, sworn enemies of Marxism-Leninism. They express themselves as firmly opposed to any cessation of the open, public struggle against Marxist-Leninists, even temporarily and for the sake of appearances, because otherwise they cannot carry out their treacherous mission. At the same time, with this they are telling Khrushchev that his demagogic manoeuvres intended «to stop polemics» are completely in vain and deceive no one, that the polemics cannot be stopped either by the revisionists or the «dogmatists».

On the other hand, however, Togliatti demands that the main direction of the polemics must be shifted. Faced with the bitter experience of the deplorable results of the propaganda of the Khrushchev group, allegedly in defence of principles of creative Marxism-Leninism, he demands that they refrain from theoretical polemics with Marxist-Leninist parties that touch on the vital problems of principle of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the activity of the communist movement, and that the discussion should be orientated completely towards the confused, unprincipled, and uncontrollable petty day-to-day struggle around the current internal problems of the country, in which, according to Togliatti, the propaganda of the «dogmatists» is «completely disarmed and powerless» and has «no effect at all».

With this proposal Togliatti is launching a very dangerous idea. In the polemics with the Marxist-Leninists over major questions of principle, as Togliatti himself is forced to admit, the modern revisionists have suffered utter defeat, their demagogy has failed and they are not in a position to denigrate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. The polemics over principle is certain disaster for the revisionists, because it is demonstrating openly to the masses of communists and working people the revisionists' flagrant deviation from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, and bringing to light their real features as renegades.

Consequently, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists everywhere are organizing, creating new groups and parties, which are fighting with determination against revisionism, in defence of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Togliatti is afraid of this situation and perspective. Therefore, to avoid the complete exposure of revisionism, he demands that the polemics must be shifted from questions of principle and concentrated on discussion of second-rate matters, on day-to-day problems. What Togliatti means by this is: let everybody stick to his own ideological views and let there be no polemics over these matters of principle; the communists should not concern themselves about the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism; the process of the creation of new revolutionary groups and parties should be hindered in every way; the revisionist renegades should be left in peace in their activity so that they will have fewer problems and headaches in putting into practice their opportunist line, the line of giving up revolutionary struggle, the line of the liquidation of revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, the line of alliances with the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

But for all the efforts of Togliatti and company to divert and quell it, the great polemic which is going on today

between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism can never be stopped. This polemic will cease only when modern revisionism has been totally destroyed. The Marxist-Leninists consider it their lofty internationalist duty to carry this ideological struggle, which has vital importance for the fate of the communist and revolutionary movement, through to the end.

Togliatti is dissatisfied, not only with the way in which the Khrushchev group has conducted the polemic against the Marxist-Leninist parties, but also with the practical steps which it has undertaken to put its treacherous revisionist policy into practice. As «positive» but «inadequate» steps in this direction, Togliatti mentions the signing of the notorious Moscow Treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear tests and the visit of Khrushchev to Egypt. He demands that similar «practical» steps be taken more often, both by the Khrushchevite revisionists and by those of other countries.

Thus, Togliatti and his Italian revisionist comrades, who have capitulated completely to the atomic blackmail of imperialism, are appealing to the Khrushchev group to reject any «senseless hesitation» and to proceed more quickly down the road of rapprochement with and capitulationist concessions to the imperialists, as they did on the occasion of the signing of the tripartite pact over nuclear tests. But the policy of capitulation to imperialist blackmail, of unprincipled concessions to the imperialists and deals with them has not led to the lowering of international tension and has not averted the danger of war as the revisionists, who are scared stiff, think, but on the contrary, has whetted the appetite of the imperialists and increased their aggressiveness, as is shown by the aggressive actions of the US imperialists in South-east Asia, their ceaseless provocations in West Berlin, the increase in their piratical acts against Cuba, and so on, during these recent

months. Indeed even Togliatti himself is obliged to admit in his memorandum that the international situation is worse now than it was two or three years ago.

In his «testament» Togliatti urges the revisionists, wherever they happen to be, to step up their efforts against the Marxist-Leninist parties and their authority and influence in the world. He is especially worried about the ever-greater influence of Marxist-Leninists in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, or the «third world», as Togliatti calls these zones. Therefore he recommends that the revisionist groups must intervene more actively in these zones, with the aim of combating the positions of Marxist-Leninist parties there and liquidating their influence. He proposes «...an international meeting called by a number of Western communist parties, with a wide-range of representatives of democratic countries of the 'third world' and their progressive movements, for the purpose of working out a concrete line of collaboration with and aid for these movements.»

Why are Togliatti and his henchmen so worried about the situation in the so-called third world? Is there not a powerful, anti-imperialist national liberation movement developing in these countries? Or perhaps this is just what is worrying them? Now the whole world knows that the Marxist-Leninist parties are the true and most resolute supporters of the national liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, dauntless fighters against imperialism for the peoples' freedom and independence. Therefore, to rise in opposition to the line which these parties follow, to try to eliminate their influence among the peoples who have risen in struggle against imperialism, as Togliatti demands, means, in fact, to rise in opposition to the peoples' anti-imperialist liberation struggle. And the facts prove that the aim of the line of all modern revisionists, from Tito to Khrushchev and Togliatti, has always

been to use various pretexts and manoeuvres to hold back and paralyze the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples against imperialism. It is precisely Togliatti who has declared more than once that «the colonial regime has almost completely collapsed» and that «spheres of influence of imperialism no longer exist in the world». It is precisely the Italian revisionists headed by Togliatti who have preached collaboration between socialist countries and the «leading classes of capitalist countries» for the creation of an order «in which all the aspirations of mankind and the peoples for freedom, well-being and independence can be satisfied». It is precisely they who have sought «common initiatives» between states with differing systems, especially in Europe, «to carry out joint intervention to help the less developed regions progress». That is how Togliatti understands assistance for the peoples who are fighting imperialism!

Continuing his idea on how the Marxist-Leninist parties can be combated more successfully, in his «testament», Togliatti expresses reservations about whether a meeting of communist parties, which would have the aim of condemning and excommunicating the CP of China, the PLA, and other parties and the definitive splitting of the communist movement, is useful and opportune. The Togliattists consider such a tactic of the renegade group of Khrushchev wrong and very harmful to the revisionist cause.

Togliatti considers the calling of a meeting to carry through and sanction the splitting of the communist movement very dangerous, because it would enhance the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the revisionists throughout the world, would accelerate the process of differentiation in the ranks of the world communist movement and the unification of the Marxist-Leninist forces, and would thus bring the inevitable end of the revisionists closer. «The danger would become especially serious,» writes Togliatti,

«if it came to the point of the splitting of the movement, with the formation of a Chinese international centre which would create its 'sections' in all countries. All the parties, and especially the weakest ones, would tend to devote the greater part of their activity to the polemics and struggle against these so-called 'sections' of a new 'International'... It is true that even today the factional efforts of the Chinese are taking place on a wide-scale and in almost all countries. We should avoid turning the quantity of these efforts into quality, that is, into a true, general, and sanctioned split.»

As a veteran of the Comintern, Palmiro Togliatti well knows the strength of the organization of the Marxist-Leninists of the world and he is very much afraid of it. Although he tries to belittle the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups that are emerging, moulding themselves, and becoming stronger everywhere in the world, he is very much afraid of them, foreseeing the grave danger looming for modern revisionism. With this he wants to tell the Khrushchevites, who rely on their arrogance, who are intoxicated and blinded by their «economic and military potential», who rely blindly on the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, not to forget the lessons of history, the lessons of the experience of the international communist movement, not to forget the ignominious defeat which the 3rd International inflicted on the opportunists and revisionists of the 2nd International. Hence, Togliatti is telling Khrushchev and his supporters: give up this «meeting», refrain from a definitive split, because we are hastening our own catastrophe, and we can avoid this catastrophe by acting differently!

These two different tactics of the revisionists are dictated by the different conditions in which they are acting. Khrushchev and his group, who have seized state power in the Soviet Union, think that they can cope with the crisis,

which a complete split in the communist movement would cause, by using harsh police methods, persecution and oppression against the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who are rising and will rise against the revisionists' treacherous line. While the Togliattists, who operate in a capitalist country and do not have state power in their hands, and consequently cannot prevent the activity of Marxist-Leninists with such methods, oppose the extremist methods of Khrushchev for a complete split in the communist movement, hoping thus to avert the catastrophe, and with other, more flexible and «democratic» methods and manoeuvres to paralyze the organization and struggle of revolutionary communists.

But neither the brutal methods used by Khrushchev and his group nor the «refined» tactics which Togliatti proposes can stop the inevitable process of the gathering and organization of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces, cannot avert the complete and final defeat of modern revisionism.

The Togliattists come out against the aims of Khrushchev and his group for a final break and cutting off of all relations with the PR of China and other fraternal socialist countries for another reason, too. They are frightened by the ultrareactionary tendencies which are becoming more pronounced every day, both in the USA (Goldwater) and in Western Europe. «We think that we ought to bear this situation in mind in our whole attitude,» writes Togliatti in his «testament». «The unity of all the socialist forces in joint action, overriding the ideological differences, against the most reactionary groups of imperialism, is an absolute necessity. The exclusion of China and the Chinese communists from this unity is unthinkable.»

From what Togliatti says, it emerges that what he is concerned about is not in the least the fact that the communist movement and the socialist camp have been disrupted, nor the finding of ways to overcome the profound

differences of principle which have emerged in their ranks. No, he demands that the polemics against the Marxist-Leninist parties must be carried on ceaselessly, indeed, as we have shown above, he even recommends more effective ways and means to struggle against them. But he is afraid of the «madmen», proposes that a more flexible, more cautious course should be followed, that in view of the difficult days that may come in the future they should not burn all their bridges with 700-million strong People's China. This is an opportunist stand typical of the Italian bourgeoisie, which has a tradition of swapping its alliances and its «shirts» at decisive moments as readily as a sultan would change his wives.

Togliatti's assertions that he is allegedly concerned about the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism, as well as his proposal to coordinate joint actions together with the PH of China in this struggle, are demagogy from start to finish, calculated to deceive people. What unity and collaboration on the basis of the struggle against imperialism can there be with the modern revisionists, whether Togliattist, Khrushchevite, or Titoite, who have not only rejected the struggle against imperialism, especially against the main citadel of world reaction — US imperialism, but have even tried, and still try in every way, to prettify imperialism and its chiefs, to spread pacifist illusions about it, to turn the peoples from resolute struggle against it, and indeed, have gone so far as to conclude scandalous agreements with the imperialists and various reactionaries, contrary to the vital interests of the socialist countries and peace? There can be unity and collaboration in the struggle against imperialism only with the Marxist-Leninists and with all the forces that genuinely take an anti-imperialist position, who demonstrate this with deeds and not just with words, but never with the revisionists who are the offspring of imperialism and in its service.

TOGLIATTI SEEKS FURTHER DEGENERATION OF THE  
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND COMMUNIST PARTIES

The final notes of Togliatti are a clear expression of the differences which exist between various revisionist groupings in connection with the courses and rates of development of modern revisionism in theory and practice.

Togliatti heaps criticism on the Khrushchev group and its followers because they are proceeding at a very slow pace on the course of the «democratic and liberal transformation» of life in the socialist countries. He demands that they should proceed more rapidly, more openly, with greater determination on the course of the degeneration of the socialist order.

Togliatti again raises the old question which he, together with the renegade Tito, had raised in 1956, at the time of the counter-revolution in Hungary, about the «origin of the cult of the individual of Stalin». He writes, «... generally speaking, the problem of the origin of the cult of Stalin and how it was made possible is considered unsolved. People in the West, and many communist sympathizers among them,» says Togliatti, «do not accept that it can all be explained 'simply with the grave personal vices of Stalin'. Efforts are made to track down what might have been the political mistakes which contributed to the birth of this cult».

It is obvious that in raising the issue of the sources of Stalin's «cult of the individual» in this way, Togliatti is demanding fundamental changes in the very foundations of the socialist order, in the main principles of the organization of this order and the policy of the socialist construction that was followed in the Soviet Union in the time of Stalin's leadership.

But what does Togliatti want concretely?

This comes out very clearly in an interview which he gave to the correspondent of the American magazine «Time» immediately after the elections of April 28, 1963 in Italy, which was published for the first time after the death of Togliatti\* as a document which includes many of the theses developed later in the Yalta memorandum of Togliatti. In this interview Togliatti quite openly criticizes the policy of the nationalization of capitalist industry, the collectivization of agriculture, and the leadership of a single party, etc., in other words, the fundamental line of socialist organization and construction which was followed during the period of Stalin's leadership in the Soviet Union. He demands that such a line must be rejected and that «Stalin's mistakes must not be repeated».

It is not in the least fortuitous that in his memorandum Togliatti demands the organization of «public discussions» from time to time in the socialist countries, in which «leading figures who have varying viewpoints» about the problems of socialist construction should take part and express their «original» opinions in regard to the ways and methods of development of the socialist economy. It is not hard to see what Togliatti is driving at. It is known that such «discussions» are being held now in the Soviet Union in connection with the ways to introduce the principle of «profit» into the Soviet enterprises, a thing which constitutes a step towards the application in the Soviet economy of the experience of the Tito clique about the so-called workers' self-administration. This is the road to the capitalist degeneration of the socialist economy. And Togliatti issues the call for more rapid and bolder advance precisely down this road.

But in the first place and above all, for Togliatti, for all the Italian revisionists and those who, openly or secretly,

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\* «Unità», September 18, 1964.

tag along after them, the «process of de-Stalinization» in the countries where the revisionists rule is not satisfactory and is not being carried out as rapidly as it should. «The problem which commands the greatest attention today, in regard to both the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries,» he says in his «testament», «is especially that of overcoming the regime of restriction and suppression of democratic and personal rights which was established by Stalin... The general impression is that there is a slowness and resistance to returning to the Leninist norms which ensure extensive freedom of expression and discussion inside the party and outside it, in the field of culture and art, as well as in the political field.»

Thus, with the process of «de-Stalinization», Togliatti means the radical transformation at accelerated rates, in theory and practice, of the regime, of the system, of the internal and foreign policies of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe, with the aim that these countries should be turned from the right road of the construction of socialism on a scientific Marxist-Leninist basis, to countries with a liberal, social-democratic, state capitalist order. In other words, Togliatti demands that the road, which Khrushchev and the 20th Congress of the CPSU opened towards the degeneration of the Soviet Union from a socialist country to a bourgeois liberal country, must not be interrupted, the process must not be slowed down, but on the contrary, must be accelerated.

According to the Italian revisionists, for this process to advance, the Soviet system which allegedly gave birth to «Stalin's cult of the individual» must be discredited completely, both politically and ideologically, Stalin, who allegedly perverted Marxism-Leninism, «created the most savage dictatorship known to mankind», caused «great harm» with the «unnecessary» and «barbarous» class struggle, and «made the Soviet Union a fearsome spectre to

the world bourgeoisie, to social-democracy,» etc., must be discredited.

In reality, the Khrushchev group and its followers are completely at one in principle with Togliatti, and are proceeding precisely on the anti-Soviet road he preaches. The fact is that in the Soviet Union, in the context of «liberalization» and «democratization» of the social order, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party are being liquidated. It is known, also, that in the Soviet Union and in some former countries of people's democracy, the doors have been opened wide to the spread of all sorts of anti-socialist and decadent bourgeois trends in the field of culture and art. These things are no longer a secret to anyone. But to advance on this course with rapid steps is something very delicate and accompanied with a number of negative consequences for the revisionists themselves, and this is what forces Khrushchev and his group to show more restraint and caution than Togliatti would like.

They are obliged to show more caution and restraint because to go at the gallop down the road of liberal-bourgeois degeneration of the socialist order would quickly expose them to the masses as the renegades from socialism who are restoring capitalism, which they are in fact. Apart from this, it seems that the Khrushchev group is afraid to allow the extremist revisionist elements much rope by giving them complete freedom of speech and action, because they will bring troubles upon its own head, as has occurred in fact with a number of writers in the Soviet Union who began to demand an accounting even from Khrushchev himself over the so-called «crimes» of the Stalin era. In the final analysis, the Khrushchev group and its revisionist followers in other countries cannot be for unrestricted «liberalization», because such a thing would face them with the problem of freedom of speech and action also for the sound revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist elements who

oppose their revisionist line. But it is known that the Khrushchev group and its supporters have established the most severe censorship and the harshest police regime against Marxist-Leninists.

Naturally Togliatti and the Togliattists hail the steps undertaken in the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries for the degeneration of the socialist order and the widespread introduction of bourgeois ideological influences as «very positive». However, according to them, this process is being carried out very slowly, with zigzags, and stops and starts, and is encountering the resistance of «the old»; they need matters to go more quickly on the road of the complete liquidation of the «harmful consequences of the dictatorship of the proletariat», on the road of the capitalist degeneration in the socialist economy, in the field of culture and art, and all other fields. They want the process of degeneration in the CPSU, which has now become a «party of the entire people», to advance more rapidly, and demand that it should become completely a party of the type of the ICP, without rules, without discipline, «free», «democratic», with factions and tendencies of every kind included in it. In a word, Togliatti recommends to the Khrushchevite revisionists that the reforms undertaken for the liberalization of the party should be taken further, that the CPSU and the parties of the republics which form it should have great freedom (even the present «dogmatic» forms which the Khrushchevite revisionists use must be rejected) and the best of all possible blessings would be if they went even from the old «dogmatic» system of one party to the multi-party system. According to the Togliattists, this would be the culmination of «socialist democracy» (they don't quite say that «Lenin had long dreamed of this,» but Stalin had hindered the realization of this «dream of Lenin's» for dozens of years on end! But they may get around to saying it one day).

Togliatti and all the Italian revisionists, who operate in a capitalist country, don't want to take account of the special conditions and difficulties which the Khrushchevites and the other revisionists run into, which stop them going full tilt down the road of degeneration. The Togliattists want the process of degeneration in the Soviet Union, and consequently also in the other socialist countries of Europe to be speeded up, because only in this way will the capitalist world no longer be afraid of the Soviet Union, of socialism, of communism, because only in this way will the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals be convinced that the «devil is not as ugly as they say,» that socialism is not so unacceptable to them (and even if up till now there have been things in the socialist countries unacceptable to the bourgeoisie, these have been the «distortions» of Stalin!). Hence it is possible to talk about building a «new system of world socialism» with «Marxists», with «socialists», with social-democrats, with Christian Democrats, with capitalists, on the «peaceful» road, without class struggle, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without destroying the old state power of the bourgeoisie, but by means of «structural reforms», on the parliamentary road, acting according to the laws of bourgeois Constitutions, etc., etc.

But, since the principles of transition to «socialism» in such «democratic» and «peaceful» ways were accepted at the 20th Congress, the Italian revisionists argue, then they should be applied in a consistent manner, not only in words but in deeds, and it devolves on the Khrushchevite and other revisionists to set the example for the whole world, to remove the «democrats'» fears by proving that they are wiping out the «spectre of Stalinism» in deeds and have changed the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries into social-democratic paradises, into countries of «popular socialism», acceptable to all the democrats of the world!

Togliatti also expresses dissatisfaction and pretensions

regarding the problems of the development of revisionism in the Western countries. «We have always been of the opinion,» he writes, «that it is not correct to present the workers' and communist movement of the Western countries always in optimistic colours. In this world, even although there has been some progress here and there, our development and our strength, to this very day, are inappropriate to the tasks before us.»

This is a truly interesting admission. It is known that in the overwhelming majority of these countries, the leadership of the communist parties is in the hands of revisionist elements who proceed on the same opportunist and anti-Marxist course advocated by Togliatti, Tito, and Khrushchev and company. Togliatti's admission shows to what a pretty pass the trend of modern revisionism has brought the communist movement.

And what does Togliatti want? What does he recommend to pull the communist movement of the Western world out of this unpleasant situation? The most elementary logic demands that the first decisive step in this direction should be the rejection of the revisionist anti-revolutionary line which has dragged the prestige and authority of the communist and workers' parties in the West down to ground level and has led to the alienation and isolation of the communists from the masses. However, Togliatti recommends precisely the opposite: he demands that they go even further down the revisionist road of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. «In general,» he writes, «in compiling our policy, we set out, and we are convinced that we should set out, from the positions of the 20th Congress. But today, even these positions require deepening and development.»

Concretely he demands that all the forces and efforts of the communist and workers' parties in the Western countries should be directed towards the «peaceful» and

«legal» forms of struggle, following the example of the so-called «Italian road» to socialism (the demand for the working out and putting into practice of an «overall plan of economic development» in the interests of workers «to be counterposed to the capitalist program» which is in the interests of big monopolies, for the «democratization» of the management of economic life in the capitalist countries, etc., etc.). «For example,» writes Togliatti, «a more profound judgement on the theme of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism impels us to define more precisely what we mean by democracy in a bourgeois state, how can the limits of freedom and democratic institutions be expanded, and what will be the most effective forms of the participation of the masses of workers and working people in economic and political life. The question arises of the possibility of the working class winning positions of power within the framework of a state which has not changed its nature as a bourgeois state, and consequently, whether the struggle from within for a progressive transformation of this nature would be possible. In countries where the communist movement has become strong, as in our country (and in France), this is emerging as the fundamental question in political life today.»

We have had occasion previously, especially in the article «About the Theses for the 10th Congress of the ICP» published in «Zëri i popullit» on 17 and 18 November, 1962, to dwell in detail on the analysis of the so-called Italian road to socialism, and to prove that it is characterized by flagrant departure from the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that it is an utterly opportunist and revisionist «road» identical with the preachings of Bernstein, Kautsky, and other opportunists of the past, of the right-wing socialists, the Tito clique, and other renegades of the present time. And it is precisely

the further deepening of this treacherous line of negation of the revolution, of weaning the communist parties and masses of working people away from revolutionary struggle, that Togliatti recommends as the way out of the crisis into which modern revisionism has led the communist movement in the West!

Togliatti also wants them to renounce anything that might hinder the alliances of the revisionists with the liberal bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals, the Christian Democrats, the social-democrats, and all their other «allies» on the «democratic Italian road to socialism». He mentions as an example the absolute need to renounce the «ancient atheist formula», in other words, the principled struggle against religion and the reactionary policy of the Vatican, as well as the struggle for the principles of Marxism in the fields of culture, art, science and philosophy.

In fact, this is the line of the political and ideological degeneration of the communist and workers' parties in the Western countries, of turning them into parties of the social-democratic type. To complete the picture, we shall add here that at the same time the leadership of the ICP headed by Togliatti has long been following the policy of the organizational degeneration of the proletarian party, changing it gradually from a militant, organized and disciplined revolutionary vanguard of the working class into an amorphous organization, with no clear-cut limits, without a sound party discipline, which anyone can enter or leave as it pleases him, and where the supreme duty of a party member is considered to be that he gives his vote to the Communist Party in the parliamentary or other elections which are held in the capitalist countries.

Thus, willy-nilly, the Italian revisionists regretfully admit that their road of betrayal has brought them no gains. On the contrary, not only are the revisionist parties in the capitalist countries far from taking power through the «par-

liamentary» road, but they are even losing those seats which they had in the past in the bourgeois parliaments; not only are they quite unable to consolidate their old alliances and create new ones with the Socialists, the Christian Democrats, the social-democrats, etc., but those they have had have fallen apart, by means of their «structural» reforms and covering under bourgeois constitutions, they have not only «failed to marry the priest's daughter but they are not even accepted in the village». And above all, they see that the resistance of opponents within the party is increasing from day to day, and that outside the party, Marxist-Leninist groups are being formed which are growing and becoming stronger and will turn into new Marxist-Leninist parties. For the revisionists the outlook is disastrous because they can see their utter defeat as a not distant prospect.

With this situation in mind, the cry of alarm which Togliatti sends out to the other revisionists, especially to the Soviet revisionists headed by Khrushchev, is quite understandable. He demands that the tactics of the struggle against the «dogmatists» must be changed, and at the same time, demands the speeding up of the degeneration of the socialist countries and further rapprochement with the bourgeoisie and imperialism; according to Togliatti, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries ought to provide the «good example» of the complete liquidation of the «Stalinist anomaly» and the creation of a «democratic» and «liberal» socialism of the type that the right-wing social-democratic chiefs advocate, which they even claim they have achieved in a number of European capitalist countries!

Thus, for the sake of the triumph of the «Italian road to socialism», for the sake of their alliances with the bourgeoisie, the social-democrats, the Christian Democrats, etc.; Togliatti and all the Italian revisionists demand that the

Soviet Union and the other socialist countries must be sacrificed, that the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the people's revolutions in the other countries, achieved through the struggle and bloodshed of the peoples, must be liquidated. This is a great anti-Soviet and anti-socialist plot, which reveals the real, traitorous features of the Togliatti revisionists.

However, as was inevitable, these demands of Togliatti have run into opposition from the Khrushchev group, which now finds itself in a difficult situation. It has gone a very long way down the road of betrayal and is neither willing nor able to turn back, because such a thing would mean utter defeat and complete liquidation for it. But neither can it advance at the accelerated rates that Togliatti demands, because this would speed up its complete exposure and defeat. Faced with this difficult situation, the Khrushchev group opposes the line of Togliatti and tries to impose its own line on the Togliattists, by relying on the power of the «ruble» and on the military power and authority of the USSR and the CPSU.

All this shows that, although they are all treading the one path of betrayal, between the revisionists there is not and cannot be unity, that the differences among them are incapable of solution, but will become steadily deeper and deeper, disrupting and fragmenting the revisionist front.

#### POLYCENTRISM AND MONOCENTRISM — TWO ANTI-MARXIST TENDENCIES IN THE RANKS OF MODERN REVISIONISM

The other important question which Togliatti raises in his «testament» is the so-called theory of polycentrism, which is counterposed to the monocentrist line of Khrushchev and his group.

The line of the Khrushchev group is the line of banging the fist on the table, not only towards the Marxist-Leninist parties, but also towards other revisionists, the line of stern dictate to force all to obey the Khrushchev group unconditionally and humbly approve its policy of great-state chauvinism and the «mother party». Whereas the polycentrist line of Togliatti is a typical expression of a liberal, opportunist, social-democratic policy, which wants to get rid of any imposition from the Khrushchev group, and not only for the ICP but also for all the other revisionists, both in the capitalist world and in the socialist countries.

