The editorial office of the review «Albania Today» is publishing in the present issue a part of the documents of the volumes 20, 21 and 22 of the works of Comrade ENVER HOXHA, which include speeches, talks and writings of the year 1979 year of the ever greater intensification of the struggle of the Party of Labour Albania against the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Party and State who through most vicious means, tried to force the PLA and the Albanian people to their knees.

This issue includes:

■ 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

■ Slanders and pressures do not frighten us—We do not fall on our knees

■ We must give the open attacks of the Soviet revisionists the reply they deserve

■ The dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania is alive, vigilant and active

■ An act of unprecedented hostility against the PRA and the Albanian people

■ Speeches, reports and other writings.
Recently the 21st and 22nd volumes of the works of comrade Enver Hoxha came off the press in Albania. These two volumes as well as volume 20 which came off the press at the beginning of February, include speeches, talks and writings of comrade Enver Hoxha of the year 1961.

1961 was the year of a fierce struggle in the ranks of the international communist movement. The modern revisionists, with the Khrushchevite revisionists at the head, after having been badly exposed at the Moscow Meeting, intensified their disruptive activity, pressures and blackmail against the parties which were opposed to revisionism and particularly against the Party of Labour of Albania. In these conditions, the Party of Labour of Albania considered it as a duty of first-rate importance to vigilantly defend and consistently continue its correct revolutionary line. A major contribution in this direction was the IV Congress of the PLA which was held from February 13th to the 20th, 1961. This congress was another powerful blow against the anti-Marxist views and hostile activity and aims of the modern revisionists. Unanimously approving the historic report delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha as well as the activity of the delegation of the PLA at the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers’ parties, the IV Congress of the PLA demonstrated the steel-like unity of the Party of Labour of Albania, the maturity, courage, valiance, the fighting spirit and firm determination to always advance on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

The Soviet leadership with Khrushchev at the head, was infuriated by the clear-cut, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA, and consistent on its anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian course, suspended all the agreements concluded and prepared the economic, political and military blockade against socialist Albania. It accompanied this blockade with secret and open activity which reached its peak at the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From the tribune of this congress Khrushchev publicly attacked the PLA and made open counterrevolutionary calls to strangle socialist Albania and to bring down its Marxist-Leninist leadership. In December 1961 Khrushchev went even further; he went as far as to sever diplomatic relations with Albania.

During this period the Party of Labour of Albania maintained a cautious but resolute and consistent stand. This is clearly seen in all the writings, talks and speeches of comrade Enver Hoxha.
He wisely clarified the communists and all the working masses ideologically and politically, he mobilised them to overcome with success the many difficulties and obstacles which had been and would be created for them and at the same time he defended with courage the principles of Marxism-Leninism, exposing with arguments all the anti-Marxist actions of the Khrushchevite leadership of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

Comrade Enver Hoxha made a profound scientific analysis on a sound Marxist-Leninist basis of the most acute international problems in general and the Albanian-Soviet relations in particular in his speech delivered on November 7, 1961, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA. Through this historic speech he publicly exposed the betrayal of the Soviet leaders with N. Khrushchev at the head, their revisionist and capitulationist line which had brought about the disruption of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers’ movement, as well as the ruin of the Soviet-Albanian relations.

Although 15 years have gone by since the time when the documents of these volumes have been written, they are of major current importance for the communists and all the genuine revolutionaries as they shed light on the traitorous, anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary course which the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union had taken as early as then. At the same time they show the high maturity in the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles and the consistency of the correct revolutionary line followed unwaveringly, even at the most difficult moments, by the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha, their profound loyalty towards the people, the homeland and socialism, the determination not to bow before any enemy and situation, before any pressure, blackmail or blackmail, but to forge ahead with Marxist-Leninist valiance and courage.

Taking into account the many demands it has received, the editorial board of the review “Albania Today” is publishing in the present issue a part of the materials of the volumes 20, 21 and 22 of comrade Enver Hoxha’s works, with the conviction that they will help the readers become better aware of who the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union are and what base means and methods they have used and still use to realise their base aims and to stifle the voice of the truth.

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 mechanisation 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 the Council of Ministers to Moscow for this purpose once again reaffirms that the economic issues, which are directly linked with the formalisation 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 very 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 realisation 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 1959, 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 works to be extended or built in Albania with the assistance of the Soviet Union on the basis of this credit, in Tirana on July 3, 1959. Likewise, in response to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour on April 30, 1960, for a special credit for agricultural and chemical fertilizers, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania agreed to the People's Republic of Albania another credit for 1960. And on July 25, 1960 the Soviet government presented the Albanian government the relevant draft--agreement for exchanges on a clearing basis for the period after the talks held for this purpose, the relevant parts of which had been signed by the government delegations of our countries, since April 3, 1959.

In such conditions, considering all these issues 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 all the obligations presented by the Soviet government on the mechanisation of agriculture should be signed by the Albanian and Soviet governments, on the basis of the agreements reached in Moscow on the 28th of October 1960, and which could be settled quite easily by the two delegations.

Here it is opportune to mention that a few months after the signing of the agreement between the Soviet and Albanian governments of the signing agreements, when we were informed by the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, we were unable to go to Albania, for reasons unknown to us. The reasons were official approaches were made from our side to the Albanian government by a delegation headed by the Albanian chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, which took place in Moscow.

As can be seen, everything is very clear and the decision of the Albanian government to send the delegation to Moscow for the above purpose, is completely normal and in these circumstances, we are rightfully astonished at the move of the Soviet government on these issues, and we cannot understand from what bases it is p
SLANDERS AND PRESSURES DO NOT FRIGHTEN US
WE DO NOT FALL ON OUR KNEES

From the conversation with the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which participated in the IV Congress of the PLA

February 20, 1961

The first to speak was P. Pospelov, candidate of the pr

The first to speak was P. Pospelov, candidate of the presidium of the CC of the CPSU and head of the delegation of this party to the IV Congress of the PLA, who said that the purpose of the request by the Soviet delegation for this meeti

ing was to talk about some issues which have to do with our comradely mutual relations. After having said that true, a great deal was said at your Congress about strengthening the friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet people,
but that they had information that «the role of the Soviet Union is negated in Albania», «the Soviet specialists are not well treated», 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. After our comrades, had heard the representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union patiently and with composure, the floor was taken by Comrade Enver Hoxha: We listened with much attention to your words, comrade Zogolov. In regard to the love and loyalty of our Party and people towards the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 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 realised 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 to disbelieve these ardent feelings of our party 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 people. But 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 good times and in difficult times. 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 Gomulks» and company. Nikita Khurshchev has told me that «Gomulka acts like a fascist», while on the other hand Mikoian 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 the 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 criticisms 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 leadership 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. But we, likewise, 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 people 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, Mikoian, Kozlov and Andropov were at this meeting from your side. The instructions which the Central Committee of our Party gave 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 in 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, Mikoian and Kozlov received the comrades of the delegation of the PLA in an unfriendly manner, 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 judgment 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, better. 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 Mikoian 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 Mehmeti was right when he said, a little while ago, that when Yugoslavs come, you conclude the talks within ten days! Likewise, the war Minister of Indonesia went to Moscow, and you immediately gave him large credits for armaments, while little Albania, which is looking down the wolf's throat, 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 5th 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 letter with which our Central Committee has sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has 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) 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 with the defense 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 rumors 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 not conceal from our people the assistance the Soviet Union has given and continue to give us. I want to point out also that we consider as 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 Khruushchev 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 give 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 Khruushchev 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 give us the aid. 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 specialist 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 us. 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 Khruushchev that our stand remains the same.

tell Nikita Khruushchev, 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: for what credits? These credits have been given us under a protocol signed by both sides by top-level leaders. For this purpose our Central Committee and our Government sent comrade Mehmet 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 given, as well as the projects to be built. This, for us, the problem of credits is considered as 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 Party Congress 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, Patolichiev, was appointed. 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 still not replied to us. 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 XX 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 XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is concerned, we stated frankly at the Moscow Meeting with which matters we are not in agreement. But, instead of accepting the comradely criticisms 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 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 arisen 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 checks 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 by him, and when our comrades and his Soviet comrades asked him about this, he replied, ‘I am working on this map for a Soviet academy!’ 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 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 in our base in Vlora, called together our officers and told them that a statement which Enver Hoxha made about the plot against Albania is a bluff. We want to take opportunity to tell you that this plot is not a bluff, but an exceptionally dangerous thing. Albanian and world opinion will learn about the aim 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, organised the 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 to your side, too. We fully agree that our comrades of the Ministry of Defence and General Andreyev9 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 as brothers, as friends, as comrades, but I think that my presence is not absolutely necessary. We want harmony and love for the Soviet men to reign at the naval base, because this base is needed in the interests of our entire socialist camp, and not just for us. We told Nikita Khrushchev this, too.