As far as Togliatti is concerned, «Moscow» is no longer, and must not be able to run the international communist movement. The authority of the CPSU should be eliminated, according to Togliatti, because this is an «anachronism», a «dangerous hang-over from the cult of Stalin». The Khrushchev group must give up its leadership and domination of the international communist movement, must give up its monopoly of keeping all the other parties tied to the CPSU, give up the privilege that it, alone, is authorized to maintain links with the small communist and workers' parties, to have meetings and contacts with them, and to give them orders and advice. Indeed he does not want to allow the CPSU and the Soviet government even the privilege that they alone should have contacts and develop policies with non-communist, nationalist, progressive government elements from the backward countries. Togliatti demands the existence of a number of centres of political and ideological leadership and activity, especially in the capitalist world. And concretely, in his opinion, these centres should be the Italian, French Communist parties and the Communist Party of Spain.

These two lines were expressed with special clarity in the differing attitudes towards the meeting of communist and workers' parties proposed by the Khrushchev group.

This group has decided to call the international meeting of communist and workers' parties as soon as possible, and thus sanction the complete and open splitting of the communist movement, and to establish its hegemony, to lay down the law, and dictate its line to the revisionist parties, to subject all the revisionists to its dictate, and impose its own «charter» on them. Whereas the Italian revisionists oppose the meeting proposed by Khrushchev for the above purposes, and are doing everything they can to have their polycentrist thesis accepted, because they do not want to be subject to any dictate, do not want to tie their own hands with any sort of joint decisions, but have the tendency to proceed without any sort of «common charter», even though it may be completely revisionist.

In his «testament» Togliatti clearly expresses these hesitations and tendencies. He says, «in our party we still have doubts and reservations about whether the international conference is opportune...», or «indeed we might even fear that the adoption of rigid general formulae may be a hindrance», «thus we would be opposed to any proposal to create another centralized international organization». Therefore Togliatti suggests that instead of the international meeting «we should proceed with a series of meetings with groups of parties... in the various sectors of our movement (West Europe, the countries of Latin America, countries of the 'third world' and their contacts with the communist movement of the capitalist countries, the countries of people's democracy, etc.).» According to Togliatti, this would be a better way to fight the Marxist-Leninist parties. «Finally,» continues Togliatti, «once our tasks and political line have been thoroughly defined, sector by sector, the international conference might be called off, if this is considered necessary to avoid a formal split,» which, as we pointed out above, the Togliattists fear as the devil fears holy water.

But while expressing his opposition to a general meeting, in his «testament» Togliatti stresses: «Unquestionably, we shall take part, and an active part, in the preparatory meeting.» This apparently contradictory stand of the Togliatti revisionists is in complete conformity with their line and aims. The preliminary, preparatory meeting does not tie the leadership of the ICP to any sort of pledge or obligation, while on the other hand, it gives it the possibility to put forward its own platform, differing from that of the Khrushchev group, in the hope that it might find support, and even convince the Khrushchev group on a series of questions.

But such a stand by Togliatti and the leaders of the ICP to take part in the preparatory meeting is also in the interests of the Khrushchev group and suits their purposes. As the Western press commented, such an «original» stand creates a precedent for those communist and workers' parties which, up to now, are wavering about whether or not to take part in the meeting of December 15, by «arguing» that you may quite well take part in a meeting with the mission of which you are not in agreement!

While they express their opposition to the splittist meeting that Khrushchev is trying to organize, the Italian revisionists are not in the least concerned about the problem of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp. On the contrary, like the Khrushchev group, they, too, are for the disruption, indeed for the complete break-up of the communist movement. With their completely opportunist and social-democratic views, the Italian revisionists have long since sown the seeds of disruption and are cultivating them with increasing care. They have waged, and are continuing to wage a stern struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties and insist that this struggle must not be relinquished for one moment. The so-called «autonomy» which the Togliattists advocate for

the socialist countries and communist parties means, as the writings of Togliatti and various documents of the leadership of the ICP bring out, that the socialist countries and communist parties should be «independent» of any Marxist-Leninist principle, of any general law, that each of them must be «free» to adopt its own «specific» road to follow «different policies», to enter into alliances and collaborate with whoever they like and as they like. The polycentrist line of the Italian revisionists, the line of the creation of different leading centres in the communist movement, is just as blatantly opposed to the ideas of unity as the Khrushchevite line of the «single command».

The whole line of the Italian revisionists, who want to get rid of any domination from the Khrushchev group, not only over the ICP, but also over all the other revisionists, who want to break up the communist movement into separate «spheres of influence», from the one angle, shows their distrust of the Khrushchev renegade group and their fear of the imminent danger of the utter defeat to which this group is leading them, whereas, from the other angle, it is an effort to avert this total catastrophe by creating groupings of revisionist parties, which, by means of various alliances and under various disguises, will save the face and extend the life of modern revisionism. To the «clumsy» tactics of Khrushchev who is endangering the existence of the whole of modern revisionism tied to the Khrushchevite chariot, the Togliattists counterpose the «refined» tactics of many revisionist centres, so that if one is defeated the others will survive.

The polycentrist position of the Italian revisionists greatly interests the imperialists, too, who, although they support the revisionist course of Khrushchev against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, want to weaken this group even more by assisting the revisionist groupings with the «cavalry of St. George» and the «dollar», so that they go fur-

ther in the race to win independence from the «ruble» and become dependent on the «dollar», with the aim of forcing the Khrushchevite leadership, in this way, to make new concessions to the imperialists on the road of the degeneration of socialism and the international communist movement.

It is natural that the Khrushchev revisionist group which stands one hundred per cent on the positions of great-state chauvinism and paternalism in its relations with its revisionist partners, which understands very well that the Togliattists are trying to destroy its «absolute rule» and to strengthen their own positions at the expense of its interests, is fiercely opposed to and rejects the poly-centrist line of Togliatti and his followers. Indeed the polemic between them, with allusions sometimes more open and sometimes disguised, has even raised its head in public. Speaking about the question of calling the international meeting of communist and workers' parties, Ponomaryov,<sup>1</sup> in a speech on September 28, devoted to the centenary of the 1st International, took a stab at the position of the Togliattists and their supporters and stressed that the independence of communist parties did not mean in the least that they should act according to the proverb, «Each frog croaks in its own pond». «The tendency to interpret the independence of parties as a retreat from the carrying out of common internationalist tasks,» continues Ponomaryov, «as a sort of 'neutrality' when it comes to the solution of common problems, can never be considered as a sign of independence or a sign of maturity.»\*

The facts prove that the nearer the time of the meeting proposed by the Khrushchev group approaches, the more tempers are lost and the differences among the revisionists

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<sup>1</sup> At that time, secretary of the CC of the CPSU.

\* «Pravda», September 29, 1964.

sharpen, so much more the two opposing lines in the revisionist front come to light. But both of them are fatal to revisionism itself. The dogmatic and dictatorial revisionist line of the Khrushchev group contains within itself the seeds of the disruption of the revisionist front because it arouses the protest of the other revisionist groupings and increases their efforts to escape from the brutal dictate of Khrushchev and his group. This line has led and is leading to the isolation of this group from its revisionist partners. The polycentrist, revisionist and liberal line of Togliatti, which advocates the dispersal of the «single command» of the Khrushchev group in the struggle against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, also contains the seed of the disruption of the revisionist groupings, hence of their inevitable defeat and break-up also.

RESOLUTE AND PRINCIPLED STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL  
REVISIONIST TRENDS — A SACRED DUTY OF  
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS

Togliatti's «testament» and many other facts testify clearly that the revisionists' front has been split and that this split is becoming deeper and will become deeper still in the future. The contradictions in the ranks of the revisionists are not something unusual, but entirely natural phenomena, because the revisionists are people without principle, because whether Khrushchevite, Togliattist, Titoite, or of any other brand, they are lackeys of the bourgeoisie and their theories are variants of bourgeois ideology, hence they contain the seed of contradictions, of nationalism, separatism, and splits. There can be genuine unity of thought and action only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian internationalism, which the revisionists have betrayed and abandoned. Consequently, amongst the modern revisionists, in their overall

struggle against Marxism-Leninism, which they will always continue obstinately, there will be forms, nuances, alliances, prompted and inspired by all sorts of general factors, temporary and chance, co-ordinated and disconnected, and there will be various contradictions and differing tactics.

Togliatti's «testament» brings out that there are now at least two different tactical lines in regard to the struggle against Marxism-Leninism crystallizing in the revisionist camp: the monocentrist line of the Khrushchev group and the polycentrist line of Togliatti.

These differences between the Khrushchevites and their associates and the Togliattists and their associates are not new; they came out in the open immediately after the 20th Congress of the CPSU. All the revisionists unanimously endorsed the 20th Congress. But while some of them described it as «complete» and «adequate» for that time, the Togliattists showed that they were the «most radical-revisionists and wanted and demanded that the «analysis» should go «deeper». For propaganda effect and demagogy, and from fear of a deep and immediate split in the international communist movement, the Khrushchevite revisionists acted in a more cautious manner, tried to quieten things down, but without managing to convince the Togliattists, who, without making this a matter of «conflict», developed their own rightist views, of course, while at the same time supporting and endorsing the 20th Congress and later the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. This relative «silence» of the Italian revisionists, or, so to say, their inclusion in the general «euphoria» among the revisionists, was due to their aim of first consolidating these revisionist positions in the ranks of the international communist movement, to ensure that the «poison pill» was swallowed, and then to take further steps, in theory and practice, on the road of revisionism and degeneration.

It can be said that in the method of starting their

work of betrayal the Khrushchevite renegades were more restrained, more cautious, more wily, more demagogic, while the Togliattists, in their equally treacherous work, were less cautious and more adventurous. To «quieten down» Togliatti and company, the Khrushchev group used the French «communists» to put pressure on them, which they did in fact, and several times the «fire» of their polemic reached the ears of the public.

Although the traitor group of Khrushchev, who had been working secretly in the ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, were aware that the revisionists' betrayal would not remain for long without being detected, unmasked and combated, still they showed themselves very naive. The Khrushchevite revisionists believed, especially in the beginning, that everything would go on smoothly, without any great opposition. They had great faith in their demagogy, thought that the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would cover their betrayal and they relied on the great economic potential of the Soviet Union, on the others' dependence on Soviet economic credits and their military alliances. The Soviet leaders, headed by Khrushchev, also believed that their «partners» — the various imperialists, and the US imperialists in the first place, would readily agree to their «peace proposals» to «put the world in order».

But the modern revisionists were quite unable to realize any of these aims and others like them as they wished. The principled struggle of the PLA, as well as of all the Marxist-Leninists of the world and of all progressive people seriously hindered them. And the obstacles are increasing from day to day and will go on doing so.

The modern revisionists, with the Khrushchevite revisionists at the head, have gone far down the road of betrayal and they will go further. But now they have been exposed in the eyes of the whole world, in the eyes of the

international communist movement. The struggle of our Marxist-Leninist parties has become a great and mortal danger to them. Therefore, now they have to take serious account of our struggle which is mounting and becoming very threatening to the revisionists. The great, just and principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties not only tore the mask from the revisionists and ruined their plans, but it also created insurmountable difficulties for them, and also led to the sharpening of latent contradictions and the birth of new ones amongst them.

Seeing that their cunning tactics have all failed, including their lies, demagoguery, blandishments and threats, their economic blockades, their breaking off of diplomatic relations and their slanderous accusations of being «nationalists», «splitters», «renegades», «agents of imperialism», etc., the Khrushchevite revisionists and their supporters see no other way than to link themselves more closely with imperialism and carry the splitting of the international communist movement to its conclusion.

In these conditions, the Khrushchev group wants to call the meeting of all the revisionist groupings in Moscow and there to dictate to them their will as renegade splitters and to incorporate them afresh in the continuation of a «more organized» struggle against revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, using all their means (including the «new weapon of extermination» which Khrushchev mentioned recently against the PR of China and the fraternal socialist countries). This is the desperate and hopeless struggle of a traitor clique.

The acolytes of Khrushchev are in a great dilemma. They do not want to be eliminated and quickly driven from the scene, do not want to stake everything on one card, but want to extend their lives and serve the international bourgeoisie longer. Therefore, differences between the revisionists are emerging and, at these moments of a

great and unavoidable crisis for them, these contradictions are becoming markedly more abrasive.

The contradictions between the Khrushchevites and the polycentrist Italian revisionists are showing up as the most acute. These two tendencies are confronting and attacking each other over the Khrushchevite plan of calling the international meeting of communist and workers' parties. The revisionists of various countries are grouping themselves around these two main tactical lines. In fact, the line of Togliatti has caused quite a disturbance in the revisionist frog pond. Some are openly supporting this line of Togliatti, some approve it in a low voice since they have rubles sticking in their throats, some others criticize parts of it, while supporting it in other directions. On their part, the Italian revisionists have sent delegations to many countries to explain their position, to win the maximum number of allies for their tactics.

It is more than clear that, regardless of what tactics are used by the revisionists of all shades, from Khrushchev to Togliatti, Tito and the rest of them, they all have one aim and concern in common: to intensify the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the revolution and socialism, to consolidate the positions of revisionism and extend its life. They are trying to put out the flames of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against them, to bring about the cessation of the great polemic over principles which is going on today, to hinder the creation of genuinely revolutionary groups and parties. In this struggle and for these aims they are united, act on the one front. The differences between them are not over questions of strategy, but over questions of tactics, over how to make their struggle against Marxism-Leninism more effective and how to achieve their objectives more easily.

Having no illusions about the tactical manoeuvres of the revisionists, the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolu-

tionaries consider the resolute and consistent struggle against all trends of modern revisionism, the struggle for the unmasking of their counter-revolutionary plans and aims to be their sacred duty. This struggle is guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which constitute the compass and the tested weapon for every true revolutionary.

In sowing all sorts of illusions about the possibility of resolving the differences, even assuming the pose of enemies of imperialism and opponents of Khrushchev, the pose of fighters for unity, the modern revisionists' objective is to deceive the communists, to hide their real faces and aims. But these deceptive manoeuvres will not succeed.

Only the communist parties and all revolutionaries who stand firmly on the positions of the ideology of the working class are and can be genuine fighters against Khrushchevite revisionism, for genuine Marxist-Leninist unity. Revisionism cannot be fought from revisionist positions, just as genuine unity cannot be established on a revisionist basis.

In this struggle the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries also have allies, with whom they are united on a number of issues. But while uniting with them in struggle, the Marxist-Leninists do not make concessions over principles, do not hide their revolutionary line, and have the duty of making this line and these principles clear to all.

It is a different matter with those like the Togliattists and their ilk, who, although they have contradictions with Khrushchev and his associates, remain consistent revisionists whose main aim is the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. Regardless of the contradictions among them, all these revisionists are enemies of the revolution and communism. Undoubtedly, the contradictions amongst the revisionists are in our favour and should be exploited, because they weaken the revisionist front. The continuous, consistent, and principled struggle against modern revisionism will make these contradictions ever deeper and more acute,

but the Marxist-Leninists have no illusions about the revisionists, are not deceived by their demagogy and do not fall into the traps they try to set for them.

Modern revisionism is the main enemy in the international communist and workers' movement. The group around Khrushchev is the head of modern revisionism, and its most powerful detachment. From this group, which has seized the leadership of the party founded by Lenin and of the first socialist state in the world — the Soviet Union, comes the greatest and most serious danger today. Therefore the struggle against this group, for its exposure and defeat, is the fundamental task of all Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary communists throughout the world.

Apart from the Khrushchev group, the other revisionist groups, and especially the Togliattists and Titoites also represent a great danger. Titoism is an important part of modern revisionism in power, which has behind it an imperialist great power, which directs and assists it — US imperialism. The voice of the Titoites is the voice of US imperialism, which sings in the ranks of international communism through the mouth of Titoism. By means of the direct activities of its agency, Titoism, which it has bought with dollars, US imperialism tries to sabotage and undermine the camp of socialism, to bring about the degeneration of the whole international communist and workers' movement. Khrushchev rehabilitated the Tito clique, strengthened it, and somewhat reluctantly, made it a powerful ideological and political partner which is causing him headaches, because now it is not only the Khrushchevites but also the Titoites who lay down the law in the revisionists' ranks. The Tito clique tries to incite and deepen the contradictions that have emerged in the revisionists' ranks and to weaken the domination of the Khrushchev group over its partners, in the interests of its own egocentric line. The

Tito clique also tries to bring about that the contradictions between the Khrushchev group on the one hand, and the other revisionist groups on the other hand, do not impel these latter to return to the positions of Marxism-Leninism, but that the dissatisfied should cry on the bosom of Titoism. Tito urges the revisionists within Comecon to gain the maximum possible economic independence from the Khrushchev group. And since he, himself, is not in a position to give the «aid» and credits, he urges them to turn for «aid» to the West, to make approaches to and link up with imperialism and, on the example of Yugoslavia, «to build socialism» with the aid of US dollars!

For the Marxist-Leninists there can be no doubt that the «struggle» of the Titoites, like the «struggle» of the Togliattists against Khrushchev is a struggle amongst traitors for domination, for leadership, a struggle of different groups of revisionists against the peoples of the Soviet Union, against Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries, of whom they are afraid.

The revisionists of different groups are all part and parcel and representatives of one retrogressive trend — modern revisionism. Whether they are large or small, powerful or weak, disguised or exposed, those who march in the vanguard or those that tag along behind, they all fight against Marxism-Leninism, some openly and with all their batteries, while others throw the stone and hide their hand, according to the situation and circumstances. Sometimes they act separately, sometimes they stick together, sometimes they divide to regroup themselves in factions, depending on the interests of the struggle against socialism or the contradictions between them.

Togliatti's «testament» shows clearly that the modern revisionists are determined to carry the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and all the revolutionary forces of the world through to the end. There is no other road for them.

The consistent principled struggle of Marxist-Leninists has exposed their revisionist features, now they can no longer act under the rose but are obliged to come out in the open to defend their revisionist positions and fight the Marxist-Leninists actively. This is a great victory achieved, a victory which must be carried deeper by means of the constant strengthening of our struggle against modern revisionism, under whatever disguise or in whatever form it may present itself.

As a result of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary communists in the different countries, and as a result of the efforts of the revisionist leaders to preserve their positions at all costs by expelling sound communists from party ranks, the process of differentiation has taken place in the communist movement, new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and groups have been created. This process is still going on and will go on unceasingly. This is another great victory which has been achieved, which should be carried deeper, by defending, assisting and supporting these new revolutionary forces unreservedly in their struggle against revisionism, against all the wily manoeuvres and cunning tactics of the revisionists to smother and paralyse the revolutionary current in the communist movement.

The resolute struggle of the Marxist-Leninists, the exposure of the modern revisionists, the defeats they have suffered and are suffering every day in all fields of their national and international activity, have brought about the outburst and deepening of fierce contradictions in the ranks of modern revisionism. And this is another great victory for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in action, which must drive forward, deepening the contradictions in the revisionist camp. For this it is essential that the resolute struggle of all Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism of all trends must be intensified more and more.

These historic victories of Marxism-Leninism will increase and become more thorough-going from day to day. The decisive condition and guarantee of this is the principled, uncompromising struggle of all Marxist-Leninist parties and forces against the treacherous aims and activities of the modern revisionists, to bring about their complete and final defeat. Victory in this struggle inevitably belongs to Marxism-Leninism.

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## **THE DEFEAT OF CHOU EN-LAI IN MOSCOW**

**November 21, 1964**

Chou En-lai went to Moscow like Napoleon and returned like Napoleon. He suffered an ignominious defeat. I feel very sorry for the great Communist Party of China and the fraternal Chinese people that are being discredited by a person such as Chou En-lai. The revisionists of Moscow provoked him, discredited him and humiliated him. If it were just a matter of Chou En-lai, who has opportunist and capitulationist views, I would say: «Serve him right», but this is not a subjective matter. This is a matter of the Communist Party of China and what it represents in the international communist movement.

From a number of reliable sources, we are hearing what occurred in Moscow with the delegations of China, Korea and Vietnam, which had gone «to celebrate» the great anniversary of the Revolution with the «Soviet brothers» and «to assist the Soviet comrades». It is said that these delegations were humiliated by the Soviet revisionists.

Only Kosygin, quite alone, reluctantly received the delegation from Vietnam, having previously warned it that he could spare it no more than one hour. Kosygin received it coldly and disdainfully, listed the aid which the Soviets had provided for Vietnam, and then criticized them because their papers published anti-Soviet materials. In regard to the question of Khrushchev, he barely mentioned it and said that the Soviets were not changing their line one iota.

The same arrogant and humiliating behaviour with the Korean delegation, too, indeed with it he cut down the time of the meeting, because the Vietnamese had taken up fifteen minutes more than Mr. Kosygin had deigned to reserve for them.

Meanwhile the Chinese comrades had four meetings with the Soviets and came away shaven and shorn. The Soviets received them very coldly, and told them: «Don't think that we are going to change our line, which was not built up by Khrushchev alone»; «we are going to implement our line unwaveringly to the end»; «we are not altering our attitude towards you, and this is not the attitude of Khrushchev only, but this is our unalterable line»; «you Chinese must correct your mistakes». Apart from this, from what we hear, the Soviets went even further, **Malinovsky said to Chou En-lai: «We overthrew Khrushchev, why do you stick to that old galosh, Mao Tsetung?»** Chou En-lai did not reply, but later invited Brezhnev, Kosygin, Mikoyan to a banquet, and said to them: «Malinovsky provoked me, is this what you think, too?» Mikoyan replied to Chou that Malinovsky had made a mistake. (Mikoyan said the same thing when the Vietnamese told him that Malinovsky had spoken against Albania.) Brezhnev «explained» to Chou that Malinovsky had allegedly been drunk and must make a «self-criticism». Chou En-lai informed these gentlemen, «I shall report this matter to Mao Tsetung.»

The Soviets demanded from Chou En-lai that they cease the polemic, and he did not promise them anything. Malinovsky also offended Marshal Ho Lu by saying to him: «Why have you not come in your old suit, since you pretend you are modest, but have put on this suit of such excellent stuff?»

What a disgrace for the Chinese!!! All their «profound judgements», their «mature decisions», «the Marxist-

Leninist line studied in detail in the Central Committee after the fall of Khrushchev», their indescribable enthusiasm, all suffered fiasco, all turned out to be wrong, incorrect, all proved to be childish ideas and the acme of opportunism, indeed they are so opportunist, so stuck-up, that without the slightest shame they insulted the Party of Labour of Albania and Albania.

Now what will they do about the Party of Labour of Albania? Will they recognize their terrible mistakes? They did not deign to give us any answer, be it a formal one, about whether or not they retracted their request to Chervonenko about inviting Albania to go to Moscow, according to Chou En-lai's order.

The Chinese are not saying one word to our ambassador in Peking about the talks they held in Moscow, though it is their duty to do this, but what can they say? They are, excuse the expression,... Perhaps they have assigned this «Marxist-Leninist» duty to their delegation which is supposed to come to our celebration, a delegation about which they have not yet informed us, at least to observe protocol, that they accept the invitation! But all this is Chinese to us.

Yesterday the old tactics commenced or rather recommenced. «Hong qi» (Red Flag) published an article entitled «Why Khrushchev Fell?» The theses of the article are diametrically opposed to what Chou En-lai expounded before he left for Moscow. However, they are still subjective. The Soviets offended the Chinese, who became angry, so that what they decided fifteen days ago with so much clamour, up to the «withdrawal from circulation of all their articles which spoke about Khrushchev», they revoked today. Apparently, the armistice trumpeted by Chou En-lai was only for two weeks.

But we have no information from the Chinese, nothing is certain. What they say today they change tomorrow. However, in all their current debates, in all their discussions

and the decisions they take, the correct stands of the Party of Labour of Albania, which they regarded with such filthy scorn, hang like a spectre over their rubber judgements. They will pretend to make self-criticism towards us. The article about Khrushchev implies that they are trying «to please us», but we shall be vigilant like Leninists. We shall rejoice and it will be a victory for Marxism-Leninism if they acknowledge their mistakes, if their mistakes have become lessons to them to be correct and prudent in the future. We shall see.

*«Reflections on China», vol. 1*

## **TWENTY YEARS OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA**

*Speech at the solemn meeting commemorating the 20th  
anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland*

*( Extracts )*

**November 28, 1964**

Dear comrades, sisters and brothers,

Honoured friends,

Today all our people throughout the country and all our patriotic fellow-citizens, wherever they may be in the world, are celebrating with indescribable joy: they are commemorating the most outstanding event in the long and glorious history of Albania, the 20th anniversary of the Liberation of our Homeland and the establishment of our people's power...

To achieve this victory our people had to wage their heroic Anti-fascist National Liberation War, to accomplish a legendary epic, which will be remembered through the centuries.

The inspirer, organizer and tested leader of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War was the Communist Party of Albania, which was founded under the difficult conditions of fascist terror, at one of the most critical moments of the Albanian people's history, set up on the granite

foundations of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and which inherited the finest traditions and virtues of our people.

On the basis of a profound, creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation of the country following the fascist occupation, and of the international situation, the Communist Party of Albania worked out a clear program of struggle and action, which included the uncompromising armed struggle against the fascist invaders and local traitors for the complete liberation of the Homeland, the overthrow and destruction to its foundations of the reactionary anti-popular state power of the invaders and exploiting classes, the establishment of a genuine democratic people's power in Albania, and the carrying out of major economic and social reforms. From the day it was founded the Party called on the people to throw themselves into the struggle to put this revolutionary program into effect.

The Party never hid from the people the great difficulties of the war and the countless sacrifices which it demanded.

In this gigantic war, under the leadership of the Party, the alliance between the working class and the heroic peasantry, and all the patriotic and progressive strata, who were united in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front, was achieved. In the course of the war, under the leadership of the Party, the new revolutionary partisan army, emerging from the bosom of the people, and loyal to their vital interests, was created, grew, and became tempered as an invincible striking force. In the heat of battle, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the anti-popular state power of the invaders and the traitors was destroyed to its very foundations and on its ruins the national liberation councils were set up throughout the country as organs of the Liberation War and as the embryo of the new state power of the people themselves.