But I must also say something about the question of the base. You are not in order there with the plan of construction work, armament, and the handling 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 an invention. Why do I say this? I say this because Barak10 has come to the IV Congress of the PLA with very bad aims and he behaves with contempt towards our Party and our people. Since he is our guest we treat him as a friend and 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 thought that as the representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, he should greet our Congress after 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 may 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 may 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. But you, who are you?», our comrade could have asked him. 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 Sheshu, following the decision adopted by the Political Bureau, rightly described him as he was. Whom did the delegate of the Communist Party of Greece call a provocateur? Mehmet Sheshu, the most glorious General of our army, to whom our Party gave the order to defend the southern borders of Albania against the Greek monarchists and Van Fleet, who had harried 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 we say these things; we know only too well who are the Greek monarchists-whom we have for neighbours. Therefore, Barak should not be hasty because we have known them for a long time and much better than he. The father of Sophocles Venizelos, Elether 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 as a close friend, but he did not deserve our trust.

I assure you, comrades, in the name of the Central Committee that as far as our side is concerned, we shall strive to strengthen the friendship and love for the peoples of the Soviet Union among our people and in our Party even further. 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 Marxist-Leninism, regardless of whether others may think that we are allegedly ignorant of Marxist-Leninism. That is what the Italian comrades, for example, think. When Nikita Khrushchev was in Albania, he said, making allusions against Tito, that it is not true that the Albanian comrades do not know Marxism, indeed even children are 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 comradesly manner.

I shall tell you one thing. Owing to your stand we shall be compelled to reduce our food rations and the firing practice programmes in our army, but we do 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 breaking 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 have never done 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. Do 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 Karlov Vary where we have gone 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 as the saviour of 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, tried to do.

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 N. 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 eavesdropping apparatus 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 Khruschev at that meeting. I say that I criticised him over his mistakes and faults whereas you interpreted our criticism wrongly, as thought I was sling 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.

1) Alter the IV Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha received the delegation of the CPSU; with whom he had a conversation at the premises of the Central Committee of the Party.

2) W. Gomulka, former first secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers Party. He was condemned by the Party in 1949 for anti-party activity. In October 1956 he was rehabilitated by the revisionists and placed at the head of the Party.

Time showed that he was a determined revisionist.

3) A. Miloyan, a former member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU.

4) This refers to the joint talks which were held in Moscow in 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 comrade Mehmet Shehu and Hysni Kapo, members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, and the delegation of the CPSU. The meeting was held at the request of the Soviet leadership.

5) E. Koslov, a former member of the Presidium and secretary of the CC of the CPSU.

6) Y. Andropov, at that time director of the Foreign Department for the socialist countries under the CC of the CPSU, today a member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU.

7) The Soviet revisionist leadership avoided answering the CC of the PLA by letter because it did not want its official replies to remain in the archives of the PLA.

8) This refers to the counter-revolutionary plot which was being prepared by a secret anti-state organisation at the head of which were veteran agents of foreign intelligence services. Their counter-revolutionary plan was combined also with an armed intervention on the part of the Yugoslav revisionists, the Czech monarchical reaction and the US 6th Fleet. As it was proved later, the Soviet revisionist leadership had knowledge of this plot, too, which had calculated to exploit it for its own purposes.

9) A. Andreyev, a former representative of the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty in Albania.

10) R. Baruk, 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 SR of Czechoslovakia, head of the delegation of the CP of Czechoslovakia to the IV Congress of the PLA. Time confirmed that he was an agent of the imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. In February 1962, the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia was obliged to relieve him of all his party and state functions, expel him from the party, and arrest him as a dangerous enemy and «an embezzler» of the country's foreign exchange.

RADI OGRAM TO THE ALBANIAN DELEGATION AT THE MEETING OF THE CONSULTATIVE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY

MOSCOW

March 28, 1961, 07:30 A.M.

Throw Grechko's letter into the wastepaper basket?, reply only to those questions which he and the others put forward at the meeting. Therefore your speech must be reconsidered in this light. Don't be the first to speak.

The issue of the base. The Albanian government does not accept even the slightest change from the existing status quo defined by the official agreements between the two governments. Reject their slanders and excuses, mention and distribute the memorandum of Mehmet and Andreyev concerning the events in the base. Argue the matter from the political-military aspect, show the exemplary training of our sailors. Link Khruschev's previous threats and blackmail on this issue and say that the Albanian government does not accept Marshal Grechko's theses, for they are not in order. Point out that any decision they may take in the direction of dismantling the base and failure to supply it with armaments according to the
agreements and contracts, weakens the defence of the socialist camp and Albania and makes them completely responsible. As a conclusion, say on behalf of the Party and the Government, that we do not accept and shall vote against any decision that might be taken against the status quo in the base and the non-observance of the agreements between the US and the PRA.

Keep us informed. Stand at the height of our Party.

ENVER HOXHA

THE SUBMARINES OF THE VLORA BASE ARE OURS, BUT WE SHALL FIGHT EVEN WITHOUT THEM

Contribution to the discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA

April 1, 1961

I fully agree with the view of all the comrades of the Political Bureau on these very important questions. I also fully agree with the work done by our delegation which took part in the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty, which has legally defended the line of the Party.

From now on we must resist our opponents even more strongly, be more wary in relation to them, and carefully preserve the principles of Marxism-Leninism. I say this, because, as we see more clearly day by day, we have to do with opportunist, revisionist leaderships, enemies of Marxism-Leninism, which are at the heads of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty. About this we have been and remain convinced, and there is not the slightest trace of doubt.

It must be understood that not only has the Soviet revisionist leadership set out on a hostile road, but this meeting of the Warsaw Treaty has been a concrete action of its betrayal over which it was exposed at the Moscow Meeting. The pressures exerted on us at the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty, are a response to our heroic and Marxist-Leninist stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism, and at the same time, a response to the IV Congress of our Party and its correct line. All the traitors, whom the IV Congress of our Party terrifies, maintain such attitudes.

Other meetings will be held in the future, too, but again we shall triumph. We know that the Soviet revisionists and their followers are fighting to discredit our Party, and making efforts to split its leadership; they will set to work in order to continue their plots with all their means, with a view to overthrowing the leadership of our Party, to liquidating the Party, and they even exert military pressures to occupy Albania. Thus, they are enemies, from the enemy, nothing good should be expected.

In this discussion comrade Enver Hoxha spoke also of some political and economic problems concerning the revisionist blockade against our country. (Abridged by the editors of the review).

In this situation the Vlora base is a very serious menace to us, that is for the occupation of Albania, for the elimination of the independence of our country. All that the comrades said is true, for there is a great possibility that the Soviet leadership will dismantle the Vlora base and not hand the ships over to us, for such is Khrushchev's line. It brings grist to the mill of US imperialism. But by leaving the base, they will lose and we shall win.

Khrushchev also has other base plans against our country. Such people as Ulbricht want to frighten us, when they say that «the military base of Vlora is of very great importance to Albania», but, in the present conditions, this base is of no importance to us. On the contrary, Nikita Khrushchev can use it like the «meat» of Nesredin and throw in whole army divisions, creating great dangers for our country. Therefore, as all the comrades of the Political Bureau said, I too, agree that we should liquidate the base while demanding that we should keep all the warships. If the ships are left with us as we want, it will be good, if the opposite is the case the submarines are useless to us. We shall fight even without them. If we have the ships, too, in case of attack by the enemies, we shall wreak havoc. But the main war will not be waged on the sea. This is what I think about the issue of the base. But we should not forget that the Soviet revisionists may remain at the Vlora base, with a view to concocting some other provocative act and having their people there. Therefore we must manoeuvre. Whatever situation may arise, that is whether the Soviets stay or leave the base, we, for our part, absolutely must avoid the incidents and provocations which they may create.

I do not want to enter into details, but I want to stress that we must think seriously about our military preparation and armament. You, comrades of the army, prepare all the variants of defence in conditions of encirclement and with these arms which we have. Thus, we should proceed from the prin-
ciple that we shall no longer have arms, ammunition, or clothing for our army from the Soviet Union. Therefore, we should set to work right now and take measures so that we ensure some of these needs of our army ourselves, and seek some others from our friends.

These are some political, military and economic questions which we must bear in mind. We must be on our toes, maintain close contact with the people, sharpen our vigilance, foresee that, in one form or another, the plots will be repeated, the provocations against our country will increase, and the enemy pressures against us will be stepped up. But we shall cope with every situation, because the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the whole Party are firmly united and, although we have many powerful enemies, we have also many friends, in the first place great China, the countries of people's democracy of Asia, as well as the peoples of all the socialist countries and the communists of the whole world.

It is true that our imperialist and revisionist enemies can do many things, but it is also true that they cannot act immediately. First, they must prepare the ground against us in the political, ideological field, must slander and slander and then undertake actions. But we must see clearly how the situations are developing, for if we see them differently from what they are, then the measures for the defence of the homeland and the Party cannot be realised with that intensity and strength of organisation, and cannot be at that political level, which is required. Our Party and people have withstood great tests in which they have immeasurably tempered themselves and are in a position to understand these situations correctly, even with their minor nuances.

In conclusion, we must respond to the attitude of the Soviet leadership at the latest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty with a letter, then we should think about replying to the other parties which follow it; over everything that has been done against us, over hostile attitudes and tactics against the Party of Labour and our People's Republic. Naturally, in this direction we must be cautious, we must avoid putting weapons into the hands of our enemies to be used against us, but the weapons should be in our hands. See how these traitors to Marxism have been put in exceptionally difficult positions by a small Party like ours and are committing acts that logical people could not do; with these actions they are precipitating events.

But here it is not only the question of Albania, but the question of the whole of international communism. Although many communists in the world are not aware of or some have not yet understood these events, there are also many communists who have understood them. The group of Nikita Khrushchev and company know how rotten their situation is. They still blame Stalin for the difficulties they are meeting. But the Soviet people do not believe that these difficulties are a consequence of Stalin's 'mistakes'.

To the fight against this dangerous group of traitors to Marxism-Leninism we too, are making our contribution. We are on a correct course, therefore with each day that passes we are steadily winning, while things are going badly for the Khrushchev group and finally they will lose, but this still needs time.

We should insist on and continually stress the issue of unity in the Party and the people, for this is vital. We should bear in mind that Khrushchev and his group will do every sort of dirty thing and will act even against the best people of our Party. Therefore, we should close our ranks, because thus the revisionists will certainly break their heads. We should take measures and must not neglect any question whatever.

The heroism of our people is great, but we should always keep the situation in mind. This year we secured 20,000 tons of grain more than last year, but we must work on the suggestion that we could experience another bad year. China will certainly help us, but the Soviet revisionists and their followers like the great plotters that they are, may act with cunning to hinder the way of the Chinese ships and to prevent wheat reaching us. Therefore we should make the people aware that if we come upon bad days, up to war, they must tighten their belts and eat rationed bread, must be determined to eat as much as there is and live on it. Such a preparation of the people is essential. Every one must be clear about the situation we are passing through. We have a difficult struggle ahead of us, therefore we must economise everywhere.

The Soviet revisionists, those enemies of Marxism-Leninism, will hinder the others from learning what is going on in Albania and how our people are fighting. They will strive to raise barriers to stop us reaching the opinion of the sister parties. Look, our ambassador in Moscow informed us yesterday that they had summoned him and told him that they had found out that comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the 4th Congress of the Party was being distributed outside the regulations, by the men of the Albanian embassy in Moscow, to individual Soviet persons, while this could be done by 'Mezhunarodny Knyiga'. I don't understand, replied Nesti Nase 'such a practice has not been followed up till now either in regard to us or in regard to the other representations, therefore why should this differentiation be made over the documents of our Party?'.

Even if the political circumstances and our determined struggle compel them to lie low for a moment and give us a let us say, some tractors, we must not think that they have made the change, but at the same time we must be vigilant.

Do we, then, agree to do a letter?

All the comrades of the Political Bureau expressed themselves unanimously that this letter should be done. Then it was decided to inform the members of the Central Committee of the PLA as well as the first secretaries of the regional party committees about this question.

1) This meeting discussed the report presented by the Party and Government delegation which took part in the meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in Moscow on March 28-29, 1971.
2) W. Ulbricht, at that time first secretary of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.
3) "The call of Naredfin", a popular saying denoting such a situation when someone strives through trickery to ensure the right of ownership over something small on the territory of somebody else with a view to using it as a pretext to violate the legitimate rights of the person to whom the entire territory belongs.
4) From Russian: International Book.
5) This letter was sent to the government of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.
On the International Situation and on the Relations of the PLA with the CPSU and the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries of Europe

Information at the II Plenum of the CC of the PLA

July 1, 1961

Due to the anti-Marxist attitude of the Soviet leadership, and its followers towards our Party and our country, our relations with them and the countries of people's democracy of Europe have worsened. I am not going to go right back to the beginning on these issues for you already know about them. The Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party ruined the plans and tactics of Khrushchev and his followers.

After having pointed out the vicious backstages of Khrushchev and company at the Bucharest and Moscow meetings came Enver Hoxha continued:

The problem is that the revisionist activity of the Khrushchev group has brought great harm to international communism and the socialist camp because now neither ideological unity, nor political unity exists in our ranks. This is clear. It is known that a series of parties are now in open opposition to the revisionist line of the Khrushchev group and the leaders of the countries of people's democracy of Europe and of some communist parties of western countries. This lack of unity greatly interests imperialism, which has worked ceaselessly for this, to weaken the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement.

The Marxist-Leninist parties consider the question of unity as a matter of exceptional importance. But there are two diametrically opposed courses for the defence of unity: the first is to defend it in words and on the other hand sabotage it in deeds, whereas the other course is to defend unity with all one's strength on the Marxist-Leninist course and, despite the major political and ideological contradictions that exist among our parties, to avoid giving imperialism any weapon to fight us with and deepen this lack of unity, this split, even further. For the first course, for the destruction of unity the Khrushchev group are working with might and main, fully conscious of what they are about.

Let us take the issue of the PR of China, which is of exceptional importance to the camp of socialism. China has colossal military, political and ideological potential, but the Khrushchev group continue to ignore this colossal potential in the international field. Not only that, but every effort is being made, openly or secretly, to discredit and push China aside in the international arena. The Soviet leadership is carrying out an unprincipled struggle against our country and our Party. And this has its own reasons.

These reasons are based on the fact that the line of our Party, its correct tactics in the circumstances and conditions of our country (taking into consideration the hostile encirclement, the continual plots against us, the defence potential of our country are exceptionally damaging to them. Therefore, the Nikita Khrushchev group and the leadership of the countries of people's democracy of Europe and of the Communist Parties of France and Italy that follow them, have organised a common tactic, and this is clear from the attitudes they maintain towards us. The aim is to cut off Albania and discredit the Albanian leadership. But the blockade against our country is not restricted just to the propaganda aspect, because in regard to this aspect to a large degree nobody believes them. Their slogans are already known: «The Albanian leadership is in an anti-Soviet, sectarian, dogmatic position», etc.

But it is not only this aspect. Seeing the danger which the correct policy of our Party and State constitutes for them, they have also imposed a military blockade on Albania. To legalise this, they convened the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, the results of which you know. The aim of this meeting, organised by the Khrushchev group, was to strike a blow at the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, to shake the broad masses of our Party and people with the threat of withdrawing the naval base at Vlora, and as a consequence, to cause alarm in the Party and the Albanian public that great danger from imperialism is being created for Albania and that the Albanian leadership are to blame for this.