Along with the fight against invaders and traitors for the liberation of the country, the Communist Party of Albania never for a moment forgot the problem of the state power as the basic problem of the revolution, nor did it allow the exploiting classes, collaborators with the invaders who never fired a shot, to take over the leadership and rob the people of their victory. The Party knew how to distinguish between true allies and enemies of the revolutionary war. With Marxist-Leninist determination the Party liquidated the treacherous compromise at Mukje<sup>1</sup>, the intrigues of the British and US missions with the occupiers and the local traitors, and the plot of the Mediterranean «allied» forces to occupy Albania under the guise of «aid».<sup>2</sup> It linked the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of our people indissolubly with the gigantic liberation war of the Soviet Army, of the whole Soviet peoples, against the fascist hordes, which was the decisive external factor for the liberation of our country, too.

The clear and resolute Marxist-Leninist line of the

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**1** A treacherous agreement concluded with the «Balli Kombëtar» at Mukje of Kruja in August 1943, contrary to the decisions of the National Liberation General Council and the instructions of the CC of the CPA. It was the deed of the opportunists Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi, members of the delegation of the General Council, delegated to hold talks with the chiefs of the «Balli Kombëtar». The CC of the CPA and the General Council condemned and rejected this agreement, which ignored the people's power of the national liberation councils and surrendered state power to the enemies of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people.

**2** Continuing their aims of interfering in Albania, in the summer of 1944 the British and Americans sought permission to land allied troops at Himara and Saranda to liberate these centres together with the Albanian National Liberation forces. The request was accepted by the General Staff of the Albanian National Liberation Army on condition that the allied troops would leave Albania immediately after carrying out this action. In July 1944 a British commando force landed at Himara, but suffered defeat in its first encounter with

Communist Party of Albania was the salvation of the working people and the future of our country. As a result of this line not only was the country liberated from the invaders and the traitors, but all power passed completely and finally into the hands of the working people under the leadership of the Communist Party, a thing which made possible the progress of the country along the brilliant path of socialism.

In the fire of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War our Party and our people not only achieved great victories, but also became steeled and gained rich historical experience. As well as this, the example of our revolution confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings which refute the preachings of the modern revisionists, who try to extinguish the liberation and revolutionary struggles by spreading illusions about imperialism and the bourgeoisie and by recommending all sorts of phoney prescriptions about the ways to the peoples' liberation.

Our experience shows, first of all, that freedom is not donated; one should not expect it to be offered as a gift by the imperialists, these sworn enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, that no illusions of any kind should be nurtured about imperialism, and its demagoguery and fine pledges should never be trusted. National and social liberation is the deed of the people of every country themselves, of the broad working masses, and is achieved through determined struggle and efforts on their part.

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the Germans. The 12th Brigade of the Albanian National Liberation Army intervened immediately, and after saving the British commando force from complete annihilation, carried on the fight and liberated Himara.

Even after November 29, 1944, the US and British imperialists tried to «assist» Albania. Thus, immediately after Liberation, they demanded that 1,500-1,700 officers and technicians of the Military Liaison be sent to Albania allegedly to engage in the distribution of «aid». They did not succeed in their aim as the Albanian Government resolutely rejected this demand.

This experience shows that in order to carry out the people's revolution and consolidate its achievements it is indispensable to create the political army, to bring about the union of all patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces of the people based on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, as its nucleus. This union was realized in our country in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The experience of our Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the subsequent development of the country after Liberation also shows very clearly the indispensability of setting up a strong revolutionary people's army, boundlessly loyal to the vital interests of the people and the Homeland, capable of liberating the country and of defending it against any attempt on it by the imperialists and the reactionary forces.

Further, the experience of our people's revolution shows that an essential condition for the people to win and to set out on the road to socialism is the complete destruction of the entire state system of the exploiters and the creation, from top to bottom, of an entirely new state power emanating from the people themselves, closely linked with them, and under their complete control. Our national liberation councils were a form of this new state power. The preachings of the modern revisionists that the transition to socialism can allegedly be effected without smashing the bourgeois state apparatus and with its assistance are nothing but a great mystification and betrayal.

Finally, this experience shows that the struggle for the triumph of the revolution, for the establishment of the people's state power and the building of socialism, can be crowned with success if the people are led by a revolutionary party, which relies on and faithfully carries out the triumphant teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

THE STRUGGLE TO BUILD SOCIALISM — ANOTHER  
HEROIC EPIC OF OUR PEOPLE

Dear Comrades,

The 20th anniversary of Liberation finds our Homeland, Albania, a free, independent, socialist country, with a developed industrial base, with a large-scale socialist agriculture, with an advanced culture and raised standard of living, with a healthy social order, made up of friendly working classes, united in unbreakable moral-political unity, with an international position stronger than ever before.

Only two decades have passed since November 29, 1944, but the present view of new Albania, which is as different from the bitter past as a bright sunny day from the dark night, reveals with the utmost clarity the immense significance of the turn recorded on that historic day and testifies to the vitality of the socialist order and the magnitude of the deed and invincible strength of our people and our Party...

The path traversed by our people and our Party in the construction of socialism has by no means been strewn with rose petals. It has been a difficult road, but glorious, which has required all the talent, all the determination and heroism, all the strength and persistence of our people and our Party of Labour.

To the profound backwardness inherited from the past were added other colossal obstacles and difficulties caused by the devastation of the war. Albania was in ruins. The country was threatened by famine and disease, as well as by savage imperialist and chauvinist enemies.

All those who have lived through the early years after Liberation remember, but the youth of today must never

forget, how under such difficult conditions, our heroic people, old and young, responded to a man to the call of their Communist Party, took up the fiery revolutionary slogan, «We must build socialism with the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other», and hurled themselves into the struggle with indescribable enthusiasm and self-sacrifice. Let me remind you, comrades, how our working masses and heroic youth tightened their belts and poured into the volunteer work brigades, erected bridges and factories, built highways and railroads, schools and hospitals, drained marshes and swamps, attended courses against illiteracy and schools, mastered science and technology, the management of production and the art of running the state, carried out the revolutionary transformations of the people's state power. A great and complicated struggle was waged against the dangerous wave of petty-bourgeois spontaneity, against hang-overs from the past that burdened the consciousness of the working people, particularly among the peasant masses, in order to win their active participation in the building of socialism. Like the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, this has been another heroic epic which will never be forgotten in the history of our people.

All this road has been traversed under conditions of bitter class struggle, under the frantic assaults and plots of internal and foreign enemies. With the support of the whole people, our Party and our state power crushed and liquidated the aggressive plans and provocations of the British and US imperialists, groups of spies and saboteurs, various opportunists who strove to lead the country on to the road of bourgeois development and into dependence on foreign capital, the plots of the Titoites and Koçi Xoxe and company to subjugate our Party and turn Albania into a 7th Republic of Yugoslavia, the provocations of the Greek monarcho-fascists in August 1949, the countless wreckers sent into our country by sea, land, and air.

Once the deep economic and social transformations had been made and our country had been reconstructed, our people set to work on a wide front to build socialism according to the program worked out by the Party.

When we recall the past and compare it with the present, we realize what colossal changes have been made in our country during these 20 years and what struggle, what efforts, and what sacrifices our people have had to make in order to achieve them.

Today everything has changed radically. Instead of the old feudal and bourgeois relations of exploitation, socialist relations now prevail in all sectors of the economy, in town and countryside. The economic base of socialism has been built. Now the socialist sector covers 99.5 per cent of total industrial production, 100 per cent of foreign trade, 92.9 per cent of retail trade, 82 per cent of total agricultural production, 90.5 per cent of the national income.

Together with the radical change in the relations of production, the forces of production of our country, too, have made a gigantic leap forward. Within just two five-year plans Albania has been changed from the most backward agricultural country in Europe to an agricultural-industrial one, while now it is advancing with rapid strides towards becoming an industrial-agrarian country. Socialist industrialization has completely changed the face of Albania. Over 1,000 major industrial, agricultural, transport, social and cultural and other projects have been built during this period. Total industrial production has been raised about 33 times. Industry now turns out in less than 12 days as much as the industry of the country turned out in the whole of 1938. It is enough to point out as a comparison that just the production of the wood-working combine in Elbasan and that of the cigarette factory in Durrës is greater than the industrial production of the whole country in 1938; or that the installed capacity of the power station

being built at Gjegjan in Kukës is larger than the total installed capacity of all the power plants of the country in 1938. If we take each sector separately we will see that the mining industry gives the country 26 times more production than in 1938, the electric power industry over 34 times, the engineering industry 39 times, the building materials industry 37 times, and so on. Today our industry has become a sound basis for the development of all branches of the national economy and for our further advance on the road of the construction of socialism.

The collectivized countryside has radically changed its appearance, too. Today our socialist agriculture, in which modern agricultural technique is being used ever more extensively, produces 2.4 times as much as in 1938. But the development of agriculture and the progress of the countryside are closely related to and cannot be thought of apart from that great social and economic transformation which came about in the life of the peasants with the collectivization of agriculture. Life confirmed in the experience of our country, too, the correctness of the Leninist ideas about the collectivization of agriculture as the only right way acceptable to the peasants to lift agriculture and the countryside out of age-old backwardness.

A profound cultural revolution has been carried out and continues to develop at a rapid pace in our country. Here, where twenty years ago over 80 per cent of the population were illiterate, this age-old evil has not only been wiped out in general, but about one-fourth of the entire population is attending lessons at school. Education and culture have become the property of the masses of the people and have been spread to the most distant corners of the Homeland. For the first time in the centuries-long history of Albania, the Albanians have their own higher schools, a national opera and professional theatres, and all other spiritual blessings that human civilization has created. The sons

and daughters of workers and farmers, once crushed by the heavy burden of exploitation and surrounded by darkness and ignorance, have now taken modern laboratories into their own hands, engage in science and technology, have become engineers, doctors, teachers, agronomists, writers, artists, and so on. Compared with 1938, over 21 times as many cadres of higher training and over 11 times as many cadres of middle school training are now employed in the different branches of the economy and culture.

Not only has the Party always attached great attention to the development and spreading of education and culture among the masses of the entire people, but in particular, it has seen to it that all our new education, culture, and art have a sound socialist and revolutionary content, that the way is blocked to the penetration of all alien influences of decadent bourgeois ideology and culture, and that our education, art and culture become a powerful weapon in the struggle for the building of a fully socialist society and for the triumph of the ideals of communism.

Today our people, the overwhelming majority of them and not just some small privileged stratum, are better fed, better clothed and live a better life, enjoy a free of charge medical service, and so on. During these 20 years the population of the country has increased about 64 per cent, and the average life expectancy in 1960 was nearly 65 years.

On the basis of profound socio-economic transformations, in the practical struggle to build socialism and thanks to the all-round educational work of the Party, the state and the mass organizations, important results have also been achieved during these 20 years since Liberation in the field of the communist education of the masses. Together with the new life, a new man endowed with new ideas and thoughts, with a lofty world-outlook and moral virtues has emerged and is being formed and tempered. This is one of the most brilliant victories of our Party.

Without this the great successes attained in the development of the socialist economy and culture would have been impossible.

The great historic victories achieved by our people under the leadership of our Party of Labour during these 20 years of the people's state power are living evidence that in the epoch of the triumph of the brilliant ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the decline of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and communism, which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution, the way to socialism is open even to small and backward countries such as Albania was. The example of our country shows clearly that it is only through socialism that these countries can win true independence, not only political but also economic independence, from imperialism, that they can attain real success in the development of their national economies and culture and secure better living conditions for their people. New Albania is irrefutable evidence of the absolute superiority of the socialist order over any order of oppression and exploitation.

OUR HEROIC PEOPLE AND OUR GLORIOUS PARTY CAN  
NEVER BE CONQUERED

Comrades,

These great victories achieved through the self-sacrificing fight of our people under the wise and resolute Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania made it possible for our country, having successfully built the economic base of socialism, to embark on a new stage — the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The historic decisions of the 4th Congress of the Party opened a clear and brilliant perspective in this direction, and are a great program of action and struggle

for the Party and all our people for the future. In the light of these decisions, our Party and our people have been struggling with all their strength and creative abilities for nearly four years to complete the building of the material and technical base of socialism, as the main link in the complete construction of the socialist society, achieving those brilliant results over which we rejoice today. But just as during all our work to build the new Albania, at the present stage of the socialist construction, too, our Party and people have had, and continue to have, to wage a stern struggle against difficulties and enemies. As you know, in recent years when our country was preparing to set to work to accomplish the 3rd Five-year Plan, the ruthless hostile activities of Khrushchev and the Khrushchevite revisionists, which seriously sabotaged the realization of the 3rd Five-year Plan in many sectors, were added to the usual hostile activities of the imperialists, the Titoites and other reactionary chauvinists against our socialist Homeland.

There is no need to go into all details of this gangster-like anti-Albanian activity of theirs. But it is enough to remind you of what pressure they exerted to break our Party, of how they tried to have an agency of theirs in our Party, of how they called for counter-revolution in Albania at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; let us recall how they broke off all trade, cultural, and other agreements with our country, how they cut off credits and tried to set up an economic blockade; let us recall how they went so far as to sever diplomatic relations with our socialist country, how they were involved in the great plot of the US imperialists, the Titoites, the Greek monarcho-fascists and a band of traitors against the People's Republic of Albania, taking the traitors to our people under their protection, how they struck up friendship with all the enemies of our country, and what monstrous slanders they made against our Party and our people.

Our country was faced with the greatest of dangers; the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our country were in danger, our socialist victories were in danger, there was the danger that our further progress in socialist construction would be hindered, the country was threatened with starvation. But what was the outcome? All the plans of the Khrushchevite revisionists came to naught.

The sinister dreams of the imperialists, the Titoites, the Khrushchevites and their agents of halting the revolutionary impetus of our people, of blowing up our socialist construction, of forcing our working people to hold out a begging hand to imperialism and drop into its lap, of trampling upon the dignity and honour of our people and Party, were turned to dust and ashes. People and Party, in complete unity, withstood all the perils, obstacles and difficulties, always met the enemies with clenched fists and dealt them one crushing blow after another.

The shoulders of our small people have had to bear heavy burdens. The shoulders of our 23-year old Party have had to bear heavy burdens. How many stones have been hurled at them by the enemy! How many unimaginable villainies has the enemy concocted against them! But if need be, the Albanian people and their Party of Labour can and will bear even bigger burdens for the cause of socialism, freedom and peace, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. For no one can ever conquer our people, the descendants of the Pelasgians and Illyrians, the people of Skanderbeg and Naim Frashëri, of Ismail Qemali and Bajram Curri, of Selam Musaj and Avni Rustemi, of Halim Xhelo and Ali Kelmendi, of Mujo Ulqinaku and Qemal Stafa.<sup>3</sup> the heroic people who have withstood the onslaughts and storms of centuries and have always triumphed over

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<sup>3</sup> Distinguished national figures, great patriots, fighters, leaders and ideologists of the liberation struggles of the Albanian people in various periods of their history.

them. Nor can anyone ever conquer the glorious Party of Labour which sprang from the bosom of this immortal people, which was tempered in the fire of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, which has resisted all the onslaughts and plots of the imperialists and revisionists, a Party which has in its veins the triumphant, life-giving teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. On the contrary, from the battles with the enemies, from the encounters with difficulties and obstacles, from the fire of the revolutionary struggle on all fronts, they have always emerged, and always will emerge, stronger, more steel-like, more optimistic about their ultimate triumph.

Dear Comrades.

Having taken this brief glance at the road traversed, at the struggles and victories up till now, seeing with pride and joy the heights to which our beloved Homeland has been raised, the respect and admiration of all are directed first and foremost towards the number one factor which made these things possible, towards our glorious people. Who else besides the broad masses of the people could have withstood the storms of ages and triumph over them? Even in the most difficult circumstances, a great revolutionary optimism and unwavering confidence in their own strength have always characterized our people. They have never left their fate to hope and in the hands of others, whoever they may happen to be. Their motto has been, «Freedom is not donated but is won». Later, another motto supplemented this, «The happy future, socialism and communism, is not donated either, but must be won». Therefore our people have always stood up for themselves and have fought their way through history sword in hand, with rifle and pick, with pen and knowledge.

Our people have never been intimidated by foes, difficulties, or obstacles. They have never bowed their head to nor begged mercy from fascist invaders, traitors, assassins, foreign agents and saboteurs, nor from the imperialists, led by the US imperialists, from the Titoite or Khrushchevite revisionists. They have never been subdued by terror, hunger, blackmail or blockades, but have always fought their way forward, as they will do in the future — always forward! Such are our people!

The magnificent achievements and blessings we enjoy today are also due to the wise leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, to its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to its ability to apply it creatively at every moment under the concrete historical conditions of our country, to its ability to inspire, organize and mobilize the broadest masses of the people to mighty deeds.

It was the Party which opened the eyes of the people and kindled the flame of the revolution in the hearts of the masses; it was the Party which united, organized and guided them bravely and with consummate skill through a thousand and one traps laid by the enemies, to the victorious revolution; it was the Party that made them conscious of their supreme power and inviolate rights in the people's state, which transformed, shaped and is tempering their socialist consciousness and which led them through a thousand and one other enemy traps to the happy days we are enjoying today.

How ridiculous our revisionist enemies appear when they strive to attach to our Party the stale labels of «dogmatic», «adventurist», «sectarian», and so on. But these are all fables which even those that tell them find difficult to believe, for life has proven and is proving the contrary.

Could a «dogmatic», «adventurist», «sectarian» party, as they describe our Party, loyally and creatively carry out

the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the revolution and on socialist construction in the complicated international circumstances and the known conditions of our country, as our Party has done? Could a party, such as they say we are, defeat all the manoeuvres of enemies, open or covert, internal or external, of fascists, imperialists, Trotskyites, capitulators, Titoites and all modern revisionists, as our Party has done? Hence could such a party, as the revisionists say our Party is, bring the people to power and make them victorious builders of socialism, raise so high the glory of the Homeland and the international prestige of our Republic, as our Party has done?

No! These things could be done only by a party, which bases itself completely on Marxism-Leninism, only a party, which applies our great doctrine faithfully and in a creative way, only by a party which utilizes the experience of fraternal parties and fraternal countries in conformity with the concrete conditions of its country, only by a party bound like flesh to bone to its people and which has unwavering confidence in their creative ability and their brilliant future, communism. Such is our Party, a party cherished by the people as the apple of their eye, a worthy member of the great family of the world Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' movement.

Thus people and Party are the decisive internal factor, without which there could not be a free socialist Albania.

The struggle and victories of our people and our Party are, at the same time, inseparable from the international struggle, victories and solidarity of the fraternal peoples of socialist countries, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, and all the revolutionary forces in the world...

During these 20 years since Liberation, the People's Republic of Albania has fought shoulder to shoulder and unreservedly with all the peace-loving peoples in defence of the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples,

for democracy and socialism, in defence of the great cause of peace and international security. In the ceaseless struggle that is being waged today between imperialism, on the one hand, and the peoples, the oppressed nations and the international proletariat, on the other, socialist Albania has been, is and will remain firmly on the side of the peoples, on the side of the proletariat, on the side of the revolutionary movement, against imperialism, headed by its most aggressive and dangerous centre, US imperialism, and against all the other enemies of freedom and peace.

On this solemn National Day we note with satisfaction the triumphant march of the ideas of socialism and revolution. The new world, socialism, is waxing strong, and scoring greater and greater victories day by day. The ideas of socialism are more and more capturing the hearts of men, the hearts of the peoples, inspiring them in the struggle for freedom and progress. The forces of the great anti-imperialist movement of our time, the revolutionary movement of the working class, the national liberation movement, the militant mass movement in defence of peace in the world, are growing stronger and stronger from year to year. The international situation as a whole is developing in favour of socialism, in favour of the peoples' struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The world of capitalism has quite a different appearance today. Following the salvoes of the «Aurora» of the bolsheviks of Lenin and Stalin in 1917, it began its downhill slide. The militant revolutionary march of the peoples towards socialism and freedom narrowed the sphere which until yesterday was oppressed and exploited by the imperialists and colonialists, and dealt a mortal blow to the domination of imperialism. Today the world of the dollar and the pound sterling is writhing in the merciless grip of contradictions. Its policy of aggression and war continues to suffer defeat after defeat. Neither the atom bomb,

nor the wiles of dollar diplomacy have been able to break the invincible will of the peoples for freedom, for democracy, for socialism, or to halt the furious storms of the revolutionary movements, which have burst out in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Cuba and Algeria have shown the world once again that when the peoples rise resolutely in the just war for liberation, the victory is theirs. The just cause of the peoples, who have risen to make revolution, cannot be suppressed by fire and steel. At the present time the heroic people of South Vietnam are setting another example of lofty heroism and self-sacrifice in their patriotic struggle against the yoke of foreign imperialism and local traitors. We are completely convinced of the triumph of the cause of the fraternal Vietnamese people. In the heart of Africa, the Congolese people are fighting gloriously against the united imperialists, and showing that the cause of freedom cannot be suppressed by any force.

But this situation and this general trend of development, the growth of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement of the peoples, their major triumphs, do not in any way mean that imperialism has renounced its reactionary policy, that the great danger which US imperialism represents for socialist countries, for other freedom-loving peoples and countries, has lessened. On the contrary, as the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations point out, imperialism, with that of the United States of America at the head, has been and remains the greatest enemy of socialism, of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the most ruthless international gendarme and exploiter, the principal danger to world peace. It has aimed and still aims to destroy the socialist camp, to suppress the revolutionary liberation movement of the peoples with arms and with dollars, with bloodshed and trickery, to get the peace-loving and progressive countries into its clutches

and under its domination. The numerous hotbeds of the «hot war», the continuation of the «cold war», the feverish arms race, the plans for setting up the NATO multilateral nuclear force, through which in fact the Bonn revanchists are provided with nuclear weapons, the strengthening of bases and aggressive military alliances, all of these things show that imperialism is perfidious, ruthless and eager for war.

Without renouncing its aggressions and provocations, the use of weapons and violence, at present, imperialism is attaching particular importance to demagogy and deception, to ideological diversion. In this direction it has skilfully used the services of the modern revisionists, of the Titoites and Khrushchevites who, on the one hand, support the imperialist policy, and on the other hand, are actively engaged in weakening and wrecking the socialist camp, the main anti-imperialist stronghold. The unrestrained propaganda of the revisionists to prettify imperialism, the arousing of illusions about its aims, the sacrifice of the interests and the sovereignty of peoples, as was confirmed at the time of the Caribbean crisis or in the Congo, the delay in signing the Peace Treaty with Germany, and the bargaining with the Bonn government to the detriment of the German people, the signing of the tripartite Moscow Treaty, the justification of imperialist aggressions and the like, all of these things have clearly proved that the revisionists and other agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie are hard at work to serve the policy of aggression and war of US imperialism. The attitude of capitulation of the Khrushchevite revisionists towards imperialism, their unprincipled compromises and deals under the demagogic slogan of «defending peace» have demonstrated openly that they are very dangerous traitors to the cause of socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

The impending danger of the crusade of the imperialists

and revisionists against socialism and the freedom of the peoples is not reduced either by the death of Kennedy and the election of Johnson, by the coming to office of the Labour Party in Britain, or by the fact that Khrushchev has been thrown out of the Soviet leadership. The roots of this crusade go deep. They are connected with the reactionary nature of the capitalist system itself and its ideology.

Therefore the peoples and all the revolutionaries are today faced with these urgent historic tasks: to intensify the struggle against world imperialism, led by US imperialism, the resolute, unceasing, blow for blow fight until it is completely destroyed, to unmask its war-mongering schemes and to raise the revolutionary vigilance of the peoples. The words of J. V. Stalin that:

*«Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take the cause of the preservation of peace into their hands and defend it to the end.»\**

are always valid.

To this end, all the revolutionary forces and genuine fighters for peace should be united in the great anti-imperialist front. And this front will be strengthened and triumph in the battles with world imperialism by waging, at the same time, an uninterrupted struggle against modern revisionism and all the other tools that have placed themselves in the service of the policy of aggression and war of imperialism, in the service of its global strategy. Without the struggle against revisionism, imperialism cannot be successfully combated. This Leninist teaching is truer than ever today.

In the great struggle against imperialism and colonial-

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\* J. V. Stalin. From a talk with a «Pravda» correspondent. No. 48 (11885), February 17, 1951.

ism, the peoples of the socialist countries and all revolutionaries should help the peoples who have newly won their freedom, as well as the revolutionary national liberation movement in the world, unreservedly, honestly and with all the means at their disposal.

But this aid should be given in such a way that it serves the cause of the revolution, democracy, freedom, socialism and peace, and deals a blow to and weakens the positions of imperialism and reaction. It is right, for instance, and finds approval from the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries, and labouring masses, that the United Arab Republic should be helped to build the Aswan Dam, or that the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Guinea or Mali should be aided, because they are fighting against imperialism and colonialism. But the aid which the Khrushchevites give to the Indian reactionary bourgeoisie to arm it and incite it to aggression against the People's Republic of China, is not at all right. This is aid which benefits imperialism and counter-revolution, aid that strengthens the positions of the bourgeoisie and reaction. In the same way, to make common cause with the US imperialists, to dispatch troops of the United Nations Organization in order to suppress the liberation movement in the Congo, has nothing in common with the support for the struggle of enslaved peoples, but on the contrary, it is a base betrayal of them.

The national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples, the struggle to break the fetters of colonialism, are great revolutionary factors in the anti-imperialist struggle, in the fight for peace. To help and support them means to fight imperialism, to defend peace.

In the future, too, our Party and government will consistently pursue the policy of peace, the policy of friendship and close fraternal collaboration in a Marxist-Leninist way, conforming to the principles of proletarian internationalism, with the peoples of socialist countries, the policy

of friendship and solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, particularly with the fraternal Arab peoples, with the peoples of Black Africa, Asia, Latin America, and with all the anti-imperialist forces. Our people resolutely and sternly defend their sovereignty, freedom and independence. They hold the sovereignty, freedom and independence of other peoples in the greatest respect. On this basis our Party and government have been and are always willing to strengthen friendship and collaboration with all countries, including the neighbouring countries.