To achieve this, they violated any norm, agreement and treaty. They strove to give this meeting the appearance of a normal meeting, because the agenda envisaged the re-examination of the military situation and the armaments of our armies. For this, the approaches had been made through the general staffs of the armies of the member countries, and naturally, of our staff too. Such negotiations are made by them intermittently; regular approaches as between allies which have common tasks on their shoulders against a common enemy, are not made, but they send 5 officers to give the impression of allegedly talking about armaments, and when meetings are held Khrushchev says we have all the missiles you want which we turn out like sausages.

The military potential of the Soviet Union is known, but we criticise their procedures and methods of work as members of the Warsaw Treaty. And in fact, nothing was said at the plenary meeting of the Treaty in March this year, about what has been and what will be done for the strengthening of our armies, as had been announced in advance, but the aim of the meeting...
was to attack Albania, with the same procedures as were used in Bucharest against China.

Late one night, before the meeting was held, Marshal Grecchko sent a letter to our delegation, in which he made those same threats and demands which were put forward later by Khrushchev and his friends at the meeting. Grecchko deliberately handed over the letter very late, so that we would not have time to reply to it. But it did not work out as they intended. (See the radiogram in this issue).

If the meeting had developed as had been announced, all the participants would have acted as our delegation did, discussing those problems about which our countries had been informed, on the basis of the agenda, and which are so important and of such concern for the fate of the socialist countries and world peace. The delegations of the countries taking part in this meeting, beginning with Khrushchev and the others in turn, made their armed attacks against our leadership and our country, and you know about this.

This was a threat made to our Party and country and which was rejected, for it has no political, ideological, moral, juridical, military or other basis; the right is completely on our side. But they took absolutely no heed and here their savagery was displayed.

Naturally we defended our rights and we showed them their place, but the other aspect should not be forgotten — the great harm which the Khrushchev group and their friends did to the joint defence of the socialist camp. It is a fact that with the withdrawal of the Vlora base its defence power is weakened. Khrushchev demonstratively ordered the withdrawal of the submarines and auxiliary ships which were at the Vlora base. The whole world heard about this, London saw the Soviet warships returning from Vlora to the Baltic Sea on film and television.

Thus, fully aware of what they are doing, the Khrushchev group have weakened the defence of the socialist camp and of our country. You know what the reasons for this stand were. All the charges that the people of this group had trumped up against our country are vile slanders without foundation.

Comrade Mehemet summed up their pretended facts in a letter and then summoned the representative of the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty in our country, asked him what he had to say, and after he had spoken, comrade Mehemet gave him our reply in writing. This was followed by the visit comrade Mehemet made to the naval base of Vlora, in March 1961, where he addressed the forces there and made many problems clear.

The failure to send the armaments at the set time, as well as the failure to complete the base, warned us of the measures and attitudes which would be maintained against us by the Soviet leadership and which were crowned at the March meeting of the Warsaw Treaty.

At the March meeting they also raised the question of the plot which, to them, was allegedly a bluff, specially hatched up and prepared by us, therefore, in their opinion, a commission should have been created to examine the truth of the facts.

Why did they present such a view? There are two things here: either they are collaborators with this plot or they are defending imperialism, the Yugoslav revisionists, and the Greek monarcho-fascists. We have no doubt about this, for it is not the first time that these people have defended the enemies of our Party and our people. They have raised this to a system; a thing which means to be very heavily compromised, and this plot is truly a great exposure of the policy of Khrushchev and his cronies. That is why they maintain such an attitude.

About the trial of the Albanian traitors and spies which took place in Tirana in the month of May, the Khrushchev group and their followers have maintained total silence. To maintain complete silence towards such hostile activity, which is neither the first nor the last to be hatched up by the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists, against Albania and the cause of socialism, means to defend them, to take their side. They have been fearful about the holding of this trial.

But let us dwell on the issue of the withdrawal of the Vlora naval base. How correct our political, moral, military and juridical stand has been on this issue, and how base and hostile the attitude and tactics of the Soviet side.

They have adopted base revolting attitudes on so many occasions that they cannot be counted. But at these delicate moments, the group of our officers in the base, in a masterly and intelligent manner, have defended the Party against the plotters, provocateurs and charlatans who degraded the feelings of the Soviet sailors to such an extent that, if you see a reel of film that has been taken there, you will note in what a grave situation the ships, means, etc., were left, and you will immediately ask the question: who has lived in that place, is it possible for Soviet men to have knocked holes in the reservoirs, to have smashed the beds, the windows of the buildings where they lived and worked, etc? They made efforts to take everything away, down to the last bolts, but they were unable to attain their aim. We took a hard stand, properly defended our rights, and responded to the attacks and provocations with aplomb, whereas they lost their heads. The ships stayed put. We gave them only the ships in which the Soviet personnel served, not those that they took are theirs. We allowed them those they took because we did not want to make the situation even more acute, since this was what they wanted.

Those who served at the base were inspired by enmity against our country, they were people politically and ideologically degenerate. We had never thought that the senior Soviet officer would sink so low as to put aside for himself the telephone, the motor of the automobile, to put the fan and other things in his personal suitcase, in order to take them to the Soviet Union!

The stand of our sailors and officers who were studying and continue to study in the Soviet Union presents quite the opposite picture. Together with our ambassador, they have maintained an heroic stand in defence of the line of the Party and its correctness. Like communists they have stood up to many anti-socialist actions carried out by the Soviet revisionists since the arrest of our naval students and officers right up to their expulsion from the Soviet Union.

The same stand is being maintained also towards our sailors in Sevastopol. Two destroyers have been sent there for repair, and they want to keep them from us. We shall not go to war over them, but it is a matter of their attitude. When the Soviet sailors were here, we permitted the representatives of the Soviet command, the Soviet ambassador and up to Novikov, to go to the Vlora base where they organised plots and provocations behind our backs, whereas in the Soviet Union, they
do not allow the representative of our command, under the unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty, to go and withdraw our crews from the ships in an organised way.  

But why do the Soviets maintain such a stance? It is obvious, because they are afraid of the truth. The Soviet leadership has done and is doing these things to discredit our Party and our leadership. But in fact the opposite has occurred.

Now we may say that order and calm have been established in the naval base of Vlora. Our naval means are now in full readiness. We shall also set up the naval school there with teachers who have graduated from the academies. Thus, we shall continue to strengthen our navy and coastal defence and we may say that even from the material aspect, we are more secure than previously.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have taken the issue of the naval base of Vlora as a pretext for further measures, later, to get us out of the Warsaw Treaty. As a matter of fact, from Khrushchev to Zhivkov?, they have launched the slogan that "you are putting yourselves outside the Warsaw Treaty", that "you are to blame for ruining the Vlora base because you did not implement the decision of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty", etc. They did not think that there were other correct solutions for the maintenance of the base. Their action was a conspiracy, they were seeking to find people to fight the Albanian Party, Government and people.

The military aid to us from the Soviet Union has come to an end. It is known that the economic aid, as well as the military aid since the Bucharest Meeting, and indeed even earlier, has still not been given us. I shall not speak about the healthy political and ideological spirit, or about the exceptionally great enthusiasm existing in our army. You know this, but we can tell the Central Committee that even from the economic aspect, the aspect of armaments and military preparedness the situation in the army is better than at any other time, that all measures have been taken so that the military potential, armaments and other essential requirements of the army will be increased many-fold. Thus, in this direction too, the Soviet leadership and those following them have failed.

They failed in their evil aim of intimidating and shaking Albanian public opinion with the withdrawal of the submarines, they failed in their thought that our army would be left with its finger in its mouth, without supplies, that its armaments would become obsolete, the spare parts for its weapons would run out etc. This is how things stand on military questions.

In the economic field you know their aim, to cut off any aid to Albania. They cut off their credits to us, withdrew their specialists, and they are trying as hard as they can to narrow the sphere of their trade relations with us. And they have put this into practice in a cunning way. In all their letters, particularly in the letters of the CC of the CPSU, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Hungary, now it is finally said openly that they will build their relations with Albania only on reciprocal bases. They do not have the courage to say to us frankly that they have cut off the credits they granted us, which in fact they have cut off.

But their great economic pressures failed, too. The Central Committee of our Party has it clear that our five-year plan is financially secure and will be realised. Whoever wants to keep his word, let him give the aid he has promised Albania on the former conditions, on the basis of the agreements. But we think that such a thing will not be done, we must have no illusion, because it is a fact that the leadership of the parties of the socialist countries of Europe have violated every norm and they will continue on this course. We have a basis on which we can rely for the realisation of our plans.