In the future, too, our Party and people will continue to fight with determination against imperialism, particularly against US imperialism, the main danger to peace and to the freedom of the peoples, as well as against all its lackeys and supporters.

OUR PARTY HAS FOUGHT AND WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT  
AGAINST KHRUSHCHEVITE AND TITOITE REVISIONISM  
UNTIL THEY ARE COMPLETELY DESTROYED

Comrades,

During these twenty years our Party and people have grappled bravely not only with imperialism, but also with revisionism, with treachery, first with the Titoite clique and later with the Khrushchevite revisionists.

Revisionism, as a weapon of the ideological struggle of the bourgeoisie against communism, is not a new phenomenon. It has manifested itself ever since the first steps of the development of Marxism. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin waged a determined, open, uncompromising war on revisionism and its different variants. Marxism has emerged ever stronger and always triumphant from these encounters.

The present-day Khrushchevite revisionism is the suc-

cessor to the revisionism of the past. The revisionist group of Khrushchev and its followers have consistently pursued a line of betrayal towards the cause of socialism, a line which conforms to the demands and interests of the international bourgeoisie. The Khrushchevite revisionists have betrayed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, rejected its basic theses, renounced the class struggle, the revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have pursued the line of undermining the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the line of wrecking the Soviet socialist system built under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the line of degeneration of the socialist states into bourgeois states and of the communist parties into social-democratic parties. They have adopted the treacherous course of rapprochement with, of shameful capitulation and submission to world imperialism. They have pursued the line of sabotaging the revolution, of diverting the peoples from the struggle for national and social liberation and have seriously damaged the peoples' cause of peace and security.

This revisionist line, formulated at the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has inflicted great damage upon the communist movement and the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle. Nevertheless, the revisionists have been unable to stop Marxism-Leninism and the revolution on their triumphant march. Revisionism encountered a great, insurmountable resistance in the resolute, heroic, and principled struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania and the fraternal parties, which stand on Marxist-Leninist positions, it encountered the struggle of all genuine revolutionaries and communists throughout the world. As a consequence of this principled struggle, the pseudo-Marxist mask was torn from the whole revisionist course of the Khrushchevites and their treacherous aims were exposed.

In all fields, in politics and in the economy, on a national, as well as on an international scale, the failures of the revisionist line began to appear one after another. Through their powerful propaganda apparatus the Khrushchev group and their followers made great efforts to cover up these failures with clamorous demagoguery, tried hard to present them as victories, but without success. Moreover, the situation within the ranks of the revisionists became more complicated and aggravated: the squabbles, disputes, disagreements, usual among those who have no principles, came out in the open. This is clearly apparent whether in Togliatti's so-called testament or in the reserved attitude maintained by many communist parties towards the Khrushchevite project for a factional international meeting of parties. The crisis of Khrushchevite revisionism came to a head, jeopardizing its whole anti-Marxist course and the very existence of modern revisionism.

In these circumstances, the revisionists felt obliged to remove their leader from the political stage. The removal of Khrushchev, this dangerous traitor to and renegade from communism, from the leading positions he held in the Communist Party and the Soviet government, constitutes a great defeat, a heavy blow to the whole of modern revisionism, to its anti-Marxist ideology and policy, and a significant victory for the Marxist-Leninists.

The Albanian people and communists rightly rejoiced at this major triumph over revisionism, because in the fall of Khrushchev they saw once again the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the importance of its ceaseless principled struggle in defence of the great cause of communism.

The fall of Khrushchev is a major triumph, but this does not mark the end of Khrushchevite revisionism, nor of modern revisionism as a whole. Regardless of the major role which Khrushchev has played as the leader of the

revisionists, his removal does not mark the end of the course, policy, and social and economic roots of revisionism, or Khrushchevite revisionism itself, which has caused so much harm to the communist movement, to the Soviet Union, to the socialist camp, and to the peoples' liberation struggle. Therefore our Party of Labour, like all the genuine revolutionaries, should not and will not entertain any illusions in this respect.

The fall of Khrushchev undoubtedly marks the beginning of a new stage in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, which will lead to the complete defeat of present-day revisionism and to the inevitable triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

In this stage our communists and people must be clearer than ever about the attitude and the future line of struggle, which have been correctly defined by the Party, basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the interests of strengthening the entire international communist and workers' movement.

Our Party has fought and will continue to fight consistently against modern revisionism, Khrushchevite or Titoite, until it is completely destroyed as a retrogressive line, as an anti-Marxist course, as an ideology and policy which has found its concrete expression in the revisionist resolutions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This stand of our Party is thoroughly correct and principled, because the defeat of revisionism and the triumph of Marxism cannot be thought of without rejecting the ideological and political foundation and kicking out the platform of revisionism.

Following the downfall of Khrushchev the present leaders of the Soviet party and government have proclaimed more than once that they will follow to the letter the line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as its program approved

at the 22nd Congress. They have announced, likewise, that the removal of Khrushchev will in no way prejudice the essence of the line pursued up till now by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is evident that the pursuit of this anti-Marxist course in the future, regardless of the tactical nuances that may be used and will undoubtedly be used in its application, and which are designed to deceive the revolutionaries and the peoples, cannot fail to arouse the firm opposition and the open, principled struggle of genuine Marxist-Leninists.

Our Party is of the opinion that the real liquidation of the revisionist platform, and consequently, of Khrushchevite revisionism itself, must and will be achieved through the principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninists, to put in order and gradually correct all the evils which the revisionists have inflicted up till now on international communism with their treacherous line.

First and foremost, the putting in order of the question of Stalin, his rehabilitation as a great Marxist-Leninist, regardless of any minor mistake he might have committed, is a major matter of principle of international importance. Our Party and all the Marxist-Leninists regard the question of Stalin not as a sentimental matter, but as it is in fact, a question of line, a matter of principle.

No Marxist, no honest person believes the revisionist piffle that Stalin was a «ruthless dictator», because during these last few years all the revolutionaries and honest men have seen what kind of people the revisionists are, what their moral character is, and what they are capable of doing. It is well known that Stalin never behaved like a dictator, not even towards the opponents of Leninism, but within Leninist norms, he engaged in open, patient controversy for years on end with Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievists and others, inside the Party and outside it. Whereas today, the revisionists fight their opponents quite

differently, by police methods, and not at all according to Leninist norms. It is not in Stalin's time, nor by Stalin, but by the revisionists that anti-Leninist putschist methods are being systematically used, as a consequence of which leaders are being brought down one after the other, not only in the Soviet Union, but also in other socialist countries.

The revisionists claim that Stalin was allegedly a «murderer» and a «terrorist». Why? Because in the time of Stalin the enemies of the revolution, traitors and spies were done away with. And it was not Stalin that killed them, but the revolution, the protection of the achievements of socialism. They were tried in revolutionary courts after public debate and sentenced publicly. Whereas the revisionists behave like thieves, like conspirators, in secret. They kill by night and weep by day. They act like an international «Mafia». They opened the doors of the Soviet Union to the agents of the imperialists. They are striving to ingratiate themselves with the imperialists, white guards, Trotskyites, counter-revolutionaries, revisionists and traitors, by rehabilitating their men, one after the other, secretly, in offices with the blinds drawn, by deciding to set up monuments to traitors, and so on. This revisionist kitchen cannot be trusted, therefore, Stalin must be rehabilitated as soon as possible and from the Marxist position.

Stalin was neither a traitor to Marxism-Leninism, nor an exhibitionist clown. He was a great Leninist, he was a man of few words and much work for the Soviet Union and for the revolution. When Stalin spoke the bourgeoisie and imperialists did not applaud, nor burst into laughter, but shook in their boots.

Stalin never kowtowed to the imperialists, never betrayed the revolution, nor turned it into a blind alley. Stalin was no war-monger. He did not declare war on any

state, but others declared war on and attacked the Soviet Union. Stalin defended the Soviet Homeland with consummate skill and heroism.

Stalin never made common cause with counter-revolutionaries, nor decreed the liquidation of the Communist Party, as some have done who parade today as Marxists with the diploma granted them by Khrushchev and Tito. Stalin smashed the counter-revolutionaries and further tempered the great party of the bolsheviks.

Putting the question of Stalin in order means to defend Leninism, which was consistently defended during more than thirty years by Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. It means to reinstate the correct line and direction, under which the revolution, the struggle against intervention, the struggle to build socialism in the USSR, were successfully carried out. It means to reinstate the Soviet system, the line according to which the class struggle and the Patriotic War were waged, the triumph over fascism in the Second World War was assured, and the way was opened to the building of communism in the USSR. The question of Stalin is closely linked with the creation and consolidation of the socialist camp, and with the strengthening of Marxist-Leninist unity in the international communist movement, with the all-round internationalist aid and support for socialist countries and fraternal parties. The attitude towards the question of Stalin is linked with the correct line and attitude towards peaceful coexistence, vigilance towards external and internal enemies, aid for the national liberation struggle of the peoples, the struggle against imperialism, and the struggle for peace.

It is no accident that the Khrushchevites and all the modern revisionists began their treacherous activity by repudiating J. V. Stalin, by launching the most tendentious and ugliest calumnies and attacks against his life and glorious work. Repudiation of J. V. Stalin was a fundamental

issue for the revisionists, for by so doing they paved the way for repudiation of Leninism, for the revision of Marxism, for betrayal. It is now clear to all the revolutionaries and men of integrity the world over that the US imperialists and modern revisionists organized and carried out a great conspiracy to wreck the Soviet Union, to attack Marxism-Leninism, and socialism itself. We publicly accuse these traitors of this conspiracy. Therefore, to put things right on this key issue of principle, to raise the prestige and authority of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, to enhance the devotion of the peoples and of the Marxist-Leninist parties towards them, our Party and all genuine revolutionaries should and will fight consistently.

In order to return to the position of Marxism-Leninism it is necessary that Khrushchev's revisionist course of alliances and overt or secret agreements with US imperialism must be fully exposed, that all the details of his treacherous foreign policy must be carefully re-examined and denounced, and steps taken to set things right.

The Khrushchevite group had Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence as the foundation of their entire policy. Experience has shown that this was used by Khrushchev to make approaches to and link himself with US imperialism, while betraying the interests of socialism. The fact is that Khrushchevite coexistence yielded no positive results for world peace: international tension was not relaxed, on the contrary, the threat of war and the aggressiveness of imperialism increased. Disarmament was not achieved, on the contrary, the Khrushchevite policy created more favourable conditions for the imperialists to arm themselves, while this was denied to the socialist countries. The policy of Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence failed, just as the revisionist line of assuming power by peaceful parliamentary methods suffered complete fiasco.

The policy of Khrushchevite coexistence was used to

bring about the degeneration of the Soviet socialist system, with the aim of «liberalizing» and «democratizing» it, to «westernize» it, and hence make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie, and to eliminate the fear of the «spectre» of communism. This treacherous Khrushchevite policy was fully supported by all modern revisionists, and found the support of the international bourgeoisie, who, not without purpose, stated that «Khrushchev was the man the West trusted in Moscow». This betrayal by Khrushchev, his concessions to US imperialism to the detriment of socialism, were sanctified as «easing of tension».

Our Party, other fraternal parties and all Marxist-Leninists have fought courageously against this treacherous policy of the revisionists. The Khrushchevites called us «war-mongers», but life proved that we are revolutionary Marxists, fighters against imperialism, resolute defenders of the Soviet Union, of the revolution and peace. Marxists are partisans of Leninist peaceful coexistence, but not to betray socialism, not to make concessions to imperialism, not to confine this merely to relations with the big imperialist powers, but to defend socialism and the revolution, to strengthen friendship and collaboration on the basis of peaceful coexistence with all the peoples of the world. Marxist-Leninists and all the peoples are in favour of and will strive for general disarmament, but by totally repudiating all of Khrushchev's treacherous concessions to imperialists, by imposing disarmament on imperialism, by strengthening the defence potential of the socialist countries and the newly liberated countries if the imperialists keep up their armaments race.

A return to the correct Leninist course demands deeds, not words: it is necessary to denounce Khrushchev's treacherous policy and his rapprochement with the imperialists; it is necessary to condemn his adventurist and capitulationist policy in the Cuban events and to give

unreserved support to the fraternal Cuban people in their fight against the aggression of US imperialism; it is necessary to denounce the tripartite Moscow Treaty as an act of treason to the interests of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; it is necessary to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and to settle the Berlin problem in the way that was jointly agreed upon long ago. The Marxist-Leninists must not and will not cease their just and consistent struggle without attaining these objectives.

THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITY OF THE  
SOCIALIST CAMP AND THE COMMUNIST AND  
WORKERS' MOVEMENT CAN AND MUST BE  
DONE ONLY ON THE BASIS OF  
MARXISM-LENINISM

The treacherous activities of the Khrushchevite revisionists have inflicted very great damage on the unity of the socialist camp. The Khrushchevites and Titoites have worked hard for the destruction and disintegration of the socialist camp, this reality of our times, this major victory of the working class of the whole world. This treacherous activity was desired and actively supported by US imperialism.

Now even the enemy knows that there are major contradictions within the socialist camp, not only between Marxists and revisionists, but also among the revisionists themselves. These contradictions have been manifested in all fields: in the ideological, political, and military fields and in the field of economic relations. As a result of the treacherous policy of the revisionists, ugly anti-Marxist trends have found favourable ground in the relations among socialist countries. Such are the chauvinist policy of the great state and the «mother party», the policy of dictate, of

speculation and exploitation, sentiments of nationalism, of fleeing one another and so on.

I shall not dwell on further examples to describe the grave situation of relations in the socialist camp. It is an indisputable fact that the re-establishment of unity on the present foundations, without radically and courageously purging the revisionist injustices and policies, is unthinkable...

We are of the opinion that the whole revisionist platform, on which the relations among socialist countries are based today, should be swept aside; the economic, political, and military collaboration, as well as all the basic agreements that govern relations in the ranks of all the countries of the socialist camp must be re-examined and put on a Marxist-Leninist course, the rights and obligations of each socialist state and mutual aid should be defined jointly and with complete unanimity, taking into account both the interests and sovereignty of each, as well as the general interests of the socialist camp; the principles of aid for one another should be respected, rejecting both chauvinist and nationalist aims; aid should not be used either as a means to keep others under pressure, or as a means to plunder or to weaken the one that provides it. Only unity along such lines eliminates the big-state command and creates the real strength of the socialist camp, eliminates nationalist trends and strengthens internationalism, eliminates revisionism and strengthens Marxism-Leninism, eliminates the tendency to economic and political exploitation and speculation and no longer permits any kind of pressure or blackmail. A socialist camp of this kind strikes terror into the imperialists, is the guarantee of world peace, is the greatest aid for the liberation and prosperity of peoples throughout the world, is the guarantee of the triumph of the revolution, socialism and communism.

Our Party thinks that the aid to countries fighting

colonialism, which is an important duty of the socialist camp, should also be seen in this light. This aid should be provided in a fraternal way and not linked with dirty political interests. The peoples of the small undeveloped countries of Africa and other continents want sincere friendship and not empty words. The aid which is provided for the peoples as charity by the modern revisionists and which is used for purposes of plundering their natural resources, has nothing in common with Marxism and internationalism, and even less so when that aid is cut off for the purpose of exerting pressure, of organizing plots to overthrow the leaders of these peoples, because someone does not like them. These are the methods of colonialist capitalists. The heroic fraternal peoples of Africa and of other continents have suffered from them for centuries on end. The great-state chauvinist views that the peoples of small undeveloped countries can be dominated by bribes and threats cannot be realized in the epoch of Leninism. Marxism-Leninism, justice, the peoples' great strength will not allow you to act for long according to your capitalist, bourgeois, revisionist whim. The peoples' history has provided great proofs of this, and day by day it continues to provide them.

Unity of the socialist camp can be achieved if the differences existing today among various socialist countries are first settled through bilateral or multilateral talks. Our Party has been and is always ready for talks of this kind, for this is dictated by the general interests of the socialist camp. But we have declared, and stress again that to pave the way for bilateral talks in which the People's Republic of Albania will be in a position of genuine equality and not as a defendant, the Soviet government must publicly acknowledge its mistakes and the material damage which it has caused the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people through its unilateral and anti-Marxist acts. It should publicly admit that it broke off diplomatic rela-

tions with the People's Republic of Albania on its own initiative; that it suspended all credits and organized the economic blockade against our country, causing great damage to the construction of socialism in Albania; that it has interfered in the internal affairs of our country, going so far as to call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Party and the Albanian state; that it has slandered the Albanian leaders, calling them agents of imperialism, and so on and so forth.

This demand of our people and our Party is proper, Marxist, and principled. The above acts of the Soviet government against the People's Republic of Albania are not mere «technical» errors, they have their ideological and political basis.

Perhaps the present Soviet leaders would wish and think that, despite all this, we Albanians should go to Moscow and kowtow to them, for we are of a small country, while they represent a big country. Or perhaps they think that now that Khrushchev has been sacked, their conscience is clear as far as the Party and the people of Albania are concerned. It is obvious that they are gravely mistaken on both counts. Marxism-Leninism does not recognize big and small, but only equals among equals, therefore, the guilty should acknowledge their guilt. As to the other matter, it is known that what was said and done against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people was not Khrushchev's personal doing alone, but, as the Soviet leaders themselves delight in repeating, they were collective decisions. Not only were they decided upon by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but they were also approved by the plenum of the Central Committee, and brought before the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is also known that in order to have them approved by the Congress, and later, so that the

attitude of the Soviet leaders towards the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania should become «the general line of the communist movement», Mikoyan, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Suslov and others took an active part in the slanderous attacks against our Party and country. Therefore the fact that Khrushchev is no longer at the head of the Soviet government does not at all affect the essence of the problem. The responsibility for all the anti-Albanian acts rests on the leadership of the Soviet Union and it is up to it to correct them courageously. Only thus can conditions of equality be created to make bilateral talks possible and to re-establish the unity of the socialist camp.

A serious crime with dangerous consequences stemming from the Khrushchevite line is the rehabilitation of the Tito clique. It has been proven over many years, with concrete facts, not only theoretically, but also in practice, that the Titoite clique is the most aggressive and dangerous agency of US imperialism, specialized in fighting the communist movement and the socialist countries, as well as in sabotaging the anti-imperialist movement of various peoples. Our Party has been fighting this clique of traitors for nearly all of its 23 years of existence. On their backs, our Party and people have tested the entire arsenal of the Yugoslav specific socialism: intrigues, subversion, plots, slanders, provocations on the border, and so on and so forth. But faced with the vigilance and determination of our people all these revisionist-chauvinist weapons have failed. The anti-Albanian acts of the Titoite clique have not been able to destroy the sentiments of friendship, which link the peoples of Albania and Yugoslavia, sentiments which were cemented with blood, particularly during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War against the fascist invaders. On the occasion of the National Day of Yugoslavia, our people send their revolutionary greetings to the fra-

ternal peoples of Yugoslavia and wish that the ideals for which they fought may triumph.

The Khrushchev group has tried time and again to shift our Party from its positions of principle, to force it to give up the struggle against Titoite revisionism, under the pretext that this was allegedly required by the needs of the struggle against imperialism, since Yugoslavia, it is claimed, has forty divisions of soldiers, that a change is allegedly being made in Yugoslavia and the Titoites are allegedly giving up many of the theses of their program, that we should not enhance their value before imperialism by talking about them, and that, after all, polemics would still continue about certain matters of principle about which differences exist, and so on and so forth. But our Party did not fall into the Khrushchevite position, it did not retreat from its course despite threats and the epithets such as «hot-headed», «sectarian», and so on, that Khrushchev applied to us. Experience showed who was in the right. Khrushchev went to Belgrade and kowtowed to Tito, renounced the so-called accumulations, gradually rehabilitated Titoism, approached and embraced this enemy of socialism, while launching his attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania which faithfully followed the teachings of Leninism and consistently fought to unmask the Titoite clique.

By rehabilitating Titoism, the Khrushchev group paved the way and created the necessary conditions for this agency of US imperialism to sabotage the socialist camp and to drive the socialist countries towards degeneration and rapprochement with imperialism. Our Party, which considers the weakening of vigilance and slackening of the fight against Titoism a serious menace to the future of socialism, will not cease its fight to expose the Titoite clique. We are absolutely convinced that the communist movement and the socialist camp cannot grow stronger and forge ahead without courageously and resolutely

combating the most skilful and dangerous agency of US imperialism, without implementing the recommendations of the 1960 Moscow Declaration about the need for consistent struggle against Yugoslav modern revisionism.

It is the view of our Party that conditions to advance on the genuine Marxist-Leninist road can be created only by rejecting and correcting the revisionist line on these fundamental issues with bolshevik courage. Lenin and Stalin teach that the seriousness of a revolutionary party is expressed in the attitude it maintains towards its own errors. And this demands not deceptive formulae, but facts and concrete deeds. Our Party will welcome any positive steps that may be taken in these directions. This is a principled stand which conforms to the whole Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

We Albanians have often been accused by the revisionists of being «hot-headed» and even «obstinate», but we are convinced that we are not like that. We act like Marxist-Leninists. As a matter of fact, those who make this accusation have apparently forgotten that under the leadership of Khrushchev, they did not show themselves in the least correct and cool-headed with the Party of Labour of Albania, but behaved unjustly, attacking it with the most violent slanders and insults. Apparently they forgot that, although it was altogether in the right, the Party of Labour of Albania never retaliated to their assaults and slanders, but restrained itself. If they speak of debts, they should have it brought home to themselves that it is they who are indebted towards the Party of Labour of Albania, and not vice-versa. This is the case with obstinacy, too. Yes, we are obstinate and make no concessions over principles. We do not trust empty phrases and demagogic Khrushchevite promises. And we consider this correct. Nevertheless, we call on those who have been wrong to be strong enough to return to the right road. They will have all our support

and they will see that we are not at all obstinate. The change cannot be made by hoping that with the downfall of Khrushchev everything will be put in order. The change is prepared and effected through a revolutionary struggle, by frankly exposing and condemning the treachery of Khrushchev and his group, because the errors cannot be corrected by protecting Khrushchev, by keeping the matter confined within the party, as all the modern revisionists are trying to do. This is an effort to defend the betrayal, because pointing out the betrayal of Khrushchev would prejudice and expose the entire revisionist course on all the cardinal issues we have spoken about.

The Party of Labour of Albania, like all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, will fight with courage to score further victories over revisionism. Our fight and the open, principled polemic will continue unceasingly until the Khrushchevite positions have been repudiated in their entirety.

The period which the international communist movement is passing through is a period of difficulties and profound differences. Today the question of unity in our movement is quite rightly worrying all the honest communists in the world. All the revisionists are talking about unity, all the revisionists are trying to seize hold of the banner of unity. Our Party is of the opinion that the slogan of the struggle for unity is not a simple one, which may be used for tactical purposes, but constitutes a very serious key problem of principle, both for the present, as well as for the future of international communism.

Some time ago, under the slogan of unity, the Khrushchev group planned the calling of an international factionalist meeting which, far from serving unity, would, in fact, have served disruption. But this failed. Recently the Khrushchevite plan has been brought up again, accompanied by a general hue and cry that a meeting of international communism is allegedly imperative at the present moment.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been and still is in favour of a meeting of international communism, but a meeting that would effectively serve to strengthen the unity of our movement. Unity is lacking at present in the international communist and workers' movement as a result of the divisive activity of the modern revisionists. This is the fundamental evil. Therefore the importance and the duty of the meeting of international communism is to eliminate the differences, to establish true Marxist-Leninist unity. Its purpose cannot be to draw up a new document filled with rubber-stamped formulae, nor to formally proclaim the achievement of some sort of unity which, in a few months' time, would certainly be disturbed again by new differences and by the revival of public polemics.

Our Party is of the opinion that in order to achieve genuine Marxist-Leninist unity and to eliminate the differences it is essential first to take serious steps and exert great efforts to prepare all the necessary conditions for the success of an international meeting.

Moreover, in order to attain positive results in the international meeting, it is essential to first settle a number of important issues of principle, in addition to those already mentioned.

Through their anti-Marxist attitude and acts, the revisionists have created many distorted concepts on the meaning of unity itself, and on the role and duties of the various parties in preserving and strengthening it. Thus, in practice, the existence of the «conductor», of the «mother party», which is «infallible» and can solve everything, while the other parties should tag along behind it and can err; the existence of the opinion that only one party is capable of interpreting Marxism, while the others cannot, and so on and so forth, all of these, although they have never been written, have become like «sacrosanct» rules. As a reaction to these rules and the so-called liberalism which

revisionism has created, tendencies to «autonomy», not from the conductor, for the revisionist leaders are bound to it hand and foot, but from Marxism-Leninism, from proletarian internationalism, have sprung up and are gaining strength.

Without categorically rejecting these anti-Marxist, revisionist and chauvinist views, and without dotting the i's on these matters, any attempt to establish solid unity in the international communist movement is sheer formality and will bear no fruit.

#### MARXISM-LENINISM IS A GUIDE TO ACTION FOR EVERY REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT

Marxism-Leninism is a great and universal truth. It is not a dogma, hence the truths of Marxism-Leninism cannot be misused according to the whims of this or that person or group, hiding behind the correct slogan, «to apply them according to the time and place». Marxism-Leninism is a guide to action for every party. Every party can and should apply Marxism-Leninism in the conditions and circumstances of its own country, but the compass shows the cardinal points unerringly. But if you try to make it show the north in the south and the west in the east, no matter how loud you may shout that you have a compass in your hand, it may be anything but a compass. This is also the case with the correct application of the universal laws of Marxism.

The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin cannot be the monopoly of certain parties. They are the heritage of mankind, of all the communists. There are parties or persons who try to speculate for anti-Marxist ends with the fact that Marx and Engels were of German nationality, or that Lenin and Stalin were members of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From this fact, these parties and persons claim that whatever they and their leaders say, regardless of the fact that they talk revisionist nonsense, is allegedly the law of truth and an authentic interpretation of the ideas of the classics. This view should be discarded, for it is anti-Marxist.