The question of the specialists has been even more scandalous. Having knowledge of their sly, humiliating and slanderous tactics, during all these actions towards our country, we have been growing more and more firmly convinced that we are faced with a group of Trotskyites among the worst history has known. On the one hand they told us that the oil specialists must be withdrawn from Albania, by order of the Soviet government and, on the other hand, they told the oil manager that the oil specialists were to leave Albania by order of our Minister of Industry. Such things are monstrous, but there are many others like this.

On questions of trade it must be said that contrary to all practice, they have refused to sign long-term trade agreements with us for the years 1961-1965, while they are implementing such agreements even with the capitalist countries. The Soviet side has cut off credits to us. This is how the trade relations stand with these countries.

Cultural relations, too, are not going smoothly due to their fault. In this field, too, we have changed nothing.

On political issues, likewise we maintain a correct stand, which enragés them. Our press and radio continue to write and speak about the economic, cultural and other development of the Soviet Union and the countries of people’s democracy, while on their part all the agreements have been breached. In the Soviet Union they have banned the publication of the magazine «New Albania» in Russian and Arabic because it allegedly contains «dogmatic» materials and we are harming the Arabs with our «dogmatic» line!

The cultural agreements signed with us are being violated. This fact is enough to indicate the reality. They did not accept our folk song and dance ensemble which went to China, Vietnam and Korea where they were a great success. We had sought that our ensemble go to the Soviet Union too, on the basis of the agreement signed together, and the request was made at the beginning of the month of May. But now the Soviet side replies to us that it will not receive them, on the excuse that the request was late in reaching them. It is obvious where this attitude has its roots. The Soviet side is afraid that our ensemble will have success, that there will be applause from the audience for friendship and protests over the vile things which are said against Albania. Many Soviet people have read the report of the Central Committee delivered at the IV Congress of the Party and in it they have read that none of us has thrown mud at the Soviet Union.

Hence, the Soviet leaders are very much afraid of our correct cultural policy, too. The Bulgarian leadership, also, has ordered the removal of Albanian songs from the programmes of Radio Sofia. At the international festival of our countries which was held in Rumania, in the concert programme arranged, the Albanian song of the nightingale was to have been sung. This song tells of the course followed by our people under the leadership of the Party, etc. The jury and artists received this song with a great enthusiasm; however, when it came time for the concert, it was not presented and they justified this with the illness of the conductor. As we heard later, the concert was not put on because of the Albanian song which was
on the programme. This is what happens in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc., whereas in Mongolia there was allegedly no hotel to receive the members of our ensemble. These people are afraid to have relations with us, because they are not in order, and these things convince us still more of the correctness of the course of our Party.

Our students in the Soviet Union are waging an heroic fight to defend the line of the Party. At the University, in the institutes of Moscow, and in all parts of the Soviet Union where they are studying, they have made things clear in the minds of Soviet people, because the leadership there feeds people with lies, therefore only among our people can they find the truth and the right and thus they manage to draw some conclusions. Here it must be pointed out that our ambassadors in the Soviet Union has known how to keep our students well informed. Our ambassadors in the countries of people's democracy have acted in this way, too. Almost all our ambassadors have shown themselves up to the mark of the important duties with which the Party has charged them, true communists, revolutionary diplomats.

The comrades who were studying at the Higher School of the CPSU who were living, day and night, in struggle with the distortions of the Trotskyite revisionist theory, with the efforts to introduce the revisionist and Trotskyite theories into that school, have done especially good work. From the comrades of the first course to those of the third course, they have resolutely waged an exceptionally great struggle in defence of our Party and Marxism-Leninism. This has been of very great importance because in the Party School there are cadres from all parts of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

The situation there now is that many of those who have had discussions with our comrades are fully with us. Our comrades who are living in the Soviet Union, are seeing what situations the Khrushchev group have created for the Soviet communists. You are well acquainted with the measures that the Soviet leadership has taken to conceal the failures in agriculture. Here, too, Khrushchev's narodnik policy failed because of violations of the Leninist teachings on the problems of agriculture, violation of the principles of J. V. Stalin which not even a cannon can shatter, and which are reflected also in his last work "Economic problems of socialism in the Soviet Union". Read this work once again, comrades, and you will see where Khrushchev's failing policy is leading.

This line has created great economic difficulties in the Soviet Union. For weeks and months on end meat, salami and other products are not easy to find. The black market is on the upsurge at a time when Khrushchev has launched the slogan of the construction of communist society. We regret the liberalization which is apparent in the Soviet Union, which leads to the breakdown of morality, to the creation of great confusion, to the corruption of the youth, the streets filled with such tourists who try to do espionage work, etc. All this is the result of the opportunist and revisionist policy of the Khrushchev clique. In the Soviet Union things are happening which are unbelievable, but facts are facts.

How are our relations with the other countries of people's democracy?

Up to date our relations with Poland have not undergone any change. Gomulka is a second Tito, he slanders us as much as you please. The Poles maintain only trade relations.

The Czechoslovak leadership is behaving in an exceptionally dirty manner. This revisionist leadership is equipped with a markedly petty-bourgeois commercial spirit which makes it still more dangerous. They are dealers, they fight to the limit for money. They display this spirit in politics, too. They direct abuse against the leadership of our Party and defend Khrushchev and reconcile themselves with him against our country.

Even towards Albanian's friends in Czechoslovakia the Czechoslovak leadership maintains a vicious attitude. You know that some time ago, the wife of a veteran Czechoslovak communist, a friend of Albania, a collaborator and close comrade of Klement Gottwald, one of the founders of the CP of Czechoslovakia, came to visit Albania. But this communist wife of the outstanding Czechoslovak patriot, after a few days of stay here, was reproached by the Czechoslovak embassy and pressure was exerted on her to leave Albania as soon as possible. When she returned to Czechoslovakia they raised the question of why she came to Albania in her party branch and now attacks against her have begun over her stand in favour of our country and our people. Both when she was summoned to the Czechoslovak embassy here, and before her party branch, in Czechoslovakia, they exerted great pressure on her, but she stood firm.

The German leadership, as you know, continues its course of provocations. Apart from the blatant provocation in connexion with the publication of Walter Ulbricht's speech, to which we replied with a correct letter, they have given orders to their press not to say a single word about our country. If you read the letter of a certain Willi Stoph you will understand immediately that he is truly a fascist. With that letter he shows that he is a collaborator in the plot of the US 6th Fleet, in collaboration with the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarchists, when he accuses us, Albanians, of provoking Yugoslav, Greece, and the United States of America. This is the sort of people they are.

Up till recently the Hungarian leadership maintained an attitude somewhat different from the others, which made one think that the Hungarian leadership had drawn profound lessons from the past. It also gave us 15 million rubles in aid. We sought permission from them to announce this act in the press and received an affirmative answer. However, about a week ago the Hungarian leadership sent us a letter signed by Janos Kadar, accusing us of being rabidly anti-Soviet. The letter stresses that we allegedly published the news about the granting of the aid by the Hungarian leadership in order to drive wedges between the Soviet Union and Hungary. Thus, they oblige us to deny their aid. We thank them, as is proper, for this aid, whereas they want us to keep quiet about it with the aim that later they can attack us as ungrateful.

Kadar has sent us this letter, without doubt, because the Soviet leadership has tweaked his ear for having granted us the aid, as it did with the Bulgarian leadership which was asked to explain why it had made a gift of the bust of George Dimitrov to the Albanians. Kadar and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party take the conspirators under their protection and affirm that they do not agree with their people. Fine, for we there is no better document to prove that Kadar is a collaborator of the plotters, agents of the imperialists. Even the Yugoslav revisionists, who have been direct collabo-
In this plot against the PRA, strive to deny such a thing, whereas Kadar describes the plotters who are our political opponents, as alleged Marxists and makes the accusation against us that their execution was unjust.

The Bulgarian leadership with Zhivkov at the head has adopted the same position as the others. They, too, have placed the blockade on our country. The editors of the newspaper "truth", however, published the news about the Tiran trial, describing its decision as a just verdict against traitors to the Albanian people, agents of the Yugoslav revisionists. Tito made an immediate protest to the Bulgarian leadership and that same day Theodor Zhivkov called a meeting of the political bureau of the CC of the CP of Bulgaria, which decided to sack the president and the responsible secretaries of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Bulgaria.

Thus, it is understood that all the leaderships of the socialist countries of Europe, with Khrushchev at the head, have taken a joint decision in favour of an anti-socialist and anti-Albanian stand towards our Party and our country.

What has been our stand in the face of these situations? We have tried to and have kept cool, we have defended our correct line, and have not wavered. However we do not accept what they say about us, but give them the reply they deserve. As they write to us, so we write to them, but while they resort to slander, we reason in the correct Marxist-Leninist way, and in this way we refute their calumnies.

This is the spirit and character of the letter we are going to send to the Central Committee of the CPSU in reply to Kosygin's letter about all the problems that have been raised there, about the political, ideological, economic and military behaviour and attitudes they have maintained and continue to maintain towards the Albanian Party and people. In this letter we also express our view as to how these matters should be corrected.

Likewise, the attitude of the embassies of the socialist countries of Europe in our country is also to be pointed out. The stand of the officials of these embassies reflects the stand of their leaders. These have been turned into embassies for observation, attack, and diversion against our Party and people. Therefore, our stand towards them must be very reserved. We are not in the least afraid of meetings with them, only the comrades must be vigilant, give them the reply they deserve in case they try provocation in these meetings, and expose the provocateurs and the provocations. When they came to us for meetings at the time of truly friendly relations, we talked with them as friends, as brothers, but now over their provocations they must be put in their place. Now we shall behave as they behave towards us.

We should be vigilant towards the movements and contacts of these people with the «brides» who are in our country. Some of our comrades have married, and we have nothing against those Soviet girls or girls of other countries who stay on a correct Marxist-Leninist road, whereas those who defend Khrushchev should be shown the road they came from. Therefore, it should be made clear to their Albanian husbands, party members or non-party, that the Party and the homeland come first and then the wife, that the most important thing is to defend the Party and the homeland, and that the family and the children of everyone, without exception, must defend them.

This is clear. If the foreign wife of some comrade, party or non-party, maintains a friendly attitude towards our people and Party, if she does not carry out propaganda for the Khrushchev line, if she makes no provocations, etc., let her march forward together with our people, but if she acts otherwise, if she conspires to the detriment of our Party and country and her husband shuts his eyes, then let him take the responsibility upon himself because the Party will take measures against her and against him who closes his eyes.

Our general line has been and is correct. Our consistent attitude is a great pain in the neck to Khrushchev and Co. But that doesn't worry us. In the future, too, we shall march resolutely on our Marxist-Leninist course. On the questions of international policy we shall proceed, as always, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the correct line of our Party.

The situation requires that the editors of our newspapers should conduct a wideawake policy. In their work they must always proceed from the positions of our Party. The main thing is that the correct Marxist-Leninist views must be defended, but at the same time we must be severe on splitters and deviators. We should come down hard on those who attack us with the aim of weakening us and must be vigilant to defend our unity, the ranks of our Party and people.

To be vigilant does not mean to gather negative facts about people and finally number them off one by one. This is not vigilance. We must help people who during their life and activity make mistakes or display symptoms of lack of ideological or political understanding. We must make efforts so that they understand correctly where their mistakes are and mobilize themselves to implement the line and directives of the Party. Therefore we must think well about the treatment of people who are ours but who make mistakes; they must be given timely help so that they do not reach the point where they fall into grave errors and become incorrigible.

Thus, the Party should work with wisdom and vigilance and should not forget that apart from us, the enemy, too, is at work striving to drive wedges among people. In this sense we must be wideawake. However it is a fact that in general the treatment of people who make mistakes, on the part of the Party, the organs of Justice and State Security, has been on a Marxist-Leninist course. Maturity and great tenderness has been shown for our people, and a lofty revolutionary and stern class spirit towards incorrigible people, enemies of the Party and the State who have entered into secret or open collaboration with the imperialists, the revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, or the Italian neo-fascists. Our Party, the organs of State Security, and the people have displayed this correct Marxist-Leninist stand. Therefore we should keep this spirit alive. We should strengthen the love and great confidence among the people for the men of the Party, the army, the security service. This great love and confidence has been created in our country for these people.

I receive many letters from the people and I read them each day, every morning, before I begin work. In recent days I have read the letter of a citizen who says frankly that he had been in political opposition with the Party, had no confidence in it, considering it as sold out to foreigners, a blind lackey of the Soviets. «But, when I heard all these things», he writes, «and saw the heroic Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party, how it resolutely defends the cause of justice, how it defends the homeland and the people, as well as the cause of socialism,
I pledged to be loyal to the Party to the end. See what a great transformation the work of the Party has made in the head of this man!

The recent trial in particular has made an exceptionally great impression on our people. It has aroused a deep-going hatred against the traitors and spies, against the imperialists and revisionists, and an unexampled enthusiasm and patriotism among our working masses. The danger of the uncovered conspiracy which failed, was very great. On this occasion we must also point out the skill, determination and watchfulness of our comrades of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who discovered the hostile activity of these bandits in time, seized very important facts and documents, acted with great caution, without being hasty, according to the instructions of the Political Bureau of the CC, but also without allowing the issue to be endangered. This work has meant that we have escaped the great danger and upset the plans of the imperialists and of US imperialism in particular.

Thus, the trial has been of great importance, and because it has been of such importance, because dark plans towards our Party and people have been discovered, Khrushchev and his lackeys are so enraged that they commit such absurdities as to go to the extent of defending the spies and traitors. But let them defend them, the facts are very obstinate. Let Comunika say that these things have been fabricated, but he should take care that his name, too, does not come out some day in any trial.

We shall continue, and we are confident that we shall continue with this spirit, to the realisation of our plans. The revisionists can do nothing to us. We are strong and we are not alone. The Communist Party of China, which remains unwaveringly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, supports our attitudes. Chou En-lai has given the Soviet Union a stern reply in connection with Kosygin's answer.

It should be known that there are socialist countries and other communist parties which appreciate our correct stand. After all, millions of genuine communists throughout the world are fighting on this course.

The Central Committee will be kept constantly informed of the further development of the situation. It is important that we inform the whole Party too. Now the Political Bureau has taken a decision to send a letter to all the branches of the Party, in which the situation developed since the sending of the first letter will be explained. This measure has great importance, for our strength resides in the Party. The Party must be clear so that, when the occasion arises it will be able to explain the situation to the people. Naturally we are not going to hold meetings with the people, but these matters must be made known to them, we must explain our problems to them. The people should know the issues in the spirit of our Party. After all, these issues are known to London, why should our people not know them. All the materials of the Moscow Meeting have fallen into the hands of the British who may have got them in Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary or elsewhere. The speech we delivered in Moscow is being commented on bit by bit in newspapers there and the public is reading it.

After the text of the letter which the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA had prepared for the CC of the CPSU, was read and approved, comrade Enver Hoxha concluded:

Since this matter for the second item on the agenda of this Plenum is done jointly with the Government, I propose that the letter, which was read and approved here, should be addressed not only to the CC of the CPSU, but also to the Soviet government and be sent for their information to the central committees of the parties and governments of all socialist countries.  

1) Nuri Ken, Councelor at the Embassy of the USSR in the PR of Albania.
2) T. Zhukov, first secretary of the CC of the CP Bulgaria, known as an obedient lackey of the Moscow revisionists.
3) W. Stoph, at that time vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's Defence of the GDR.
4) J. Kadar, 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 consequence of the campaign launched by N. Khrushchev against the so-called sectarianism, he was rehabilitated. At the time of the October-December 1955 events in Hungary, the modern revisionists, mainly the Soviet ones, placed him at the head of the Hungarian government and later on also of the Hungarian Party.
5) The delegation on of the CP of Bulgaria gave the bust of George Dimitrov to the IV Congress of the PLA.
6) This proposal was unanimously approved. The letter has been published in the newspaper Zëri i Popullit and the Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. IV, p. 25, Tirana, 1979.
of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. Through the secretariat of this meeting, sends you the following reply:

From the above mentioned letter, as well as from the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania who 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 international communist movement, which was maintained there by the author of the said letter towards the Party of Labour of Albania. In recent times, beginning with the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, N.S. Krushchev, and the first secretaries of some communist and workers' parties of socialist countries participants in the Warsaw Treaty, have made a custom of 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 sister parties, as brutal interference in the internal affairs of our Party, as 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 sister party, such as the Party of Labour of Albania, clearly demonstrates that its authors are deliberately going farther 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 movement, the interests of the Warsaw Treaty, a course which can bring joy only to our common enemies.