In order to lay the groundwork for solid unity in the communist movement it is necessary to discard the idea cultivated by the revisionists of the necessity for a «conductor», or of blindly following the line of one party:

**Our Party is of the opinion that Marxism-Leninism is the sole conductor of the communists, that it guides them, that Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism unite them in their great struggle.** Loyalty to

Marxism-Leninism and solidarity with fraternal parties, with comrades and friends, who are likewise loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of socialism and communism, is a sacred duty of each revolutionary party. Our Party stands firmly on these principles. At the same time, respecting the Leninist norms, every party should courageously criticize the errors and faults of another fraternal party. Our Party has done and will do this always in a comradely way and without hesitation. It has criticized and will criticize those parties or comrades who, in its opinion, are mistaken, and it will fight without mercy and to the last against those who betray. Towards those parties and persons who recognize their mistakes, who correct them and give proof of this, we shall always behave as Leninists.

While recognizing these rights of our Party, at the same time, we recognize the right of every fraternal party and every communist to behave in the same way towards us when they think that our Party makes mistakes. If differences are not resolved, the best judge to show who is right is practice, time, but not time full of «calm»,

«silence» and «indifference», but time full of polemics based on facts, on documents, revolutionary and constructive polemics, not slanders and lies.

Without proper understanding of the rights of the communist parties, without accepting them and creating real effective conditions for their application, solid unity cannot be re-established. In principle and in words these rights and duties are recognized even today, but it is a fact that when our Party used them at the Bucharest Meeting, or at that in Moscow, all the thunder of the group of Khrushchev and his followers came down upon us.

Life has shown that every communist party, small or big, may make mistakes. Therefore the party that errs, be it small or big, should be subjected to criticism, should admit its mistakes in order to correct itself. This is the only Marxist way. To refrain from criticizing one or the other is opportunism, and does a lot of harm; to fail to criticize the small party is incorrect; to criticize the small party and to forget the bigger one is servility; to hush up the mistakes of the bigger party and refrain from criticizing it is utterly wrong, for a big party pursuing an erroneous line causes immense harm.

True unity requires comradesly relations between parties, because each party needs the support and experience of another party. The experience of each party is of great value to all and should be utilized by all. But no pressure at all can or should be exerted by one party to impose this or that experience on other parties. This by no means excludes comradesly advice, or criticism of him who violates principles.

Without clear definition of the norms of relations between parties, there can be no assurance of attaining the unity which true revolutionaries and Marxists desire. It is clear that when we Marxist-Leninists speak of unity, we imply unity on a Leninist basis of principle, and not on

a revisionist basis of compromises. We want, we are in favour of, and fight for a unity in which there is place neither for revisionism, nor for dogmatism.

True unity can be achieved and strengthened only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and with the joint efforts of all fraternal parties. It cannot be achieved either through meetings and talks between two parties alone, or through talks between leaders who do not express the real opinion and will of the mass of the communists. The only effective unity is that which is established between peoples, between parties, which are intimately acquainted with one another's sentiments, views, and aspirations.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have tried their utmost to keep the peoples and communists apart from one another, to keep them in the dark and in complete ignorance about the contradictions, about the views of their comrades and brothers on the other side of the barricade. Therefore our Party has always been and continues to be of the opinion that the first step to take, prior to the meeting of leaders, is to fully inform the parties and communists about the ideological differences, not according to the whims of primed «agitators», but on the basis of the main materials of fraternal parties, designated by those parties themselves, which should be circulated among all communists. Only in this way can the party itself pass judgment, can it decide and tell its leadership what it should do. Solemn promises about the application of Leninist norms are not what is needed now, but putting these norms into practice.

Our Party is of the opinion that such a course creates favourable conditions for resolving differences, helps to re-establish unity and paves the way for a successful meeting of international communism. Our Party will continue to fight consistently for such a meeting, for a militant Marxist-Leninist unity in the future, too.

True unity of the communist movement will be achieved

through the resolute, principled struggle of Marxist-Leninists. The victory they scored in ousting Khrushchev will undoubtedly be followed by other major victories. The Marxist-Leninist forces are increasing rapidly. Our Party whole-heartedly welcomes the creation of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Australia, Brazil, Ceylon, and others. We greet all the revolutionary communists who have joined anti-revisionist groups like those of Italy, France, Austria, Britain, the Netherlands, the revolutionaries of Spain and Portugal, those of Chile, Colombia, and other countries. Our Party greets all those communists who are fighting for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties where the revisionists are in the leadership. The revolutionary activities of the parties and groups that have been set up, have seriously shaken the ranks of the modern revisionists. The outlook for the struggle and victory of the revolutionary communists is very good. The future belongs to them while the revisionists are doomed to failure.

The Party of Labour of Albania will strengthen its Marxist-Leninist unity with the other fraternal parties which stand loyal to the revolutionary positions of Marxism-Leninism, the militant unity in defence of the purity and principles of the great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Our Party considers it its internationalist duty to strengthen its cooperation and solidarity with all the anti-revisionist revolutionaries. It will support the comrades, brothers and co-fighters for our great cause with all its strength.

In this new phase which the struggle against revisionism has entered, our Party is more than ever convinced of the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line and is fully confident of the inevitable victory over the most ruthless enemy of mankind, US imperialism, and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, over the Khrushchevite, Titoite revisionists and those of any other brand.

*After speaking about the brilliant perspective of the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha said in conclusion:*

We are building socialism under conditions of hostile encirclement by imperialism and revisionism. The defeats they have suffered so far notwithstanding, our enemies continue to dream of violating our independence, overthrowing the people's state power, and robbing us of the achievements we have attained at the cost of so much bloodshed and sweat. Therefore the sacred duty of every honourable Albanian is, as it has always been, to continually sharpen his vigilance towards the imperialist and revisionist enemies, to reinforce the defence potential of the Homeland day by day and never for a single moment forget the slogan of the Party, «We must build socialism with the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other». Every working man, wherever he may work or live, should consider himself a soldier of the people, a resolute defender of the freedom, independence, and socialist victories of the Homeland.

But, as up till now, the key to all our achievements has been and continues to be the steel-like unity of the people with the Party. To carry the cause of socialism ever forward, the number one duty for everyone is to guard the monolithic Party-people unity like the apple of our eye and to make it ever stronger. Our strength lies in the Party-people unity; on this are based the hopes and brilliant future of the new Albania.

At the same time our people are convinced that in their struggle to realize the prospects of their brilliant future, they will always have, as they have had so far, countless friends and comrades beside them who will help them in a fraternal, internationalist way.

Dear Comrades,

The glorious path our people have traversed under the leadership of the Party gives them a sense of legitimate pride. But they have never allowed themselves to become intoxicated with success, and even less now, when so much still remains to be done, they do not rest on their laurels. The years of the war and the constructive work of the last twenty years have endowed our people with colossal experience and have made them as strong as steel. They have never had any illusions that socialism could be built easily, that they could wait for it to be donated by others. They have never turned tail on enemies, obstacles, difficulties or dangers when this great and just cause was in question, but have gone into battle and have vanquished them. This will be the case in the future, too. Our people are invincible, they possess inexhaustible creative energies and a great revolutionary spirit; there is not and there will never be, now or in the future, any force, obstacle or difficulty that can stop their triumphant march forward towards communism. On this glorious 20th anniversary they are regrouping their forces for the new start towards fresh battles, towards fresh, inevitable, ever more majestic victories. With such revolutionary people led by the Party of Labour, new Albania has lived, fought and won through these twenty years, and it will live, fight, triumph and flourish through the centuries.

Long live our valiant, hard-working and freedom-loving people!

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania, leader and organizer of all the achievements of our people!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

## OPPORTUNIST TACTIC OF THE CHINESE COMRADES

February 3, 1965

Our ambassador in Peking writes us about the talk which he had with Liu Hsiao and Yu Chang. According to them, and this is the line of the Chinese leadership, the revisionist clique in power at present in the Soviet Union is «meaner than Khrushchev, treacherous, cunning», etc., etc.; «Khrushchev was boisterous, while these operate in silence, and recently, have concluded many agreements with the Americans, which Khrushchev did not dare or was unable to do»; «on the surface, the present Soviet revisionists pretend to be good and moderate, but they are very bad»; «they put on masks to deceive you like the witch in the Chinese fable who put on a beautiful mask to attract young boys, and caught two, but the third tore off the mask and thus the real face of the witch was revealed», etc., etc.

But when our ambassador asked them: «Why don't you, too, attack the present Soviet leaders to tear the disguise from them?» they replied: «We (the Chinese) are replying to the Soviets through the articles of sister parties, and when the time comes that they (the Soviets) attack us (the Chinese) directly, then we shall rout them once and for all.» **Hence, a «stern» fight with others' bullets.** And the Chinese, living on «borrowed flour», will deal the witch the «final blow» after the others have torn the mask from her. **In a word, this means to build your**

**reputation on the others' efforts.** This is truly revolting, neither Marxist nor honourable. But even more perfidious is the excuse they give for not continuing the struggle and the polemic against the Soviet revisionists. The Chinese comrades do not attack them «in order to avoid harming» the Soviet people, because according to them, if the Chinese attack them, then the Soviet leadership will tell the Soviet people: «Look at the Chinese, they are not letting us fight the imperialists properly. We (the Soviets) are fighting imperialism and they (the Chinese) attack us.» In this way the Soviet people are embittered and will not understand us (the Chinese). That is why we are waiting for them (the Soviets) to attack us openly and then we shall strike them the final blow.

This is the «brilliant», «Marxist-Leninist» reasoning of these Chinese comrades, this is their «revolutionary» tactic!! This is scandalous. On the one hand, this means to do what the revisionists want (because they want this calm and have no reason to attack you openly), and on the other hand, if you pursue the logic of the Chinese tactic, according to which **you allow the Soviet people to become embittered towards the sister parties which tear the mask from the Soviet leaders,** such a thing has no importance for the Chinese. Here in Albania, the Ballists used to say, to justify their failure to participate in the fight against the occupiers, «The stew must be cooked without burning the pot.» And that is what the Chinese think: Let others tear the mask from the revisionists, we shall take the credit for our wisdom, maturity, and cool-headedness in directing this work, and let the others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for us!

Unfortunately for them, they have reckoned their account without the host.

First, the Soviet people will not be embittered when we expose the revisionist traitors. On the contrary, they

will rejoice, will be strengthened and assisted, and their love and respect for us will increase.

Second, we are not pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the opportunists, but making our contribution to safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism, regardless of whether we burn our hands. Let us burn our hands and our body in such a great cause! This is an honour, the greatest honour for us.

Third, the Chinese comrades are gravely mistaken when they think and act in this way. They will gain nothing from these speculations. The world will weigh you up and assess you for what you are worth and for what you have put on the scales. Time and mankind will find the correct weight of every word, every gesture, every deed of each party and people in specific situations, in separate actions and in collective actions.

**SOCIALIST ALBANIA HAS ALWAYS CARRIED  
THROUGH TO THE END ITS TASKS FOR THE  
TRIUMPH OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND WILL  
DO SO IN THE FUTURE**

*From the talk with a delegation of the Chinese  
party and government headed by Chou En-lai*

**March 27-28, 1965**

We think that the predominant feature of this stage is the ever more open collaboration and rivalry between US imperialism and the modern revisionists, led by the Soviet revisionists. In the Khrushchevite revisionists, US imperialism has found its allies and friends for the successful implementation of its world policy and strategy, for the struggle against and the destruction of the socialist camp and communism in general, for the division of the world into spheres of influence, for the creation of a new colonialism dominated by the two great powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

While having the struggle against socialism as their common objective, each of these two world powers is striving, at the same time, to gain, to maintain, and strengthen its supremacy over the other, to strengthen the grouping of its satellites round itself, to combat the other grouping of satellites with a view to the possible detachment of its allies, to strengthen its own grouping and. in alliance

with the other, to jointly attack the socialist countries, China and Albania in the first place.

The Soviet-US alliance, which is developing and taking more concrete shape every day in the international arena, of course, not without difficulties and contradictions, is a political event which represents a great threat to the fate of the world and for us comprises a major objective against which we must fight hard. This alliance is developing in all directions, in the political, ideological, economic and cultural spheres. In many directions, it has been formulated and approved in official documents, in treaties, agreements and contracts, and has been co-ordinated ideologically from both sides against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In all these aspects we shall soon be witness to the increase of agreements, the collaboration, and the co-ordination of plans between these two great powers, which will even go to such lengths as to conclude clamorous military treaties for the «stabilization» of their political-military «alliances».

Of course, there are differences in the trends of activity of these two powers which want to dominate the world by suppressing socialism and the freedom and the independence of the peoples. The United States of America is going about it with fire and steel, resorting to atomic blackmail and all other kinds of pressure, ranging from war to corruption. Whereas the Soviet revisionists, while submitting to the American pressure and blackmail, and opposing the aggressive actions of the USA in words, merely for the sake of appearances, are using all means and methods to create their sphere of influence, to establish their domination over the peoples. For the time being they have not resorted to the methods of open wars of repression, but the course they are following will undoubtedly lead them to that, too. At the same time, they think they will achieve their fiendish ends by fighting socialism and

our countries concretely, in collaboration and in open rivalry with the United States of America.

The Soviet revisionists cannot think that they will avoid war with their general line of peaceful coexistence, but their intention is to gain time in order to combat socialism and our countries, and meanwhile, to strengthen their positions in the world in the directions we mentioned above. It is clear that the Soviet revisionists are playing with fire, because, in order to achieve their sinister aims, their intention is to weaken the Americans economically, militarily and politically, by leaving them free to act with fire and steel against the peoples who are fighting to liberate and defend themselves. On the other hand, the Soviet revisionists are resorting to all their methods in order to undermine, corrupt, degenerate, dominate and enslave the peoples. But, naturally, these aims and actions of theirs are not developing and cannot develop just as they would like. Other colossal forces are active in the world, and they are the forces of socialism, of the peoples, which are ruining the plans of the imperialists and revisionists and inflicting great defeats on them, one after another.

The building of this new Soviet-US alliance cannot avert the rivalry and the deep contradictions between them, cannot eliminate the law of the jungle. On the contrary, it is making the effects of that law harsher every day, and not only between these two imperialist-revisionist powers, the one, the United States of America, formed long ago, the other, the Soviet Union, which is rapidly assuming this form, but also among other capitalist states and the countries where the modern revisionists are in power, such as the former socialist countries of Europe, which are also degenerating into capitalist countries. The degeneration of the USSR and of the other former socialist countries of Europe brought the «law of the jungle» into their relations, too, and all of them, jointly or separately, are prowling like

wolves in the international forest, together with the other imperialist wolves.

Now we are witnessing such phenomena as those of the decay of the old alliances existing among the imperialists, and the weakening of the Soviet influence in the former countries of people's democracy, as well as the splitting and the weakening of alliances between them. In short, the two groupings, imperialist and revisionist, are entangled in insurmountable contradictions, in strife with one another within the grouping, and in many insoluble external conflicts and contradictions of one grouping against the other.

These insurmountable contradictions are reflected in every step they take; they are reflected in NATO, the UNO, the European Common Market, the European Community. in their participation in the war in Vietnam, in Laos and the Congo, in the German problem, in the Warsaw Treaty, in the March 1 Meeting in Moscow, in the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, in the relations of the countries of «people's democracy» of Europe, both among themselves and with the still dominant Soviet power.

That is a maze of problems, but we must find our bearings in this wood, must carefully follow the trend, reach correct conclusions and build the strategy and tactics of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism on the basis of our unerring Marxist-Leninist science.

We must say that at present, the international situation in general is in favour of the forces of socialism and the peoples. Imperialism as a whole, and US imperialism in particular, is in decline, it is losing ground and becoming utterly exposed in all its activities. Modern revisionism, and especially Khrushchevite revisionism, which caused the crisis in the socialist camp and international communism, greatly harmed our great cause, but while admitting this fact, the exposure, the unmasking, and the

fierce struggle we have waged and will continue to wage against this plague in the international communist movement, has made it lose ground and lose strength from day to day.

The ever greater deepening of the contradictions among the imperialist powers is causing the continuous weakening of US imperialism, of this great and main enemy. The contradictions among the imperialists have always existed and always will exist, and this is eroding and weakening them, but at the moment they have become very acute.

When they emerged weakened from the Second World War, the imperialist countries required a relatively long time to recover and, willy-nilly, had to accept «US aid» accompanied with the domination of US imperialism. Nevertheless, over a long period. US imperialism, assisted by British imperialism, managed to incorporate its partners, weakened by the war, into military-political alliances, in which it dictated its own law. By means of these alliances, under the pretext of economic «aid» to restore the war-devastated economies of these countries, US imperialism set up its own bases in many capitalist countries of the world. At the same time, the USA imposed its will on these countries in the field of their economy, investments, trade, etc., over a long period. There is no doubt that, in these conditions, the USA dictated the way of life, and political and ideological opinion in those countries. On the other hand. US imperialism financed the economic recovery of Bonn Germany and ensured that it was armed to the teeth, and that militarism, fascism and revanchism were revived. The idea of and the activity to create a powerful fascist Germany, which would be its ally to the end and the main striking force against socialism, and at the same time, the force to intimidate and blackmail its wavering allies, has been and still is part of the plans of US imperialism.

Thus, this capitalist regrouping, under the absolute

direction of the Americans, naturally constituted a dangerous threat of war. Even now it is still a threat of war of aggression on a world scale, but it is no longer the monolithic force it used to be.

Capitalist France now remains in NATO only formally; it has set out on the course of open opposition to US imperialism. Back on its feet again, big French capital cannot endure the American grip and dictate, and declines to be strangled. France feels strong enough to resist the USA, therefore the Americans are encountering France's opposition. Of course, this has greatly shaken and weakened the military and political strength of NATO. In fact, this positive existing situation is not just a result of the development of French capital, but a direct consequence of the struggle of our socialist countries and of all the peoples' national liberation struggles against US imperialism. Our struggle weakened it, and French capital seized the opportunity to oppose the domination of US imperialism. We Marxists should make use of this situation and this moment of grave crisis in the ranks of world capitalism. We have not the slightest illusion about French capitalism, which, although it has great contradictions with US imperialism, in essence, is the self-same capitalism it used to be, with the same aims of domination and with new tactics to fight socialism and communism, to oppress and exploit the peoples. The new phenomena in the contradictions that are showing up among the capitalist countries were foreseen by Stalin long ago and now they are being realized just as he envisaged.<sup>1</sup>

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**1** *«Outwardly everything seems to be 'going well': the United States of America has put Western Europe, Japan and the other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (West), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be a mistake to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity', that these countries will tolerate the domi-*

We think that US imperialism is being weakened everywhere, and its aggressive actions, accompanied with atomic blackmail, testify to its weakness and not to its strength. It has great troubles in Europe, and its dominating positions are not stable. It is trying to rebuild new positions, relying heavily on and striving to hold on to Bonn Germany as its most powerful and aggressive support.

Bonn Germany, we think, is the corporal in capitalist Europe. The Americans are striving to keep the revanchist Erhard<sup>2</sup> government in pro-American positions, and in order to achieve this, they are doing everything possible to meet all its demands, and especially to equip it with atomic weapons. On the other hand, the Americans are doing their utmost to bring the Soviets to their knees in order to achieve the unification of the two German states according to the conditions of the Americans and of the Bonn revanchists. If the USA can achieve this, consequently it will have strengthened its positions in Europe, compensated for the weakening which France has caused it, and to some degree, isolated France. In this manoeuvre, the USA is aiming to isolate France, to prevent it from concluding any effective alliance with Bonn, and having made it impossible for France to achieve this, to destroy any attempt on the part of France to revive the old alliances with the Soviets, a thing that would isolate Bonn Germany, hence limit the American domination.

To sum it up. we can say that the USA is trying to defeat the aims of France, which is seeking to revive its old alliances with the countries of the East and Central

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*nation and oppression of the United States of America endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development.» (J. V. Stalin. «Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR», Tirana 1968, p. 39. Alb. ed.)*

<sup>2</sup> At that time chancellor of the Federal German Republic.

and South-east Europe, and at the same time, to link itself with Bonn Germany, too, and, in this way, to be better placed to fight communism and the US domination. Thus, France is trying to extend its domination. This is the aim of the Gaullist approaches towards the countries of «people's democracy» in Eastern Europe, the granting of credits and the development of cultural relations with them.

In these situations, the will and views of the other NATO members, with the exception of Bonn and London, are not taken into account. Whichever it is, whatever its colour, the British government will pursue its traditional policy of keeping a balance, but the balance will always tip to the side of the Americans. Notwithstanding that the Americans have crushed Britain, impelled by the traditions, interests and the play of old alliances, and especially those of the last two great world wars, Britain will incline to the alliance with the Americans. Nevertheless, there are and always will be contradictions between them.

As for the ambitions of the revanchist government in Bonn, they are known. It is trying to secure atomic weapons, to dominate Europe and NATO together with the USA, to gobble up East Germany, to re-establish the old borders of the Third Reich, to reorganize new alliances in its favour, and to threaten and kindle a new war at the time Bonn and its partners find favourable. In a word, while pursuing two immediate main aims, that of being equipped with the atomic weapons and of gobbling up the German Democratic Republic, Bonn Germany supports the US policy, while trying not to tread on Britain's toes, and doing nothing to worsen relations or pull down bridges with De Gaulle, and is making secret and open attempts to begin talks and conclude agreements with the Soviet revisionists. On the other hand, Bonn is trading with and granting credits to the so-called countries of people's democracy of Europe, and even has trade exchanges with the German Democratic Republic.

As we can judge from such a development of the situation, the imperialist coalition in Europe is not ready for war. The French question upset the balance, and it will take some time before it is stabilized again. On the other hand, the capitulation of the Soviet revisionists, first of all, and their European satellites has created a new field of work, hopes, efforts, possibilities and coalitions for the imperialists, which, for the time being, do not permit them to miss the favourable opportunities created by the Khrushchevites, and to start armed adventures and conflicts in Europe.

We may draw the conclusion that, at present, a dark cloud hangs over Europe, that it has become a field of imperialist-revisionist intrigues, and despite the deep contradictions simmering among all these imperialist-revisionist states, the forces have not yet developed in Europe which can take advantage of these contradictions to create a revolutionary situation there. The only completely revolutionary forces here are the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania, and on a small scale, the Marxist-Leninist groups in some countries of West Europe.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it is in the interests of the revolution and socialism that the great weight of the People's Republic of China should be felt powerfully in Europe, that these contradictions should be utilized.

The situation in the revisionist camp is also full of contradictions. We can say that their political-economic unity has been weakened, although it exists formally. The Warsaw Treaty exists, and we believe that it will continue to exist, as a «shield» for the expansionist policy of the Khrushchevite revisionists. They, the Soviet revisionists in the first place, will use this treaty in order to preserve their military hegemony, to have the forces and armaments of

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**3** This refers to the first groups of the years 1960-1965.

their partners under their control and supervision so that, for definite aims, they can dominate the weak partners, intimidated and «disarmed» by them, through their fear of some «attack», and intervene, possibly jointly, in case any of their partners gets out of line.<sup>4</sup> The Soviet revisionists have great hopes that through the Warsaw Treaty they will have the satellites' armies as cannon fodder, as a dump, as a market for the sale of their outdated weapons, and above all, as a force to keep them under control.

In these situations of political instability, in these times of many-sided deals with the American and other imperialists, in these situations of internal economic, political and ideological difficulties, the other revisionist partners need the Warsaw Treaty as a shield against any eventual external and internal threat. However, we think that there is no harmony, no unity, in this camp, but dissatisfaction and distrust.

In their common aims to reach agreements with the imperialists, and in the first place, with the US imperialists, there are tendencies, especially on the part of the Soviet revisionists, to treat everything, every result they achieve every deal they make, in such a way as to persuade the others that they must accept it. Of course, these attempts of the Soviet revisionists cannot be easily achieved, because there are centrifugal forces in action. Thus, there is the other tendency (of almost all the other revisionist states, which does not fully accept the Soviet dictate, and this is being fostered vigorously by the Americans, the French, the British, and Bonn). Sometimes these states negotiate and reach separate agreements, make individual efforts to promote their national state platforms and their national interests, in a word, they impede, disrupt

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<sup>4</sup> Life has fully confirmed this prediction. In August 1968, the Soviet Union used the forces of the Warsaw Treaty to occupy Czechoslovakia, «which was getting out of hand».

sabotage, amend and raise obstacles to the Soviet hegemonic line.

This tendency has sharpened the contradictions between the revisionist countries, and this is reflected in their internal and external weaknesses. The German problem is raised by them as the main political-military problem. They pretend to maintain the same, allegedly resolute stand. But this is not and cannot be the reality. It is true that all of them are concerned about this problem, but each of them wants to settle it according to its own views. They are all manoeuvring at the expense of the German Democratic Republic. Ulbricht's appeals and memoranda, and the meetings of the Warsaw Treaty are disregarded, and the communiques from the meetings are demagoguery and bluff which do not reflect the truth. None of them is genuinely for the proper defence of the German Democratic Republic. They are all afraid of a clash, of war. Gomulka is ready to impose heavy conditions of capitulation to Bonn on the German Democratic Republic so long as the imperialist states officially recognize the Oder-Neisse border. Czechoslovakia, likewise, is moving towards the normalization of its old alliances, provided only that the Bonn revanchists give up their claims to the Sudetens. Hungary has no desire to be embroiled in war over the German problem. Its ambitions lie in other directions, on the territory of its neighbours and the strengthening of the capitalist regime it is restoring at home.

Therefore it is very advantageous, both to the Soviets and to the others, for the German problem to be liquidated with little pain and much demagoguery, and in return for this they ask for nothing but some sort of assurance, be it even temporary, that Bonn will keep a relatively low profile. In our opinion, during this period the German Democratic Republic is being used by the Soviet Union and its allies as a token to be bartered in the negotiations,

blackmail and deals between the imperialists and the modern revisionists. Of course, this is another major cause which is deepening the contradictions between the revisionists and weakening their internal and external positions. They are ceaselessly exposing themselves.

As regards the political relations of the former socialist countries with the other bourgeois states of the world, they are not following a common general line, but each of them is working on its own national account. Very often, one state, proceeding from the principle «everyone for himself», will do its revisionist partner in the eye in order to ensure economic or political gains, preserve its «prestige and secure support for itself», continually violating principles and trampling on the interests of its partner, which, in most cases, is revisionist, too. Thus, the law of the jungle has been introduced in their relations. This, of course, deepens their contradictions, and weakens and exposes them.