In its letter of July 22, 1961, addressed to W. 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 organisational 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, who will be authorised 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 N.S. Krushchev nor W. Ulbricht nor any one else is in a position, and neither is 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 sister 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 Aliu, 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 United Party of Germany, the United Workers Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and the Workers' Party of Rumania, not to allow the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania to take part in the said meeting, as unlawful, as 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 sister 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 sister 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. Then where is this 'ignoring of the collective opinion of the sister 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 sister parties;
the first secretaries of the central committees of the Commu-
nist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Cze-
choslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United
Workers’ Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria,
the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party, and the Workers’
Party of Rumania, 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 La-
bour 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 overwhelming majority of the participating par-
ties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party
of Germany, the United Workers’ Party of Poland, etc., were
not represented by the heads of their delegations. Besides
this, many sister 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 A. Novotny left this meeting, but
despite this nobody has even thought of making accusations
against these parties, and particularly 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 con-
cerning 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 United Party of Germany, the United Workers’
Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Hun-
garian Socialist Workers’ Party and the Workers’ Party of
Rumania, committed an unprecedented crime: they denied
to the Party of Labour of Albania which has always loyally
defended and continues to defend the principles of Marx-
ism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to 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 under foot
every Leninist law and principle governing the relations among
sister 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 Alba-
nia, at the end of the proceedings of the meeting of August
3, 1961 an announcement was given to the press, in which the
reality is falsified, 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 re-
mains a bitter and undeniable fact that they are seriously
harassing 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 condemnable
actions towards the Party of Labour of Albania, they unscru-
puulously violated every Leninist norm of relations among
sister communist and workers’ parties; they did not even in-
form the Central Committee of our Party about the develop-
ment of the proceedings of the meeting of August 3-5, 1961
and the measures adopted there. Up to date neither the deci-
sions 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 sister party cannot be described other-
wise 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 pro-
blems which are concerning the international communist and
workers’ movement, the socialist camp and the Warsaw Trea-
ty, today, such for example as the German problem.

But they went even further. As it emerges from the deci-
sions 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,
apt 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 consi-
ders 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 organisers of this unprecedented act,
which has the aim of putting the People’s Republic of Alba-
nia effectively outside the Warsaw Treaty, took upon them-
selves 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 some leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet
Union, with N. Khrushchev at the head, and some leaders
of the communist and workers’ parties of the socialist coun-
tries of Europe, in the relations with the Party of Labour of
Albania and the People’s Republic of Albania 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 for
these unlawful and profoundly anti-Marxist actions, 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 United Party of Germany, the United Workers’ Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party and the Workers’ Party of Rumania 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 is still 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, 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 out 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 authorised 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, on any occasion and as always we shall be in solidarity to the end and shall do our duty honourably».

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? N. S. Khrushchev himself publicly declared, in November 1958, that after six months the realisations 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 has 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 S. Khrushchev reproached the Party of Labour of Albania because it allegedly pursues 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, 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 oppress 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 proved themselves many times over in the struggle against imperialism and its tools, who have unflinchingly resisted every threat and provocation by the enemies of socialism, who have mercifully 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 panted 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 stemmed 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 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 not in the least friendly 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 Unified 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 inventions from start to finish. In fact we have carried out all the existing agreements, all the duties with which we have been charged by the Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces in the letter. 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 Unified 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 A. A. Grechko, in October 1960 and on March 27,1961. It is not we, but precisely the Unified 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 Albanian 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 naval base of Vlores. 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 naval base of Vlore, 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 Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty, about the operational and combat training of the Albanian Army for the 1961 educational year, has not been carried out. It has been violated without any reason or warning. The Unified 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, that, in the context of the reciprocal exchange of experience, 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 its obligations in a correct manner, both towards the other Warsaw Treaty member countries, and towards the Unified Command. Whereas, on the contrary, the leaders of the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and the Unified 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 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 slander 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 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 cor
ALBANIA TODAY

In a joint communiqué, we shall keep the Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty and all the socialist countries informed. At the same time, we demand and shall demand that the Unified Command and the governments of the socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, too, fulfill 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 as a heavy burden», etc. The ridiculous position in which the authors of these declarations have placed themselves is really deplorable. How could a small country like Albania, which is building socialism in the conditions of the capitalist geographic encirclement, under the continuous pressure of the conspiracies, provocations, and threats of the imperialists, the Greek monarchists, 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 stemming 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 upheld 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 dark purposes, 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 attitudes of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is undermining the unity and solidarity 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 N.S. Khrushchev at the head, and of the other communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe, headed by A. Novotny, W. Ulbricht, W. Gomulka, T. Zhivkov, J. Kadar and G. Cheosghu — Dej, who, by their actions against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, actions 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. 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 W. 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 solidarity 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 N.S. Khrushchev at the head, and leaders of other socialist countries of Europe who, with their anti-Marxist and by no means friendly actions, 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 neither the imperialists, nor the Yugoslav revisionists have achieved 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 de-
WE MUST GIVE THE OPEN ATTACKS OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS THE REPLY THEY DESERVE

Contribution to the discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA

October 20, 1961

As you know comrades, the Soviet revisionists have attacked us openly. They have continued their attacks against us.

Up till now we have maintained a correct, Marxist-Leninist attitude towards the Soviet leadership, not bringing out the differences we have with it before world public opinion. But, Khrushchev has publicly attacked us and denounced us over these differences, thus violating the Leninist norms of relations among the parties, as well as the decisions of the 1960 Moscow Meeting. Now we find ourselves faced with open attacks of conspirators, about which the entire world public has heard. It is our right to reply to these revisionist attacks. For our Party, the stage of holding back, the stage in which we had made proposals for the resolution of the problems, is over. Therefore we must give their attacks the reply they deserve. If the comrades agree, I propose that we should make a statement in the name of the Central Committee of the Party, and publish it in the press in which we point out our attitude to this situation.

It is known that the conspiracy was concocted by N. Khrushchev in Bucharest. This conspiracy, carried out by him and his henchmen against the interests of the world communist and workers' movement, is still going on: now the Soviet revisionists are attacking us within and outside their own country. In such conditions the Party of Labour of Albania must be defended, therefore whichever of the other parties wants to defend our Party let it do so, for in this way it defends Marxism-Leninism.

After the draft-statement is read out, and is discussed with the comrades of the Political Bureau expressing their unanimous support, comrade Enver Hoxha continues:

Khrushchev is trying to mobilise all international communism against our Party, but we, too, have the right to act..
There are two courses of action in the struggle against the Soviet revisionists: the one is to write articles and the other is to publish the documents of our Party. We shall write articles too, however it seems to me that the publication of the documents is the better variant, but this must be done from the beginning, from the first documents, so that every one will have a complete idea of how the events have developed. Therefore, we must begin the publication of our documents and, if not today, tomorrow, publish them all in the press. 3)

1) At this meeting the Political Bureau discussed the future attitude towards the Soviet revisionist leadership which publicly attacked the PLA and its leadership from the tribune of the XXIII Congress of the CPSU on October 17, 1961.

2) This statement of the CC of the PLA, which was published in the newspaper "Zeri i Popullit" on the 21st of October 1961, is being published also on the pages of this review.

3) At the beginning some of these documents were published in the pamphlet "The truth about the Albanian-Soviet relations" which has been translated also in a number of foreign languages.

TWENTY YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY LIFE AND STRUGGLE

from the speech delivered at the festive meeting commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA

November 7, 1961

Comrades,

The founding of the Party of Labour of Albania took place at one of the most critical moments in the history of the small, long-suffering, but heroic, Albanian people. Black clouds were hovering over our homeland, Albania, at that time. After the dark period of Zog's feudal-bourgeois regime, still more savage and more dangerous enemies — the fascist invaders, rushed against our oppressed and exploited, hungry, massacred and betrayed people, but unbent like our high mountains. Fascist slavery endangered the very existence of our nation. A danger of death was menacing at that time all the freedom-loving peoples of the world: Hitlerite Germany, encouraged and incited by the capitulating policy of the great imperialist powers, after having subjugated many countries of Europe through fire and sword, rushed like a wild beast against the homeland of socialism — the Soviet Union.