The economic relations between the revisionists exist, and Soviet revisionism, as the biggest economic power, is still dominant and making the law, but not as in the past. It is dominating the weak economies of its partners with its economic power and with the establishment of some important keys and links, which, for the time being, its partners cannot break or escape from. This gives rise to the great Soviet pressure on them, and this pressure is not only economic. All these relations between the Soviets and their revisionist partners are enslaving capitalist relations. None is satisfied with the other, and there are quarrels, disagreements, blackmail and threats everywhere. Here there are many deep, insurmountable, undermining contradictions, and these exert an influence towards their further degeneration.

None of the revisionist states is guided by the internationalist principle of comradely aid in the economy; on the contrary, each is out to make the maximum profits

from the other, in the capitalist manner. Thus, everything, all the economic relations between them, is considered and done only in the capitalist spirit. But the economic crisis no longer permits the Soviet Union «to help», and to cope with the ever growing needs of its revisionist allies, which are also caught in the crisis. In these conditions then, the way out for these new capitalists is to appeal for American, French, British and German foreign capital. American and other credits have begun to flow in, to increase, and to spread like leeches throughout the economy of the Soviet Union and the countries of so-called people's democracy in Europe. This inevitably brings with it political and ideological influence and leads to the degeneration of the regime, the political, economic and military swallowing of these countries, which, gradually, sooner or later, become countries dependent on the various imperialists and are transformed into their spheres of influence.

Of course, this is adding to the contradictions between the revisionist countries of Europe and the Soviet revisionists, who are losing their absolute political, and economic domination over these countries. This is adding to and deepening the contradictions between the people and the true Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand, and the revisionist chiefs of each country, on the other; it is impoverishing these countries, polarizing the forces of reaction and the forces of the people, and creating a wide field of conditions favourable to revolution in those countries.

How should we define the present ideological «unity» of the revisionists and the struggle they are waging against Marxism-Leninism and especially against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania?

The hostility of the modern revisionists to Marxism-Leninism and our two parties is relentless, and on this they have unity of thought and action. The revisionist chiefs, not only those who are at the head of the parties and states

of «people's democracy» of Europe, but also all the chiefs who are at the head of the communist parties in the capitalist countries, have set out on the anti-Marxist road and have become thoroughly and hopelessly compromised. They have crystallized their line of reformism and the degeneration of Marxism-Leninism, and their *leadership\** is the Moscow revisionist clique; the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU provide their orientation and basis. They implement this general line on the basis of the concrete situations in their parties and countries. Of course, around this general revisionist orientation, there are and will be various tendencies, which have been manifested and will be manifested according to the inclinations of these chiefs, which are dictated by the pressure of the bourgeoisie, by the resistance put up by the party, by the political-economic situation of the country, by the revolutionary movement and the level to which it has risen, as well as by many other factors.

While preserving their aims intact and fighting to achieve their anti-Marxist objectives, the modern revisionists are now displaying a number of markedly different trends. The Tito revisionists are doggedly and openly following a well-defined and undisguised road. They are acting in full and open unity with the capitalist bourgeoisie, with social-democracy, and in open alliance with and in the service of US imperialism. Things have gone so far with them that, although in fact the other revisionists are in full solidarity with the Yugoslav revisionists, although they take them as an example for action and adapt their Titoite forms to the degeneration of their own parties and states, they do not dare to rehabilitate them openly. Although they always collaborate with the Titoites closely, declaring that they agree with their policy, while applying the Titoite

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\* English in the original.

capitalist reforms in practice, still, they add that they «have some disagreements with them». This is demagoguery and deception. The fact is that the Titoite revisionist wing has gone over completely to the positions of the bourgeoisie, whereas the place of the extreme right-wing, we can say, is being held currently by the Italian revisionist chiefs, the Togliattists. They have taken up the role of applying revisionism to the end in the capitalist countries, of liquidating the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, of snuffing out the revolutionary struggle, of eliminating the contradictions with social-democracy, of uniting with it, of merging with it, and of complete ideological and political collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In a word, they are for the liquidation of the class struggle and for submission to the absolute power of the bourgeoisie. Since they are not in power, they want to go even further than the Titoites, who have state power in their hands and do not allow anyone else to share it. However, besides this total liquidation, the Italian revisionists want to co-ordinate the actions of the existing revisionist states, from which they demand acceleration of their degeneration and the complete and consistent carrying out of the revisionist general line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The Italian revisionists think that they can achieve these results more quickly by developing their «polycentrist» theory, which, in fact, means to spurn the authority of the Soviet revisionists, to cause splits among the revisionists, in order to defeat the Soviet revisionists more thoroughly and more rapidly, in the general framework of the ideological offensive of monopoly capital for the complete degeneration of the revisionist parties and states. Of course, the Italian revisionists are adventurers in the full sense of the word. They want to speed up the process of degeneration. Certainly, the Soviet revisionists cannot support this tactic, which immediately deprives them of any demagogic

weapon. Here, then, is the source of the contradictions and the differences in their tactics.

The stumbling tactics of the Polish revisionists are demagoguery intended to convince us, if possible, to tone down our polemic, and especially, to show their alleged «independence» from the Soviet revisionists on the question of tactics. But they must be ranked among the savagest enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, and our socialist states. They are the greatest chauvinists among the revisionists. The Soviets are counting heavily on them, despite the contradictions between them. The Soviets need them very much, because an open breaking away of Poland towards the imperialists would accelerate the final catastrophe of the revisionist camp.

Despite their nuances, which are more pronounced in Ulbricht and Kadar, the other European revisionists, generally, pursue more or less the Soviet course and tactics in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, and especially against our two parties. However, in general, we can say that the former blind faith in the Soviet revisionists no longer exists. This can be said, also, of the other parties of the world dominated by the revisionists. Their trust in the Soviet leadership has been weakened; their trust and the force that attracts them depends on the rubles which finance them in their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist activities.

Of course, all the signs of opposition existing among the revisionists are nothing but attempts to ensure independence of activity, or new regional regroupings.

The Soviet revisionists have suffered great defeats. We can say that the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against them has been the decisive factor in these defeats. Our principled militant stands exposed the Soviet revisionists, are a serious obstacle to their undermining activity, and are dispersing the choking fog of their poisonous de-

magogy. Our parties and countries resisted and came out triumphant over their blackmail and pressures of every kind. Our unyielding struggle hindered the acceleration of the treacherous activities of the revisionists, made, or is making things clear to the communists of the world, tells the peoples the truth and exposes the agreements reached between the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists.

From the 20th Congress, the Soviet revisionists took the bit between their teeth, confident in their belief that they would not meet any serious resistance on their road of betrayal. And even if they did, with their views of great-state chauvinism, they thought that, with their great economic and military potential, and by disguising and hiding themselves behind the great political and ideological prestige of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they would quickly eliminate this resistance without much pain or ado. On the other hand, the Soviet revisionists were convinced that they would find a ready understanding on the part of the US imperialists who would immediately accept their proposals and major concessions. Thus, the Soviet revisionists thought that their revisionist ideological and political line «would triumph and shine». And thus before there was time to wink your eye, «the miracle» would be achieved, just like the conjurer's tricks at a fair, and to give the devil his due, Nikita Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet revisionists, played the game just like a real fairground clown.

Revisionism is the bearer of its own defeat. It spells defeat for those who have been infected by it, because revisionism means betrayal, defeatism, capitulation, rout. Modern revisionism, with Soviet revisionism at the head, brought all its evils in its wake. It weakened the Soviet Union, lowered its prestige and that of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, set about the ideological-political degeneration of the Soviet Union, weakened the revolutionary

forces, threw the socialist economy of the Soviet Union into continuous chaos and decline, made major concessions to US imperialism, and is continuing to destroy the Soviet power and to put it at the mercy of a new bourgeois capitalist class, which, day by day, is growing ever more dependent on the interests of international capitalism.

Their whole ideological line suffered fiasco in its ideological-organizational development, in the development of their external and internal policy, as well as in regard to the socialist camp and international communism.

It is a fact that before the emergence of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement was strong and stood monolithic against the bourgeois ideology, for the sole reason that it was guided by Marxism-Leninism. Before the advent of the revisionists to power the Soviet Union was on the right road, was guided and inspired by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit and in turn inspired its comrades, friends and allies in this spirit.

With the revisionists' advent to power the Marxist unity could exist no longer. Our correct thesis, that unity exists where Marxism-Leninism is in power, triumphed. The revisionist bluff and demagogy, their calumnies and slanders that allegedly Stalin, the «cult of Stalin», the «terror», «killings», «threats» were the «factors» of this unity that existed then, suffered ignominious defeat. The Marxist-Leninists have risen against the revisionists everywhere and are forging real unity under the guidance and inspiration of Marxism-Leninism, and we see that the Soviet revisionists have not only destroyed the unity of the socialist camp and international communism, but have also brought about the split in their midst, and it could not be otherwise. The revisionists are divided among themselves and will be divided even further. Revisionism is the kiss of death.

And when, as a result of our consistent Marxist-Leninist struggle, the Soviet revisionists found themselves facing the great defeat, facing the great evil, they preferred the lesser evil: they liquidated their leader and ideologist, Nikita Khrushchev. Indirectly, they loaded all the blame on to him, and, without changing any part of his old line, Khrushchev's comrades, collaborators and co-plotters came on stage to carry on Khrushchevism without Khrushchev.

The time since the liquidation of Khrushchev has proved that the Soviet revisionists are just as much traitors as Khrushchev, and are following his treacherous anti-Marxist theses with the greatest loyalty. Indeed they have outdone Khrushchev in treachery, because, while they are aware of Khrushchev's terrible mistakes, they have not mended their ways, even after his overthrow. It is true that they are trying to create and carry out a «new» line, but it is just as revisionist and scandalous as that of Khrushchev.

First of all, their tactics differ only in formal and superficial things: they have given up Khrushchev's boasting and beating the big drum. For the time being, the Soviet revisionists who replaced Khrushchev are not making speeches, are keeping quiet to give the impression that they «are reflecting», that they «are prudent and wise», that they «are not a punctured drum», but in practice the first step is being taken and the same drum is being beaten.

The Soviet revisionists are maintaining and strengthening their ties with the American imperialists, capitulating to them more and more each day. They did not strengthen themselves with the removal of Khrushchev; on the contrary, they discredited themselves. Now, Khrushchev's successors are trying to piece together what he broke. They have no hopes that we will be deceived, but are worrying about their partners who are getting out of hand. They want to create a sort of «unity» between them, on a new basis, in order to face the catastrophe awaiting them. This

is one of their main objectives at present. The factional March 1 Meeting held in Moscow was intended, above all, to achieve precisely this objective: a common ideological platform among the revisionists, suitable to the new present circumstances, had to be found, rather than hope to deceive us. Naturally, in form, the communique issued after the March 1 Meeting reflects the demagoguery of their whole line, but I am of the opinion that their problem is more the creation of a sort of revisionist «unity». This «unity», the Soviets hoped, could be achieved after they had secretly assured their partners that they would change nothing in the line, and during this time they proved publicly with their stands that nothing had changed after Khrushchev's removal.

But was this unity, so greatly desired by the Soviet leadership, achieved? No, not in the least. As the revisionists they are, with unity the Soviet leaders mean domination, absolute dictate over the others. Unfortunately for the Soviet leaders, the others have become more independent than ever; they were not for Khrushchev, they were happy to be rid of him, because he was arrogant and threatened them. But after the downfall of Khrushchev, the other revisionists wanted to be assured that the new Soviet leadership did not turn «to our side». They were terrified of this. When they were reassured about this, their positions of independence from the «conductor» were strengthened, and according to information, there was no unity at their last meeting although all of them are inveterate revisionists.

In the communique the modern revisionists issued, the confusion and panic that has seized them from the defeats we have inflicted on them and the fact that they have found nothing new to dish up to their adherents, came out openly. It was shown that they do not have the initiative. They are broken, weak, and are on the defensive. The

communique is a confirmation that the Soviet revisionists cannot openly dictate the law to their revisionist partners, cannot impose themselves as before: the split, «independence», the slipping from their hands is great, the gap is deep. The Soviet revisionists will resort to indirect means to try to rescue their prestige and their authority over their partners, and will activate, encourage, organize and lead the struggle against our parties and states.

Thus, we can say that this period, following the fall of Khrushchev, has weakened the Soviet revisionists further. First of all. it is our militant stand, the continuation of the polemic by our parties which has brought about their defeat. This is one aspect of the fire that is playing havoc with the revisionists in disarray and the Soviet revisionists, together with all the problems which have them by the throat. During this period the USA, also, made sure that, far from changing their positions, the Soviet revisionists become even weaker, so it stepped up the dose of its blackmail in order to strengthen its hold over them, and to compromise them more thoroughly. The USA sees that the Soviet fad of the alleged «anti-imperialist struggle» and the «anti-imperialist front» is mere demagoguery, therefore US imperialism is making its aggressiveness more pronounced in order to back the Soviet revisionists into a corner, so that they become more exposed and discredited and capitulate more quickly.

The Khrushchevite ideas of «peaceful coexistence», of «a world without wars, without weapons», have been shown up in their true colours, and nobody believes them. The fact is that with the war in the Congo, Laos, South Vietnam, and now with the piratical American bombing of North Vietnam, the Americans are not only bringing the Soviets face to face with capitulation and exposure, but from their terror of war, have also forced them to undertake diplomatic actions in favour of impe-

rialist theses about Vietnam and putting down the liberation war. Kosygin's trip to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had fiendish demagogic aims of diversion, capitulation and deception. But he failed. The alleged aid in arms to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is nothing but demagogy and a trap. In fact, the Soviet revisionists are striving to organize international conferences with the capitalist states about the Vietnam problem, without Vietnam. There must be serious thought and military preparations, because it is highly possible that the Soviet revisionists since the time of Khrushchev, or even now, might have reached an agreement with the Americans that the Soviets would leave the Americans a free hand to «escalate» the war to North Vietnam and go even further, that is to say, to extend the conflict. Perhaps, on the quiet the Soviets are going to satisfy themselves with bombastic demagogic statements, may make noisy «protests», and on the other hand, gather «facts and documents» alleging that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and China did not allow the Soviet Union to give South Vietnam concrete assistance in arms and men. Of course, the Soviet revisionists are playing with fire, but they think that in this way they may «gain», by weakening the two sides, by getting China embroiled in war, encircling it with a ring of fire and a cordon of «friends» of the Soviet revisionists, such as the Indians. We should nip these plans in the bud.

We are of the opinion that «the problem of general disarmament», «the problem of Germany and Berlin» are being raised and deliberately inflated by the revisionists in order to divert attention. In fact, for them these problems are a propaganda smokescreen to disguise themselves and to divert attention from Indochina, etc., where the struggle against imperialism is really on the boil. That is where our two main enemies have concentrated their efforts.

The Soviet revisionists, together with the Americans, the French and Bonn, are trying to keep the peoples of the developing countries occupied with regional problems and prevent them from concerning themselves with more acute problems, from going on the attack everywhere, in a coordinated way. For example, we see how both the Americans and the Soviets are striving to confine the concern of the African countries to African problems only, and this is being concretized over the Congo issue, which is an important issue in itself; to get the Arabs to concern themselves only about the danger that Israel presents to them; to make Europe think only about whether to link up with Bonn or Ulbricht, and neglect or take little interest in Indochina and the problems of another continent. In Latin America, the Soviets keep their halter firmly round the neck of any self-styled «communist» leader, whose equivocal views, far from serving the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces, weaken them, and assist the revisionist chiefs of other communist and workers' parties of the Latin-American countries and all the modern revisionists.

It seems to us that there is a general tendency on the part of the modern revisionists in collaboration with imperialism to disperse the revolutionary forces and tie them up in separate problems, or to separate them deliberately in order to disorganize them.

The fact is that, in various meetings of an international character, this tendency is manifested in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which do not show coherence, are either defeated and isolated, or are «convinced» by the Soviets to raise a number of obstacles, so that the important international or regional meetings, the dates for which have been set, are postponed, or never held, etc. We think that this question should be reconsidered and new tactics should be worked out to revolutionize the situation.

How should we carry on our struggle in this general

situation which we have tried to describe as we see it and on the basis of the current circumstances?

We think that we should step up our polemics against modern revisionism, and make it sharper, first of all, against the Soviet revisionists. They are weakened and need a respite from the polemics. Our duty is to allow them no time to catch their breath, to attack and expose them unceasingly, ideologically and politically. We must expose every action of theirs in the international field and in the field of relations among them, in order to sharpen the divergencies eroding them, to prevent them from grouping together and undertaking joint or separate actions against the peoples, against the revolutionaries and against our parties and states. Any «concession» on their part, any «tactics» of alleged rapprochement with us, should be utilized in a Marxist-Leninist way in all directions, to expose them, disarm them and make them capitulate.

We think that we must organize and co-ordinate our struggle against them better. Even without organizationally co-ordinated work, our two parties have performed and continue to perform their full duty in the struggle, are clear about everything, and stand unflinchingly in the front line. But we cannot say the same of other Marxist-Leninist parties, which hold more or less sound positions. There are other parties, which have weak contact, at least with our Party. There are some of them, which possibly consider the Party of Labour of Albania «hard», while they consider themselves on the «correct» road, because they are «cautious».

This «correct», «cautious» line, we think, has nothing at all to do with Marxist maturity and real understanding of how events are developing and whom we have before us as opponents. It has nothing at all to do with a true appreciation of the dangerous nature of the opponent, of his cunning and stubborn hostility towards our countries

and parties and towards Marxism-Leninism, such as the Party of Labour of Albania makes of these problems.

In order to achieve unity of thought and action, or in order to explain and make clear to one another the reasons for the tactical actions of each party, we think that talks should be held among the parties. According to Hsinhua, you hold such talks with the parties of Asia, and this is a very good thing. We do not do this with the parties of Asia, not because we do not want to, but because we have not had the opportunity. We have made use of every meeting we have had with the comrades of these parties which have participated in our celebrations, we have expressed our views, but these occasions have not been what bilateral talks, especially for discussion of problems and exchanges of views from the two sides, should be. It seems to us that this is a shortcoming.

We think that the communists always need explanations, always need a correct interpretation of events. The fact is that the genuine communists in bourgeois and revisionist countries are oppressed and under surveillance. Many of them know nothing about the truth, many are confused by lies and demagoguery, many others can only guess, while some are clear, listen to our radio stations, draw conclusions, perhaps even organize themselves, organize the resistance in illegality, and so on. However, we must do our internationalist duty, because this is of exceptional importance to international communism.

The resistance and the organization of the Marxist-Leninists is the decisive factor in the countries where the revisionists rule. We shall help them from outside, through our propaganda by the radio, the press, etc. The work within the revisionist citadel must be carried out by the Marxists and the people of these countries themselves.

In regard to our contacts with the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in the capitalist countries, they have

been established to some extent. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in these countries are organizing themselves and are fighting, here with success, there with difficulty, with some vacillations and twists and turns. It is our duty to help them, because the comrades stand in great need of it. Of course, we have not interfered and must not interfere in their internal affairs, but must always display patience, tact and vigilance, and whenever they seek it, we should give them our experience with the aim that they should avoid mistakes as much as possible. The revisionists are hindering us, the imperialists are hindering us, and both we and our revolutionary comrades in the capitalist and revisionist countries must bear this in mind, because pseudo-Marxists, agents of the revisionists and the capitalists, under the disguise of and with revolutionary slogans, will try to penetrate the ranks of the new parties to sabotage them. Therefore our revolutionary comrades and we must sharpen our vigilance, must guard against the «ill-founded enthusiasm» and «over-confidence» that somebody might manifest without giving proofs in struggle. We and they must guard against «the beautiful revolutionary words» of some people and put them to the test of practice.

The unity of thought and action of our two parties has been and is complete, since it is based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We think that at a time when the US imperialists are extending the war in Vietnam, when they are aiming to attack great China, at a time when the revisionists, with the Soviet leaders at the head, are intensifying their treacherous activity against communism, the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninist parties against Soviet revisionism should be strengthened. Our opinion is that at these moments, when the enemies are attacking us and when we are on the verge of war, such as the American threat in Vietnam, the feeble, or not very active, not to say passive, stands of some sister

party and the Marxist-Leninists of some country do not help our common cause.

Our view is that every opportunity must be seized in every country to set the ground ablaze under the feet of the American imperialists and their allies, the revisionists, with the fire of the struggle of the peoples and the Marxist-Leninists.

It is clear that the overall concrete goal of US imperialism, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of the world is to kindle the war in Asia, against China and other socialist countries of Asia, passing from local wars to a general *conflagration*\*. The Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists are arming the Indian reactionaries quickly and with all their might, in order to have them as assault detachments in opening up new hotbeds of aggression. There is no doubt that, under the pretext of defending their territory, the Soviet revisionists will build up their strength along the border with China, in order to bring continuous pressure and blackmail to bear upon it, and will try with every means to neutralize the states around it, if they cannot separate them entirely from their traditional friendship with China. On its part, US imperialism will strive to strengthen its ties and domination, its *prépondérance*\* in Japan, in order to have it under its command, and if possible, to incite it to aggression. The Americans have great hopes of collaborating more closely with Britain for aggression, since its colonies in Asia are in jeopardy. We think that we must make approaches to and work with the countries of South-east Asia, not only to make them conscious of the great danger of a war, which is assuming ever more acute forms, but also to bring them to actively oppose US aggression and its aims for the extension of the war.

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\* French in the original.

For our own part, we are of the opinion that we should further intensify the struggle, the propaganda and the exposure of war-mongering US imperialism, of the Soviet modern revisionists, the Titoites and their treacherous supporters. We must launch intensive attacks on their alliances and agreements, must call on the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other countries to take measures and to paralyze and reject all these agreements with US imperialism, must call on them to completely isolate the aggressive imperialists, call on the peoples, the working class, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia of the world to throw their full weight into the struggle to isolate US aggression, this new Hitlerism that is threatening the world with fire and steel.

The fraternal Vietnamese people, who are waging an heroic struggle, deserve every support. US imperialism is even using poison gas against the South Vietnamese fighters, and is systematically dropping destructive bombs on North Vietnam. It is the sacred duty of all peoples and revolutionaries to defend the just cause of the fraternal Vietnamese people, and to help them with every means to emerge triumphant.

In conclusion, we want to emphasize once again what you express so correctly and openly in your recent attitudes towards the meeting of splitters in Moscow, that we should strengthen our unity of thought and action, should arm and temper ourselves more and more each day for the struggles awaiting us. Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we will fight with all our strength together with you and all the other Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries for the triumph of our great cause. This is our final word, the word of the Albanian Party and people.

## **MODERN REVISIONISM - THE MAIN DANGER AND ENEMY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT**

*From the conversation with a delegation of the CP  
of New Zealand*

**October 6, 1965**

First of all, dear comrades, on behalf of the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee and on my own, I want to express to you our regard for the Communist Party of New Zealand which has fought and is fighting for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against Anglo-American and world imperialism, against modern revisionism and Khrushchevite revisionism in particular.

Likewise, we express our great joy at having you in the bosom of our people. Our people and our Party welcome you with open hearts as our close comrades. We want you to feel completely at home here as if you were in your own country. We shall do our utmost to enable you to see and judge the work, the struggle, and the modest achievements of our Party and people.

In this expose, I shall not speak about all the problems, but the Political Bureau has given us special instructions to provide full explanations and make every facility available to the comrades from New Zealand to investigate any problem in which they may be interested. Thus, apart

from this expose, we have made arrangements for comrades of the Political Bureau to inform you more extensively about other problems, ranging from the organization of the Party and the economy to the development of culture, so that your visit in our country will not only be pleasant, but will also enable you to see the reality of our country and the constructive work of the Albanian people, led by the Party.

The year 1965 is the last year of the 3rd Five-year Plan. During this period we are engaged in drafting the 4th Five-year Plan.

The fulfilment of many major targets of the 3rd Five-year Plan was made especially difficult by the economic blockade which the Khrushchevite revisionists organized against our country. Under these difficult conditions, especially during the first two years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, we had not only to achieve the targets envisaged, but also to make major amendments, to replace projects provided for in the agreements with the revisionist countries, which they cancelled, and design new ones, under agreements with the People's Republic of China. As a consequence of these amendments, work on building some projects was late in starting, therefore, during these past two years we have had to mobilize large resources of manpower, materials and money.

As a result of the correct line followed by the Party and the mobilization and revolutionary drive of the masses, the 3rd Five-year Plan was, on the whole, fulfilled satisfactorily if we take into account the many difficulties created by the revisionists and the new measures we had to take to strengthen our country's defence capacity.

During this five-year period we shall complete the construction of more than 420 industrial, agricultural and social-cultural projects. Some of them are of major importance to our country, as they lay the foundations for new

branches of industry, such as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the expansion of the local processing of minerals, the chemical and paper industries, as well as a considerable increase in the production of electric power, cement, textiles, etc.

**During the 3rd Five-year Plan the moral-political unity of the people around the Party, which was and is the decisive internal factor in the successful fulfilment of targets and overcoming difficulties, was strengthened and steered still further.**

*After Comrade Enver Hoxha informed the guests about the results achieved in the work for the fulfilment of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the main directions of the draft of the 4th Five-year Plan, the great efforts of the communists and of all our working masses to cope with the many difficulties created during this period, he concentrated on some important problems of the international communist movement:*

**How does the Party of Labour of Albania view the Soviet-led modern revisionism, and on what principles and with what methods and tactics does it wage the struggle against modern revisionism in general, and in particular against Soviet revisionism, Titoite revisionism, the revisionism of the so-called socialist countries, the revisionists in the communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries?**

Our Party has considered and considers modern revisionism not as a separate ideology, but as an anti-Marxist-Leninist trend of major world proportions, as a modern variant of the bourgeois ideology, adapted to the new conditions of the period following the Second World War, in the ranks of the international working class and especially in the socialist countries, where the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established. It constitutes a very serious threat, therefore the mobilization of all the Marxist-Leninist forces of the world is necessary in order to expose it as a trend heading towards complete identification with social-

democracy. With our struggle we must ensure that the revisionist demagogy can no longer be camouflaged under Marxist slogans, but that modern revisionism is seen clearly as a trend of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, a trend of the bourgeoisie and its ideology.

The essence and strategic aims of this anti-Marxist-Leninist trend are identical with those of social-democracy in the capitalist countries. Both these trends distorting Marxism-Leninism serve world capital, imperialism. They are variants of the bourgeois ideology to destroy the revolution, to quell the national liberation struggles of the peoples and keep these peoples under the yoke of exploitation and oppression by capital with new forms and methods. These trends are in open or disguised alliance for the one ultimate aim. They are different only in their tactics, slogans and methods of work which are dictated by the current general and particular national and international circumstances, by the contradictions between different capitalist states, by the differing levels of economic development of these capitalist states, by their spheres of influence and domination, etc. As well as that, the modern revisionists are compelled to alter their tactics by the level of the active revolutionary force which is resisting them in the socialist countries where they have seized power, by the struggle and revolutionary drive of Marxist-Leninist forces of the world, by the vigour of the peoples' national liberation struggles, and many other more or less important factors.

Social-democracy in the world, and especially in the capitalist countries, has its own objectives, organization and methods of work. It has stabilized, perfected and co-ordinated its activity with its national bourgeoisie and the international bourgeoisie, and has also stabilized its own international connections in content and in organizational forms.

On its part, modern revisionism in the so-called socialist

countries, in collaboration with modern revisionism in the communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries, has likewise formulated its national and world strategy and tactics.

In the Soviet Union and in the so-called countries of people's democracy of Europe, modern revisionism has become a party and state ideology, therefore our struggle must be adapted to this characteristic of the time.

As an anti-Marxist trend in power, on the national plane modern revisionism tries to bring about the degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist party into an anti-Marxist party and the degeneration of the socialist state into a capitalist state. On the national plane, it subordinates everything to these two main aims. On the international plane, the aim of the modern revisionists is to penetrate the international communist movement in order to split it, make it degenerate, to influence and infect it with the whole gamut of their activity, with their stands, tactics and methods.

Modern revisionism in power is trying to attain unity of thought and action with all the revisionists in the world, of course, with Moscow as its centre. Naturally, there are great contradictions and they will increase until these links, whether based on unity of thought or of action, are reduced to something like those that exist more or less in the ranks of world social-democracy today.

Modern revisionism, whether in power or not, is under fire from many quarters: under the fire of the Marxist-Leninists and the people in the parties and countries where it rules, under the fire of our Marxist-Leninist parties which are fighting and exposing it, under the fire of the insoluble contradictions within modern revisionism itself, under the fire of the contradictions among the degenerate strata which it has brought to power, and under the fire of the world capitalist bourgeoisie and imperialists, with their particular contradictions, aims and purposes, under the fire,

pressure, blackmail of these and various trends of the bourgeoisie.

Hence it is natural that, faced with this situation and complex of things, the modern revisionists should look for an ally in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the Marxist-Leninist parties, the world communist movement, the peoples and their national liberation struggles, and this cannot be other than imperialism, and first of all, US imperialism.

This alliance is expressed in their world policy, on all the key problems with which mankind is concerned.

It is of great importance to understand this, both in regard to the scale these alliances have attained, and in regard to their ups and downs, their intensity, the forms used and the methods arrived at, their complete or partial successes and sometimes their complete failure. These things are not fixed, they are influenced and conditioned by many objective and subjective circumstances.

Viewing matters from this angle, let us briefly take up some key problems of our great struggle.

I do not intend here to enter into the essential principles of these problems which are clear both to you and to us, and on which there is complete unity of opinions between our two parties. However, during our talks we may also develop them further.

I want to elaborate on what the holy alliance between world imperialism and the modern revisionists, between capitalist bourgeois ideology and Soviet-led modern revisionism, consists of.

This holy alliance was formed at moments of grave crisis for world imperialism which was preparing for world war in order to overcome the major crisis which was threatening it from the revolutionary drive of the peoples, from the political-ideological, economic and military strength of the camp of socialism and the struggles of the peoples for

national liberation. The modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, immediately came to the aid of world imperialism, to rescue it from crisis and defeat. Herein lies their great betrayal.

Because they are ideologically, spiritually and morally on a course identical with that of US and world imperialism, and have the same bourgeois ideology, the modern revisionists were terrified by the threats of war from US imperialism and its atomic blackmail, despite the great military potential at their disposal. Not only were they terrified of a world war that the Americans were preparing, but they were terrified also of the immediate and subsequent consequences of this war, terrified for themselves and for the moral, material and ideological patrimony of the world bourgeoisie, because the world revolution would wipe them forever from the face of the earth. Camouflaging their abject fear under their entirely bourgeois «humanism», they came before world capitalism with a complete platform, presenting themselves as obedient lackeys, as tested agents, devoid of all scruples, at the head of the Soviet Union, at the head of the socialist camp, at the head of the world communist movement.

The Soviet revisionists and their accomplices wanted to demonstrate to the imperialists, in words and deeds, that «times have radically changed, that Marxism-Leninism, in its old forms, and in its actions and aims, has become obsolete, is out-of-date, that new conditions have been created, therefore we are presenting the new Marxism of modern times». (Of course, without altering the essence, I am simplifying their thoughts and I shall not go into the specific forms they use to disguise their revision of our theory.)

Apart from the intensive, open and behind-the-scenes preliminary work carried out by the Khrushchevite revisionists within the Soviet Union, in the ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the socialist countries

and in the international arena, in order to prepare putsches, the terrain and the people for the «great action», the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU are key moments, at which the modern revisionists came out openly with their traitorous theories.

We are obliged to think that the Soviet modern revisionists had come to the conclusion that the situation was ripe for such a turn on a world-wide scale, so they hoped that everything would go off peacefully, without resistance. The euphoria and exaltation of the first days of this great betrayal both on the part of the modern revisionists and the open and camouflaged opportunists, and on the part of US and world imperialism confirmed this. The heads of world imperialism rejoiced over what was happening, but they constantly demanded *tangible*\* proofs, which the revisionists did not fail to supply. As for themselves, they did not budge from their principles, their world strategy, but made only some tactical gestures to back up the Soviet revisionists in their betrayal and urge them to go further.

What do the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and their advances and promises to imperialism and world capitalism consist of, what is the foundation of their holy alliance, and what assurances have they given the imperialists as a pledge of their loyalty to the bourgeois ideology and the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism?

a) «Peaceful coexistence and economic competition.» There is no need to go into long theoretical argument, since it is clear, both to you and to us, that there is nothing Leninist in these slogans; they are anti-Leninist both in the way they are presented and in the concrete activity with which the modern revisionists go about applying them (ir-

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\* French in the original.

respective of the demagogic phraseology with which they are dressed up).

The fact is that a great revisionist-bourgeois capitalist racket was kicked up about these slogans, and those who refused to fall into step with them were described as war-mongers, anti-Marxists and dogmatists. With this the Soviet modern revisionists wanted to implant in people's minds the idea that, «there is no alternative to peace at any price, bourgeois peace, bourgeois humanism. So we should co-exist with capitalism, must preserve the status quo, give up revolutionary struggles, and solve everything through economic competition, which will determine who will triumph». Political co-existence, ideological co-existence, economic co-existence, all this camouflaged with demagogy, with a great hullabaloo, sensational, phoney outbursts, with retreats under intimidation, and advances when they considered the situation favourable, and all this dressed up in a falsified, revised, Marxist-Leninist theory — that is the line of the Khrushchevites over this important problem. The capitalist bourgeoisie welcomed this turn and supported it with its means, tactics and strategy, without making the slightest concession on its own part.

b) «A world without wars, a world without arms.» This was the second assurance that the Soviet revisionists gave US and world imperialism. This was a consistent continuation of their betrayal. However, the Soviet revisionists did not give up their own armaments, because, as bourgeois capitalists, they need them to dominate the world and fight the socialist states, or in case of a flare-up with the other bourgeois imperialist states. With these slogans the Soviet revisionists are pursuing other aims: to create a mirage of peace in the minds of the peoples, to disarm them morally, to take the weapons from their hands and eliminate the spirit of hatred for oppressors, imperialists, old and new colonialists, and the revolution against them.

In other words, the Soviet revisionists gave up the revolution, proletarian internationalism, aid to national liberation wars, support for the rights of nations. They not only renounced all support to national liberation wars, but condemned them, and jointly with the Americans, participated directly in suppressing them. Any action of the Soviets, which may be presented in opposition to our theses, such as supplying a few weapons to some peoples, is done with definite aims, in order to keep them under their control, to employ those who receive arms from them to suppress the revolutionaries, to use them against the socialist countries, and of course, to counterbalance the intentions of the imperialists, who want to weaken this budding imperialist power and are working to this end.

This anti-Marxist and imperialist line of the Soviet revisionists against socialism and the freedom of peoples is proceeding on the course of the creation and strengthening of two powerful blocs in the world, of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which intend to divide the spheres of influence between them, to have the monopoly of atomic weapons, to be the most powerful economically, and dictate their own laws to other states and peoples.

It is this line that inspires the notorious Moscow Treaty, the proposal for an alliance between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the agreements and intrigues over Germany, the empty talk about disarmament, the great aid to Indian reaction, the extensive trade relations, the mutual granting of huge credits, the unprincipled and unprecedented development of cultural relations aimed at bringing about the degeneration of the socialist countries and the rejection of Marxism-Leninism.

This constitutes an entire complex of questions. We Marxists are able to see it clearly and to organize our struggle, but only provided we are able to single out the key problem, the main thing, for only in this way

will we not lose our bearings in the great labyrinth where the problems present themselves not in simple form, but in complicated ways. They develop rapidly and with great complexity, with ups and downs, advances and retreats, clear at one moment and obscure at another. The circumstances are not the same everywhere, many factors exert their influence for better or worse, defeats make the enemy draw in their horns, conceal their intentions temporarily, slow down their actions, smile and give way a bit.

None of this deceives us Marxists; we judge everything cool-headedly and in a revolutionary manner. Their temporary victories make the enemies arrogant and menacing, but we Marxists do not waver in our confidence in victory, are not afraid of the enemy and do not capitulate.

Let us take, for example, the evolution of the Soviet revisionists' stand on several key problems. Their stands on some of these problems have undergone evolution, but the aim remains the same. We must be clear about this in order to be able to see these evolutions properly.

At first, the modern revisionists seemed to be monolithic. This did not mislead the Party of Labour of Albania. Whereas today the revisionists are quarrelling with one another, but this does not deceive us, either, because their quarrels are not about rectifying their course of betrayal. Their quarrels express natural, internal contradictions, which are bound to emerge and which we should exploit, but not by violating principles, not by making concessions to revisionists, not by cherishing illusions or toning down the struggle and polemics against them.

Violating the basic principles of fraternal, internationalist economic relations, the Soviet revisionists built up an entire system of economic relations with the socialist countries, Comecon, etc., which, at the outset, appeared to be the «last word» in Marxism-Leninism on these questions.

The real aim of the Soviet revisionists was to have the

entire economy of the socialist countries under their thumb, to make it an appendage of their own economy, to dictate the law to others, to exert pressure on and blackmail them and have them dependent and obedient politically, too. Comecon degenerated. There are insoluble contradictions among its member countries, the law of the jungle prevails among them. Things are not going the way the Soviets want in Comecon today, and this is natural. There are contradictions, which will become more profound and lead to the weakening of these links, which are capitalist in essence. The revisionist countries are putting themselves more and more thoroughly into the clutches of world capitalism.

Let us take the Warsaw Treaty. When it was created, its aims were just, but the revisionists changed them. They are dominant there, they make the law. The armies of the Warsaw Treaty are under the direct command of the defence minister of the Soviet Union, they have no modern weapons, apart from those with which the Soviet Union supplies them to the extent it wants or deems «reasonable». The revisionist slogan, «Don't worry, for I am defending you», was on the order of the day and accepted without a word of protest. Now things have begun to move there internally, but not to our advantage. The partners of the Soviet Union, the other revisionists, want to command like the Soviet revisionists; they want missiles, want to be informed about the plans for war and defence, want not just one to give the orders, but all of them. This is a situation which is developing, but we are not jumping with unfounded «joy». However, this does not mean, either, that these things are not weakening the revisionists' strength and we should not profit from them, but we must act carefully, without violating our principles, without cherishing vain illusions or toning down our struggle and polemics.

The same thing may be said in regard to many other problems.

c) «The taking of power in a peaceful way, on the parliamentary road», was another betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the basic principles of the revolution and its primary aim — the seizure of power by the proletariat and its allies. It was a real offer and solemn promise made by the modern revisionists to the capitalist bourgeoisie that it would no longer be threatened by the revolution, that the communists would settle everything on the road of social reforms, so dear to social-democracy, which has experience in this field. According to the revisionist theory, everything would be solved through reforms by the pseudo-Marxist parties which had betrayed the revolution, the working class and the working peasantry. According to the revisionists, this «taking of power by the proletariat» would come about completely peacefully, under the protection of the armed forces and the police, which, as is known, are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the capitalists. This would mean liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the countries of the West, in the capitalist countries; it was the road of their transformation and degeneration into social-democratic parties standing for social reforms, the road of open and secret compromises with the national bourgeoisie, which would mean the elimination of the revolutionary spirit of the communists, departure from every basic Marxist-Leninist principle in theory and in revolutionary practice.

In its materials our Party has elaborated its theoretical-political views about this and other problems in detail. Therefore, I am not going to enlarge on these questions since you may already be acquainted with these materials. We know that we are in agreement, in unity, with your Party's views on these problems. The modern revisionists are employing demagoguery on a large-scale and no end of sophistry on this question, just as on other questions. There is a marked tendency among them to engage in sterile, allegedly theoretical discussion of these questions in which they bom-

bard you with formulas and quotations designed to cover their tracks, in order to weaken the real struggle and leave the revisionists in peace so they can go on with their destructive work and concoct alliances with the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats and other anti-Marxist trends.

In these situations, we see that, on the one hand, modern revisionism is split into separate trends, heading in different but always anti-Marxist directions, and on the other hand, that new Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist groups are being created, are fighting, becoming consolidated, and finding their true road through struggle and innumerable difficulties.

Your Marxist-Leninist Party, which militates in a capitalist country, has a great deal of experience in this direction. We want you to tell us about this experience in order to arm ourselves better for our great, difficult but glorious struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism from the attacks of modern revisionism.

Modern revisionism did not fall from the sky, but was prepared in certain conditions and objective and subjective circumstances. It has its own process, causes, reasons, forms and methods, as well as its own strategic and tactical objectives. It has its own process of formation, organization, growth, ascent and decline, and of its final destruction. It is a fact that this anti-Marxist line has been of extraordinary assistance to the capitalist bourgeoisie; it has weakened the revolutionary struggle inside the capitalist citadel. But Marxism-Leninism will undoubtedly triumph over it, will defeat revisionism, and this defeat has already begun under the severe blows which the Marxist-Leninist parties are dealing it. Our fight against revisionism is on and will continue with great severity. Khrushchevite modern revisionism originated, became organized and consolidated, and seized the reins of power in the Soviet Union, in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leadership, after the death of Stalin,

and not because of any fault of Stalin's, we emphasize, not because of the so-called mistakes of Stalin. The Party of Labour of Albania will not budge from this view, which is not an *apriori* view, but one formed from a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis, based on internationally known facts and documents. It is a view which, we consider and are convinced, is right, correct. The events and their development have confirmed our analysis and conviction. Linked by imperceptible threads inside and outside the Soviet Union, the counter-revolutionaries, headed by Khrushchev, worked towards this betrayal in the greatest secrecy. Right to his death, revolutionary vigilance had never been lacking in Stalin. This is evidence, also, of his revolutionary justice, which did not admit «arbitrariness» and «unwarranted condemnation» of suspects. The Trotskyite criminals, like Khrushchev and Mikoyan, skilfully kept a low profile.

It is a fact, however, that after Stalin's death his collaborators lost their vigilance, became involved in the intrigues hatched up by the counter-revolutionaries of the Khrushchev and Mikoyan type, badly compromised themselves, forgot the teachings and criticisms of Stalin, lost their militancy, and eventually, consciously or unconsciously, fell into the trap the counter-revolutionaries set for them. In our opinion, they bear great responsibility for this catastrophe. To determine the degree of their responsibility many documents, which we do not possess, are needed, but it would be un-Marxist not to charge them with responsibility, while on the other hand, it would be an anti-Marxist action to condemn them on the basis of the slanders of the counter-revolutionaries headed by Khrushchev.

Our stand towards the great Stalin is publicly known. This stand will never change, since it is based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis, and not a sentimental one. The Party of Labour of Albania has rejected and will reject all the slanders of the modern revisionists against Stalin. This cam-

paign they have undertaken against Stalin is the cabal of a great international mafia, organized to discredit Stalin as a great Marxist-Leninist leader and as a person, and through him, to discredit Leninism, the Bolshevik Party, the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist camp, etc. We cannot be shifted in the slightest in our view on this question, and we do not permit ourselves to discuss the filth, the facts and the arguments concocted by the Khrushchevites.

The Marxist-Leninist activity which was characteristic of Stalin during his whole life is as clear as the light of the sun. We must judge him on the basis of his consistent, principled, revolutionary activity, full of struggle and sacrifice, self-denial and heroism, and complete loyalty to Leninism. And from this analysis his activity is completely positive, excellent, and free from any blemish. Which is that party that, in the course of its long road, has made not even a single mistake, who is that Marxist-Leninist leader who has not been wrong even once in his assessments and decisions, or over one or several separate problems in his revolutionary life? Neither the Bolshevik Party, nor Stalin could avoid this. Some mistakes may have been made in certain circumstances, under special conditions, if they were made at all. But if such mistakes have been proved, not those Khrushchev claims, Stalin has recognized them himself and has criticized them, as the great Marxist he was.

Our Party has fought and will fight to the end, to defend the great revolutionary work of Stalin. We consider this as one of the most important questions of principle.

Why do we do this, why do we treat this question in this way, and have we correct and solid grounds for our stand? As traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as anti-Marxists, as allies of the capitalist bourgeoisie in ideology and everything else, as enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism, first and foremost the Soviet modern revisionists had to give

real proof of their being revisionists in everything and of their definite break with Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

They had to expose the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to uncrown the victories of socialism in theory and practice, to discredit the Soviet socialist system, and build up an entirely anti-Marxist theory to prove, allegedly, that «Lenin did not think that socialism would be built as it was built; that Stalin distorted Lenin's teachings through his anti-Leninist views, his arbitrariness and cult». In a word, according to the revisionists, the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union was a monstrous *aberration*\* for which Stalin was to blame, that had to be totally liquidated and turned into «genuine socialism», as the Khrushchevite revisionists envisaged it, in all its aspects.

Hence, according to the Khrushchevites, Leninism is only a variant similar to social-democracy, and the Soviet Union should return to «genuine Leninism». The Khrushchevites did nothing other than what the capitalists had been doing all along in their struggle against the Soviet Union, the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. They proved to be the dirtiest agents of world imperialism. To attain their goal, they resorted to all means, to every kind of demagoguery and theoretical distortion, concocted all sorts of slanders, which they raised to a system, to the level of theory, organized putsches within the Soviet Union and outside it, exploited the trust of the Soviet masses, their faith and love for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, spread illusions, and promised the earth and the sky. We lived through all these things, saw them develop, saw the hidden aims behind their sophistry, their hypocrisy, their demagoguery, saw their traitorous actions carried out systematically in practice, one by one, within and outside the Soviet Union.

These actions were very much to the liking of world

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\* French in the original.

imperialism, which cheered and applauded them, backed them up and exploited them to the maximum. In this way the imperialists achieved a success even greater than they had expected. But still they were not satisfied. In order to achieve their expansionist aims their revisionist agency had to go even further and deeper: the communist and workers' parties and their ideology, their minimum and maximum objectives had to be smashed; the revolutionary spirit of Marxist parties had to be extinguished; the dictatorship of the proletariat had to be destroyed to its foundations; the Soviet state power had to be changed in substance and form and its apparatus had to be purged of revolutionaries; the economy had to be radically transformed in its ideology, content and organizational forms; education and culture, the way of life, the sound proletarian morality had to be corrupted; the ideological, political and organizational concepts of all these «old» and «harmful» things had to be changed; the Trotskyites, the counter-revolutionaries, dead and alive, had to be rehabilitated, and placed in power; all measures had to be taken in order to create and strengthen the stratum of the new bourgeoisie, the pillar of the revisionist regime in the Soviet Union, to develop moral corruption and the «new superstructure» of a «new structure» which was being built. All this was carried out amidst great confusion and under a deafening racket kicked up with the deliberate purpose of bemusing people with a dreadful concerto organized on a world scale.

Not only was there nothing Marxist about the struggle of the revisionists against the «cult of the individual», and especially the «cult of Stalin», but it had definite aims, both within the Soviet Union, for the reasons we have mentioned, as well as in the other parties, in the direction of the liquidation of sound Marxist-Leninist leaderships and preparing the ground for suppression of any resistance to revisionist betrayal. All those who opposed the revisionist course

were to be accused as Stalinists, hence «anti-Marxists», «dogmatists», «warmongers», «criminals», «agents of imperialism», and what not. The entire Trotskyite, counter-revolutionary vocabulary was to be used, as in fact it was.

With their anti-Marxist views, their megalomania, their economic and military power, and relying on and camouflaging themselves behind the prestige and authority of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite revisionists thought that the resistance to their betrayal would be weak and quickly eliminated. As anti-Marxists, they underrated the strength of Marxism-Leninism, its dynamism and revolutionizing power. But it would be a mistake to think that the modern revisionists foresaw no resistance at all on the part of the Marxist-Leninists and the Marxist-Leninist parties, whether in power or not, but which stood loyal to principles. However, they thought that the course which they followed would bring the results they desired and hoped for in their advances and capitulation to imperialism and the world capitalist bourgeoisie over all international issues. Of course, this did not occur. Their betrayal brought them no gains and the struggle of our Marxist-Leninist parties, the struggle of all the communists in the world, the peoples' liberation struggles, and the aggressive actions of US imperialism exposed this great betrayal and brought about the failure and unmasking of their sinister plans. And the resolute resistance, the stern, ceaseless, principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against modern revisionism began. One of these parties, which basing itself on the Marxist-Leninist principles, strongly opposed the modern revisionists, is the Communist Party of New Zealand, for which we have a great and sincere respect.

The Khrushchevite revisionists and all the other modern revisionists found themselves facing an extremely dif-

difficult situation, facing a struggle which they had to cope with, because it threatened them with death and destruction. This struggle developed to a crescendo, passing through many phases. The modern revisionists used all their means, all their demagoguery to subdue us, to split us and set us quarrelling with each other, and to silence the polemics. What did they not set in motion to achieve these aims, but they achieved only defeat and disaster, up to the liquidation of the arch-revisionist Khrushchev.

We have lived through the vagaries and phases of this great struggle, and have been active, militant participants in it. We know the stands of our Parties, therefore, it seems to me that there is no need to enlarge upon this here. However, I want to explain some aspects of our Party's struggle which were not very clear to some comrades loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to our Party in particular, notwithstanding that, in principle, they were in agreement with the principled stands we have maintained.

The Party of Labour of Albania has done its duty to the end and will continue to do so, without any deviation from the Marxist-Leninist principles, in the struggle to defeat modern revisionism. The Party of Labour of Albania embarked on this struggle against this anti-Marxist trend fully conscious of its implications and with deep convictions based on well-studied facts. With full maturity, it considered this as the most serious issue of great responsibility, on which depended its own fate, as well as that of its beloved people that gave it birth and tempered it in struggle, precisely to lead them in struggle and to the great victory of the liberation and the construction of socialism in our country. Our Party embarked on this struggle and was ready to make any sacrifice, because only in this way could Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism, the future of mankind and our small country be safeguarded. At first, some comrades did not understand this major decision of our

Party, but they were to become convinced later, totally convinced.

There were some who underrated our decision and our struggle. The enemies thought that it was an adventure by a handful of people, a blaze in the straw which would flare up but quickly burn itself out. But they were mistaken and broke their heads. Some friends called our decisions imprudent, rash and immature. Their opinions were ill-based. We were convinced of the correctness of our decisions and actions, we were calm and patient, because we knew that later we would be understood and supported, and this is what did occur.

What was the source of our confidence in the justice of our struggle, which to others appeared an exaggerated confidence? Our Party was a young party created in struggle and tempered in war and revolution. Throughout its struggle and activity it has always rigorously and faithfully upheld our Marxist-Leninist principles and ideology.

But of special importance is our Party's great experience from the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists in the course of nearly fifteen years prior to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In stern struggle with the Titoite traitors, our Party had learned to be extremely vigilant, as it had bitter first-hand experience of the tactics, the sinister plans, the demagoguery, the methods of struggle and propaganda, open and subversive, of the Yugoslav modern revisionists against our country, as well as against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, day by day, over fifteen years. This was a great school for our Party. The struggle tempered us, strengthened our confidence in victory, taught us to distinguish the enemies, no matter how well camouflaged. Thus in the struggle against modern revisionism, our Party was not so young and inexperienced despite its youth. Had it proceeded imprudently and irresolutely in its struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, against the Greek mo-

narcho-fascists, the Italian neo-fascists, and all the imperialist conspiracies, our Party would have broken its neck long ago. But this did not occur either in our Party's struggle against these enemies, or in its great struggle against the Khrushchevite and other revisionists.

Our Party's resolute and principled stand against Khrushchev at the Bucharest Meeting came as a surprise, as a bombshell, to some. Because of the still obscure circumstances of the Soviet revisionists' actions at that time, this is understandable up to a point. But our Party was completely clear about the Khrushchevites' betrayal and had taken the definite decision that the resistance to it had to begin.

This decision was taken after a long process of years of normal collaboration with the Soviet leadership which came to power following the death of Stalin. But during this collaboration we were vigilant; at first, some things made an impression on us, later we saw that they were assuming forms that were not in order, were becoming serious. Since then there were frictions between us and the Khrushchevites; we had discussions, sought explanations and opposed some of their actions.

Khrushchev's rapprochement with the Titoites was the alarm signal for our Party. We immediately opposed this action of the Khrushchevites, but they discounted our concern. The struggle started in the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU. This made us even more vigilant. The public denigration of Stalin began even prior to the 20th Congress, at which it reached its climax. Our Party expressed its dissatisfaction openly and maintained its former stand towards Stalin.

If you examine our Party's practices in relations with the Soviets over this period, then you will form an accurate idea of our careful and cool-headed stand as well as of our efforts to solve the contradictions which had begun to ap-

pear, in a friendly and fraternal manner. Our resistance, which was steadily mounting, was known to the Soviet revisionists, hence our stand in Bucharest did not come as a surprise to them.

Prior to the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet revisionists had started their sabotage and open and disguised threats and blackmail against our country. All these things were planned and were to precede the blow which Khrushchev would strike at our Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties. We understood that the struggle of the Soviet revisionists against our Party was beginning, therefore we decided to accept their challenge whatever the cost, and made everything ready to put forward our views at the Moscow Meeting. The Bucharest Meeting was a warning, a threat to us, also, to submit to Khrushchev, to demonstrate our obedience to him at the Moscow Meeting. However, we gave them our answer beforehand, at the Bucharest Meeting.

The delegation of your Party was present at the Moscow Meeting, heard our speech, heard their speeches, witnessed their bandit-like attacks on us, their behind-the-scenes intrigues and pressures. After the Meeting, the Soviet revisionists broke off all connections with us, and their attack on us reached its crescendo as you know, therefore I need not enlarge upon this. Only I want to emphasize that our Party was not afraid of confrontations, discussions, talks. It was the Soviet revisionists who were afraid of them, therefore they resorted to every means to force us to our knees but they were unable to crush us with the «great weight» and authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Neither the one means nor the other succeeded. They began their struggle against our Party openly, and we answered them, prepared, monolithic, convinced that we were waging a just struggle against a great betrayal and against the biggest traitors the world communist movement has ever known.

Why did the Soviet revisionists act so brutally and unreasonably against the Party of Labour of Albania?

First, because they were inveterate and incorrigible enemies.

Second, because the resistance and the determined struggle of our Party was well based on principles and facts. They were clear that they could expect no opportunist compromise or giving way on principles from us. They made every effort to deceive us, to corrupt us, to discredit and overthrow us. All their plots were defeated. They went to the limit, because, from day to day, our Party's struggle was becoming a greater danger to them; the more the days passed the worse it was for them.

Some friends say that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made mistakes in regard to the Party of Labour of Albania, therefore it should correct them. This is true, but it is not the whole truth. The Soviet revisionist leadership made mistakes in regard to Albania, because it betrayed Marxism-Leninism, otherwise it would not have made these mistakes. The mistakes of the Soviet revisionists towards us are the result of their betrayal, the logical conclusion of their deviation from Marxism-Leninism. Our Party did not commence the struggle against the Soviet revisionists, proceeding from their mistakes towards us, but because they were betraying Marxism-Leninism. The mistakes they piled up in regard to us were proof of this betrayal, but only a small part of this betrayal. Therefore those friends were gravely mistaken in thinking that the hostile actions of the Soviet revisionists towards us would be corrected as something separate from their betrayal, or that after one or two meetings with the Soviet revisionists, we would be reconciled with them and that the profound, general disagreements on principles which existed between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would disappear. In its struggle our

Party was not guided by economic considerations, nor by other minor practical considerations which could be solved easily, as some people thought.

Now, I want to explain briefly the reasons for the known stand of our Party in regard to bilateral meetings, to the calling of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties, and the cessation of the polemics.

Prior to and during the Moscow Meeting, we have held bilateral meetings with the Soviet leadership. On their part, these meetings were mean and hostile, all pressure and blackmail. We were convinced at that time, and our conviction was strengthened later, that the Soviets sought meetings with us and the others in order to disguise themselves, to bring pressure to bear on us, to create the illusion that talks were being held and to put the blame on us. After the Moscow Meeting we agreed publicly, in principle, to have bilateral meetings, but we imposed well-based conditions, of which you know. To some, these conditions appeared exaggerated, rather particular, special. In making such a judgement these people were mistaken. These conditions were not imposed to flatter the amourpropre of our Party, but because if they were accepted (which the revisionists could never do), only Marxism-Leninism would have benefited. We knew that nothing of benefit could emerge from meetings with the revisionists either for the Party of Labour of Albania or for the international communist movement, but the thing was that the blame for not going to the meeting should fall on them, and not on us. And this was what occurred. The Khrushchevites were unable to profit from their demagogy. Our principled stand was a modest contribution to the exposure of their betrayal and manoeuvres.

Also for the general meeting proposed by the revisionists, we put forward stringent conditions which are known. Why did we put forward these conditions? Precisely in order

that the meeting should not be held from the positions of the revisionists and to prevent them from achieving what they were aiming at.

We have made an extensive analysis of the revisionists' intentions in regard to this meeting in the public documents of our Party. They were in urgent need of this meeting, for they were in a very grave and difficult situation, while we did not need it, because it was harmful to Marxism-Leninism and because we were in a very strong position. If we were to go to that meeting, we would weaken the position we had already gained and they would exploit it to prolong their existence and carry on their betrayal at their ease, since their sole aim was to have us cease the polemics and to create the impression that work was going on to reach unity.

What does our Party think about the polemics and unity? It has defined its opinion on these two matters, too, in its official and public documents.

There can never be unity of thought and action with the revisionist traitors. Herein lies the source of the polemics which can never cease.

There can be no hope of unity on the basis of demagoguery, speculation, wishful thinking, or sentimentality. The unity of Marxist-Leninists is something entirely different from the unity about which the revisionists are talking and is based on sound principles. If these principles are not fully applied there can be no unity.

To the modern revisionists unity means the cessation of the polemics, failure to recognize their betrayal, continuation of this betrayal, unity on the things that «unite us» (in fact nothing, absolutely nothing unites us, but everything divides us), etc., etc.

This unity can never be acceptable to us. If you accept it you have slipped into revisionist positions, have accepted their whole line of betrayal. Our Party will never fall into

this trap. An agreement with the modern revisionists can begin only when they have condemned their whole betrayal, openly and publicly, and not just in words, but in everything, and when they have made a complete change.

Can the revisionist traitors make such a change? Anyone who thinks they can, has no brains. If the revisionists do this (which they will never do), then they will have condemned themselves to death. Other people will come and we shall talk with them. They will be revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists, but the revisionists will not hand them their head on a platter. The head of the revisionists has to be cut off with struggle, with revolution.

The revisionists betrayed completely, and wanted the whole international communist movement to follow their course. This did not and could not happen. The modern revisionists were exposed and are suffering defeat after defeat. They continue to howl about unity, and are striving in a thousand ways to corrupt others in order to achieve at least a compromise, a false unity, an alleged unity. We must fight this manoeuvre and these efforts of theirs with all our might, and with our fight against modern revisionism must temper the true revolutionary unity of the Marxist-Leninists. This is the only correct road for us.

Khrushchev was brought down. This was a victory for Marxism-Leninism, and a major defeat for the revisionists. With due modesty, we should recognize that great merits in this victory belong to our Parties and other parties which take a sound stand, which have been carrying on a stern, unwavering, correct and principled struggle against the traitors to Marxism-Leninism.

But who are these people who have succeeded Khrushchev? They are precisely the same people, the main ones who prepared and carried out the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, who worked out and implemented the revisionist line, who launched furious attacks on Marxism-Le-

ninism in ideology, politics, organization, the economy, culture and art, etc., etc.; the same people who attacked and are fighting our Marxist-Leninist parties; the same people who linked themselves with US imperialism and the world bourgeoisie and are working with might and main by all manner of means to temper this alliance against communism, socialism and the peoples of the world.

How can any communist think, for one moment, that with Khrushchev's downfall, something has changed in the Soviet Union, how can he nurture any hopes in these renegades? The new chiefs in the Kremlin are worse than Khrushchev, even more cunning than he was, and their actions are confirming this. Therefore the fight against them must be carried through to the end and more sternly than ever.

We cannot agree with some people to whom the present-day revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union appears «somewhat more positive», and therefore, according to them, «we should try not to be so severe towards them», and other such nonsense, nor with the views of some others, who, although they say that they take a Marxist-Leninist stand, «argue»: «As long as the Soviet revisionists do not attack us by name, we shall not name them, while those parties which the Soviets have attacked by name have the right to reply and attack the Khrushchevites by name.» Or the other opinion: «We are learning from the struggle against revisionism and from your parties». This is a good thing, and we thank them for their sympathy for our parties. But to learn from others is one thing, and to learn from the struggle which your party should wage itself is another thing. The two should be linked together, co-ordinated.

Since they are unable to stop the polemics, the revisionists are very content if there is only talk about modern revisionism in principle, without stigmatizing them. They will even give you credits and aid to this end. But to close

your eyes to this great betrayal, and some are doing this in return for economic aid, does not smell of Marxism.

It is impossible (and in no way permissible) «to keep the goat and the cabbage together», in other words, to take a sentimental centrist stand, as some people do, by saying, «We should avoid an open, unrelenting, ruthless fight against modern revisionism, for in this way, even indirectly, we would be attacking the Soviet Union, the first homeland of socialism, the homeland of Lenin and Stalin, the homeland of the great traditions of the Bolsheviks».

These questions must be separated. It is an historical fact that revisionism, a bourgeois, capitalist, anti-Leninist trend, is in power in the Soviet Union, and that it absolutely must be fought. Never for one moment should we allow the Khrushchevite revisionists to take advantage of a situation of calm to consolidate their treacherous positions. If we hesitate in our struggle against them, tomorrow we shall be obliged to do what we should have done today, and it will be more difficult for us, when the Khrushchevite revisionists have forced Leninism into deep illegality in the Soviet Union. And this day will come, if we do not make life impossible for the revisionists right now.

We are not in agreement with, and cannot understand, those parties and those Marxist-Leninists who say they are against modern revisionism and are fighting it, but who do not fight Khrushchevite revisionism openly and consistently.

**Modern revisionism is not a shadow but a reality. And we must fight the reality and not the shadow. If we fight the shadow, then we are not Marxist-Leninists, but modern Don-Quixotes.**

To sacrifice principles for momentary interests and benefits, to think only about internal national interests, and to lose sight of international interests, lured by the aid, credits, flattery and illusions of the modern revisionists, and

first of all, of the Khrushchevites, such things cannot be considered compatible with a Marxist-Leninist stand, no matter how much the bearers of these ideas and actions, which are out-and-out centrist and opportunist, may beat their breasts and swear they are Marxist-Leninists.

Of course, our principled struggle against the bearers of these centrist views will be differentiated from the struggle we are waging and will wage against the modern revisionists, because we must strive to the end to make clear to these people the serious weaknesses of their stands, because amongst them there are also some correct aspects which are of value to us, in order to contrast with their opportunist stands. But despite this fact, which we shall take into account in our relations with these parties or with these individuals, we shall make no concession at all on principles.

The modern revisionists make use of every means to split us, because our unity means death to them and to their patrons, the US imperialists. Therefore we must temper this unity under the unflinching guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

The modern revisionists have slogans about unity on the tip of their tongues, but they violate them in pursuit of their own interests and to urge those who do not obey them to a distorted concept and application of these slogans, in order to damage our Marxist-Leninist unity which is based precisely on a correct understanding and application of these principles.

For our parties there is no such thing as commanding and commanded parties, mother and daughter parties, dependent and independent parties, big and small parties, and so on; the only guide for our parties is Marxism-Leninism, and the strength of our unity depends on correct understanding and application of it. In this context, it is impossible not to recognize the merits of one or the other

party in the common cause, not to recognize their possible shortcomings and mistakes and not to correct them, while exchanges of opinions and advice between our parties, the threshing out of problems and the finding of a common and more fruitful course of action cannot be considered harmful. This is necessary and in conformity with our principles. Otherwise, there would be no unity, no joint action, and we would find ourselves disarmed in the face of our savage enemies.

That is how we understand these things. The enemies call us «satellites of China». This absurd insult does us no harm, provided that our work goes on smoothly. The fabricators of this slander are the very ones who, some years ago, called us «agents of the imperialists», but time has proved that it is they who are agents of the imperialists, and not we. But to fail to unite to a man in order «to shut the mouths of the revisionist slanderers» (who never stop slandering), and some have this in mind, and thus weaken the links of our unity, this is the greatest mistake that could be made. Our Party has not made this mistake and never will make it.

The Party of Labour of Albania has its own opinions, reached after a thorough analysis. It considers that the situation in the world and the international communist movement is revolutionary, to our advantage and to the disadvantage of our enemies. But the situations must be looked right in the eye and faced up to with courage, because despite the defeats they have suffered and are suffering, the enemies have not laid down their arms. They are continuing and extending their aggressions and preparations for war. We must respond to the enemy's violence with violence, and not allow him to attack us with shells and napalm, while we fight back at him with cotton wool. The time has come for a blow-for-blow struggle with the enemies of every kind.

US imperialism and world reaction are perpetrating

one aggression after another against the peoples in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Pakistan, the Congo, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere. The Soviet modern revisionists are in close alliance with them, assisting them indirectly in all these aggressions. The modern revisionists themselves have not begun<sup>1</sup> open aggressions, but they will come to this, too. At present they are in the phase of putsches and plots.

At a time when imperialism is attacking the peoples with war and has created many hotbeds of conflict, the Soviet and other revisionists, with all their means, with their economic strength, with the power of their propaganda and diversion, with the whole gamut of theory and policy and in the other fields of their treacherous activity, are intensively preparing for imperialism the terrain for the open struggle it is waging. We are of the opinion that the thesis of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, «Revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement», is no longer complete. **Now it has also become the main enemy in the international communist and workers' movement.**

The present circumstances in the world, which we should always have under thorough analysis at the necessary level, call for meetings and consultations among us. The Marxists should face these situations with ever rising revolutionary impetus. Our Party thinks that the times we are living through are not times for never-ending, sterile, academic discussions, but for courageous, militant revolutionary actions, full of self-denial and sacrifice. The modern revisionists and the bourgeoisie with its parties are waging a great propaganda campaign about peace and bourgeois humanism; they want to create the opinion that our revolutionary militancy is «sectarianism, dogmatism», and so on, among vacillating and cowardly elements, both communist and non-communist.

We Marxists are neither sectarian nor dogmatic. We combat these manifestations because they are alien to com-

munists. But to fall apart ideologically, politically and organizationally under the false accusations made by the revisionists with ulterior motives, to tone down or cease the attacks on the enemies, this cannot and must not ever be allowed.

The ranks of our parties must be strongly organized, tempered and ready to fight without let-up. Our parties must be raised to a high level politically, ideologically and militarily and trained to perfection, not for parades, not just to recite quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, but for struggle, for revolutionary actions. The militant revolutionary spirit of the heroic times of the Comintern in the time of Lenin and Stalin should characterize world communism today. It was not without definite hostile aims that Khrushchev and Co. undertook the struggle to discredit the Comintern.

This is neither the place nor the time for us to discuss and judge the activity of the Comintern. Such a judgement will have to be made at the appropriate time by all of us on the basis of authentic facts assessed within their own circumstances and time, and we must not accept the slanders of the Khrushchevites and their hostile judgements on the Comintern, formed by manipulating the documents, which unfortunately they have in their hands today, to the advantage of their treacherous cause.

Should such an analysis be carried out now? Our Party is of the opinion that our imperative task is not to analyse all the activity of the Comintern, but to take over and study its fine, heroic, revolutionary experience in order to employ it in our actual conditions, and we must not consider it «ancient history», good only for dusty archives, merely because Khrushchev attacked the Comintern.

The Comintern may have committed mistakes in its ideas, actions and organization, but even these errors, if they were made, are lessons to us. However, the great role

and work of the Comintern, which gave powerful assistance to the creation, organization and tempering of the communist and workers' parties of the world, are undeniable. It waged a correct and severe struggle against opportunism and all the anti-Marxist trends and exposed them, successfully unmasked the capitalist war, tempered the communist and workers' parties with the doctrine of the revolution, achieved the definite break with social-democracy, mobilized the peoples for the exposure of and the struggle against fascism in the world, and helped the communist and workers' parties during the Second World War.

Who can say that many present-day situations are not similar to those of the time of the Comintern? Formerly, world communism had the struggle against social-democracy in its ranks, today it has the struggle against modern revisionism. In the opinion of our Party today, **not unity with the revisionists but the definitive split with them** is on the agenda. Today the creation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties and the assistance which should be given them is on the agenda. Today we are confronted with a threat of war from imperialism, social-democracy, and modern revisionism. That is why the mobilization of all the communists and peoples to cope with and definitively defeat the danger is on the agenda.

Is there not a similarity to the difficult times of the Comintern? Can we communists allow ourselves to neglect its great experience, which is the experience of the struggle of the world working class, with its victories, its errors and its shortcomings? The present period is not the same as that in which the Comintern was operating, and I am not saying that we should adopt or copy the forms of work, the methods, forms of organization and leadership of the Comintern, appropriate to that period, with all their good points and defects. No! That would be wrong and inappropriate today, but our Party is of the opinion that

the general line of the struggle, the militant revolutionary spirit, the militant understanding and implementation of our theory in struggle against enemies, the creation of contacts for cooperation and coordination in the new present-day conditions are urgently necessary.

Each Marxist-Leninist party is independent in its judgements and decisions, but none of our parties can be independent from Marxism-Leninism, and its decisions cannot be at variance with our revolutionary theory. No party should meddle in the internal affairs of another party, this is a correct principle, but this does not prevent and should not prevent the coordination of actions among parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Our struggle will become even more powerful and we shall score greater results if we are more active in the preparation and multiplication of our attacks, against the imperialists and revisionists.

Sluggishness, hesitation, vacillation will not do in the present situations, which call for courage and maturity. Insipid, weak, opportunist tactics and phraseology will not do in these situations. They should aim at swift militant actions, which will assist our revolutionary strategy every day and every hour.

This does not mean that our parties should not be creative in their tactics, on the basis of the situation that presents itself, in the circumstances in which each of them is working. But neither is it correct, while wanting it to be considered militant, to adopt a tactic of marking time, aiming to take up whatever issue arises, without any international perspective in aid of the world revolution and national liberation struggles.

*Comrade Enver Hoxha then went on to speak about the contradictions and the political, ideological and economic*

*crises in which the capitalist and revisionist countries of Europe have become embroiled.*

We should take advantage of and exploit this situation in Europe, but must never lose our vigilance and be misled by the circumstances developing as a result of our struggle and the internal contradictions which are eroding imperialism on the verge of its demise. We must assess the developments correctly and raise the revolutionary fervour of the masses and communists of Europe to the maximum, so that they organize themselves and become a great force to launch continuous, heavy attacks on imperialism and modern revisionism.

In broad outline, that is what the Party of Labour of Albania thinks about these problems. That is how our People's Republic, completely encircled by imperialist and revisionist enemies, is waging its struggle. But we are not isolated. Ours is a difficult, stern, daily struggle, but our Party and people have never been afraid of their enemies against whom they have fought relentlessly and have triumphed. And they will fight and triumph in the future, too. This miracle has been wrought by our Party and our people, thanks to the steel-like unity in the ranks of the Party, and the unity of the Party with the people, thanks to Marxism-Leninism and our common struggle.

During the visits that you will make throughout our country you will see for yourselves the Albanian people and communists at work and in struggle. They will welcome you with open hearts, with sincere love, because you are their loyal friends and comrades.

*The leader of the delegation then rose to speak. After thanking Comrade Enver Hoxha for this meeting and the very important expose he made, he expressed the deep gra-*

*titude and great respect of the CP of New Zealand towards the PLA, which has always been characterized by its determined and principled stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism and its uncompromising fight against imperialism and modern revisionism. Then, after the leader of the delegation had spoken about the situation and activity of the CP of New Zealand, Comrade Enver Hoxha resumed his speech:*

In connection with what you have said, all of us are extremely pleased with the clear expose which you presented. From this expose we saw not only the complete ideological and political unity of our two Parties, but also the great efforts of your Party for its strengthening in many directions, ideologically and organizationally; we saw your great concern about the renewal of the cadre force in a Marxist-Leninist way. Your Party displays great concern about infusing new blood into its ranks, it makes a particularly correct assessment both of the old cadres with experience and of the new cadres with revolutionary fervour and enthusiasm; of the combination of the work of the youth and the veterans, for it is a known fact that neither can do anything without the other. The problems of the renewal of the party with fresh blood are not problems of your Party alone, but of our Party and of every other Marxist-Leninist party as well. The years go by, time does its work, therefore we must continuously infuse young blood into the party, regardless of the fact that we ourselves, personally, will be young in heart and carry on revolutionary work throughout our whole lives.

Another question which you present correctly, taking into account the relatively high material and cultural level of the people of New Zealand, is that of the Marxist-Leninist education of communists, how they must receive theoretical education and carry it out in practice. What you say and advise is that each must learn through self-study. This has

great importance. We can learn in schools, too, but not everybody has these possibilities. We have books and schools for the ideological education of communists, but our Marxist-Leninist comrades in the capitalist countries do not have these facilities, due both to financial reasons and to the restrictive measures of the bourgeoisie. Then there are parties which are illegal, and therefore, have no such facilities. In these conditions the question arises whether to go on blindly, without revolutionary theory, which would be utterly wrong, or to do your best and learn whatever the conditions. The revolutionary struggle obliges us to learn the Marxist-Leninist theory under any conditions. When we have no possibility of studying in schools, we must work for our Marxist education through self-study. Our actions, later, will confirm this learning.

Another question on which we have the same views is your saying that cadres should think with their own heads and not wait for the leaders to serve everything up to them on a platter. Our comrades must not be automatons and must not be taught to become such, therefore when a cadre comes to seek advice, first you should ask him what he thinks about that problem himself, and then you should help him, and open up prospects for him.

Comrades, like you, we, too, are members of a small party but both you and we base ourselves firmly on the Marxist-Leninist principles. The actions, the struggle, the correct or incorrect view of a party do not depend on its size. The Party of Lenin and Stalin wrought miracles in the past. We have drawn on its experience in our revolutionary struggle and work, but unfortunately this party is now in the hands of modern revisionists. Therefore we do not measure the value of the Communist Party of New Zealand by the small number of members which comprise it, but by its correct, militant and revolutionary stand, by the fact that a small party like yours, in difficult

political, ideological and material conditions, stands courageously in the forefront of the struggle against great enemies, a stand which many other parties, in more favourable conditions and with a greater number of members, do not maintain to the level that your Party does. From this resolute Marxist-Leninist stand neither your Party nor our Party, both of them small, draw such arrogant conclusions. Like you, with the stands we maintain, we, too, are simply doing our duty, and we do this with a full sense of responsibility to the interests of Marxism-Leninism and our peoples.

As to the opinion you expressed concerning the general meeting of the parties, in which the Soviet revisionists are so interested, our views coincide. Our Party, like yours, has never said that it opposes genuinely revolutionary meetings, but we have put forward the conditions you know about on participation in such a meeting.

In this connection, allow me to express an opinion: like you, we follow what the modern revisionists are up to at the moment, and where they are making for, with the greatest vigilance. Over recent months we have observed that the secretaries of the revisionist parties have been going to Moscow, one after the other. Of course, they go there over many problems because there are many contradictions among them, but they are certainly going there, also, to prepare some eventual meeting. How this process will develop, we shall see later, but some things are already settled, for example, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, which will be held in March next year. We have no doubt that the theses with which the Soviet revisionists will come out at this congress will be a further consolidation of their positions as traitors. But how this congress will be presented to the revisionist groupings of the world, whether the other revisionists will accept the coming 23rd Congress of the CPSU as their conductor's baton or not, that remains to be

seen from the development of events. Therefore we think that the theses of the 23rd Congress will be subjected to prior discussion among the revisionists. Up to now nothing has been concretized. But one thing we know for certain — there are bound to be contradictions among them.

Concerning the matter you proposed, that of issuing a joint statement<sup>1</sup>, we are in complete agreement with you. We think that by issuing a joint statement, our parties will assist the strengthening of unity in the Marxist-Leninist parties and the new Marxist-Leninist groups.

We are comrades linked in such a Marxist-Leninist way that we can discuss any suggestion made by one side or the other and decide the most suitable course. The important thing is that both sides agree in principle on all questions.

In conclusion I want to emphasize once again what I said earlier: please feel yourselves at home here. You have only to express your desires, whatever they may be, and we are ready to take you to visit whatever place you like, to meet whoever you wish, in the party committees and amongst the rank and file.

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<sup>1</sup> The statement was signed on October 13, 1965 and published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» on October 14, 1965.

## **LITERATURE AND THE ARTS SHOULD SERVE TO TEMPER PEOPLE WITH CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM**

*The closing speech delivered at the 15th Plenum of the  
CC of the PLA<sup>1</sup>*

**October 26, 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 ideas 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*

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**1** This Plenum discussed the situation of literature and the arts in the PR of Albania and gave orientations for their further development.

*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 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

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\* K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. 1, p. 381, 2nd Russian edition.

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, political processes — political struggles, processes of ideas — ideological 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 prejudi-

ces, 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 vigour. 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 phantasy, 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 them-

selves 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 cafe, 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 on 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, after all, she is a young girl and we should be indulgent; but I want to tell 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 been only 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.»\**

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 art 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 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

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\* K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. 1, p. 76, 2nd Russian edition.

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*,<sup>2</sup> 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, 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,

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<sup>2</sup> A kind of lute.

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 some one were to tell these musicians to have a look at the popular verses of Uncle Selim from Brataj<sup>3</sup>, 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

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<sup>3</sup> Singer of folk rhapsodies.

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 manysided 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 the gods».\*

Marx said:

*«Prometheus is the noblest saint and martyr in the philosophical calendar.»\*\**

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

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\* Aeschylus, Tragedies, «Prometheus Bound», p. 71, Tirana, 1950 (Alb. ed.).

\*\* K. Marx and F. Engels, «On religion», p. 12, Tirana, 1970 (Alb. ed.).

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 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 inclina-

tions 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 judgement, 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 metre, 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 marvellous 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!

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