In those difficult days for our long-suffering people and homeland, in the profound darkness covering the country, a glowing spark arose, which kindled the unquenched fire of the liberation struggle, that wiped away invaders and traitors like a storm, our Party was born.

The Communist Party of Albania was created by the Albanian communists, it was born as a result and as a crowning of the up to that time struggle of the working class of our country, of the liberation movement and efforts of the Albanian people. Precisely the workers' and communist movement, existing in our country since prior to the fascist occupation, although not much developed and formed, is the basis on which our Party was founded.

The thoroughly anti-popular and capitulating policy of the satrap regime of Zog, which had immeasurably increased the poverty and sufferings of the people, which barbarously suppressed everything progressive and which had sold out the country to foreigners, the fascist occupation later, which robbed us of our freedom, independence and sovereignty endangering the very existence of our people as a nation, all these things had increased the dissatisfaction of the broad people's masses to the maximum and had created a thoroughly revolutionary situation in our country. The people wanted bread, wanted land, they wanted to enjoy the elementary rights of man, they wanted freedom for their homeland. But the people lacked leadership. In these conditions, the sound communists, who belonged to the communist groups of that time, left aside the quarrels and narrow interests of the groups and began an active and determined activity for the creation of the Communist Party of Albania.

The entry of the Soviet Union in the armed struggle against fascism was another powerful impulse which speeded up the creation of our Party. The perfidious attack of the Hitlerite
hordes against the Soviet Union, the homeland of socialism, the friend and supporter of all the oppressed and exploited and of all the peoples, was a dagger in the heart for every communist, for the international working class, for the entire progressive mankind. But, at the same time, the entry of the powerful Soviet Union in the war opened to our people, as well as to all the people enslaved by fascism, the reliable perspective of liberation from fascist slavery.

Our Party was born as a Marxist-Leninist party and was set up according to the Leninist principles of building the party. From the beginning it made Marxism-Leninism, the triumphant ideas of the great October Socialist Revolution as its banner, it was guided by them and defended them always with loyalty, never making concessions in principles. The cadres of our Party had not graduated from higher schools and universities, nor were they office philosophers, but in fight with the merciless tides of life, in hardships and struggle with the enemies of the Party and people, for the liberation of the homeland and the construction of socialism, they were convinced of the correctness and life-giving strength of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, they mastered these teachings, were moulded with them and became capable of implementing them in the concrete historical conditions of our homeland, and of working out a correct political line at any moment and under any circumstance.

Our Party was born as a party of the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and all the working people, for the national interests of our people. It emerged from the ranks of the working people, it grew and tempered itself with the people, it shared sufferings and joys with them, it threw itself into fire and flames with the people and for the people, being always in the front ranks of the struggle, it found strength and support with the people at the most difficult moments. It inherited and developed further the best traditions of our heroic people: valiancy, courage and undaunted persistence in the struggle to reach the objective and overcome the difficulties, hatred for the enemies, firm loyalty towards, and respect for, the true friends, honesty and love for the right. From their very experience, from life itself and facts, our people were convinced that they have in the Party of Labour their leader loyal to the end, capable of successfully leading them from victory to victory towards the bright future, the undaunted defender of their interests. Therefore, they are united with the Party as one, and there is no force and intrigue on earth that can break this steel-like unity. Because it has always had inscribed on its banner the vital interests of the people, our Party has been able to maintain always a correct general line even in the most complicated circumstances, because it has always been linked with the masses like flesh to bone, it has been able to cope with the most rabid storms and attacks of the enemies.

Our Party was born as a fighting detachment of the international communist movement. It has always marched parallel with the world communist movement and the socialist camp, as their worthy member, in the common struggle against fascism and for the construction of socialism and communism, for peace and the peoples' freedom, carrying out its internationalist duties honourably at any time and in any situation.

Founded on these sound bases, our Party outlined from the beginning a clear program which, like a beacon-light, opened the perspective and became a banner of struggle for our people: uninterrupted and uncompromising struggle against the fascist invaders and local traitors, the gathering and organization of the people in a general armed uprising, with a view to achieving the complete liberation of the country and barring the way to any imperialist domination in Albania; the destruction to its foundations of the old anti-popular state power of the fascist invader and the exploiting classes, the setting up of the national liberation councils as the embryo of the people's state power and the establishment of the regime of people's democracy in our homeland; the carrying out after the liberation of the country of the great social and economic transformations in the interest of the people and the holding of general elections to the Constituent Assembly, which would decide on the form of the regime. Such was the immediate program of our Party, the program of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution, which was based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, at the same time taking into account the concrete historical conditions and features of our country.

As a Marxist-Leninist party, as a revolutionary party of the working class, our Party had in its ultimate program the emancipation of Albania on the road of socialism, the building of the socialist and communist society in our homeland.

But it was clear to our Party that there did not exist any unsurmountable gap between these two programs, that they were not divided by some wall, that they constituted two links of a single chain, which complemented one another. Enlightened by the Leninist teachings on the transformation of the democratic revolution into socialist revolution, our Party had always a clear perspective, it did not forget for a single moment that the decisive victory of our people, with the working class and its communist Party at the head in the National Liberation War, was the indispensable condition for the further achievements of our people, for their embarkment upon the road of socialism.

With such a correct Marxist-Leninist line, the Party guided reliably and led the National Liberation War of our people to victory, resolutely and unwaveringly manoeuvring from correct positions in any circumstance, however complicated it may have been.

The call of the Party for armed and uncompromising struggle against the occupiers and traitors was met with a great patriotic and revolutionary drive by the entire Albanian people: the heroic working class of our country, which although small in number became the worthy leader of the people's revolution; the labouring peasantry, thirsty of land and freedom, the faithful and powerful ally of the working class; the patriotic and progressive intelligentsia, which fought for our freedom and national culture; our glorious youth with their fiery hearts, who, not sparing even their lives, dedicated all their youthful passion and energies to the sacred cause of the liberation and the realization of the centuries-old dream of our long-suffering people for a happy life; the valiant women of Albania, who took off the yoke and resolved resolutely and threw off fanaticism and took up arms to fight arm-in-arm with the men for the freedom of their homeland and for their own rights: all the honest people, patriots and anti-fascists, who placed the lofty interests of the homeland above their individual interests. All these great people's forces, under the leadership of the Party, united in the National Liberation Anti-fascist Front. This front did not constitute a union of the gentry of the coun-
But nor a coalition of various political parties, but a direct organization of the broad labouring and patriotic masses themselves under the leadership of a single party, the Communist Party of Albania, which expressed the vital interests of the labouring people. At the foundation of this broad people's front was the alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, an alliance which constituted the social basis of the political army of the people's revolution in our country.

Under the leadership of the Party, the liberation struggle in our country broke out with an uncontrollable drive and turned into an armed general uprising of the entire people. Just like a small snowball which, rolling downhill, grows little by little and turns into a powerful avalanche, which wipes away furiously everything it runs against, and shakes mountains and plains like an earthquake, so from the first partisan guerrillas and units, which at the beginning were small in number, but being increased day by day with the best sons and daughters of the people, the powerful partisan National Liberation Army was created, which in 1944 counted over 70,000 fighters organized into brigades, divisions and armymcorps. It was a truly people's army, which was born from the fold of the people and fought for the people. The people brought it up with new blood, they fed and clothed it, maintained and supported it unreservedly in the difficult struggle against the Italian and German fascist invaders and local traitors. With the militant slogans of the Party «Freedom is not donated, but won with struggle and blood» and «Death to fascism - Freedom to the people!», our partisan army fought with an unmatched heroism, as inscribed with its blood new glorious pages in the history of our warrior and freedom-loving people. On the 29th of November 1944, our valiant partisans liberated completely our homeland from the invaders and traitors. Tens of thousands of martyrs, communists and non-party patriots, laid down their lives in this sacred and glorious war, with their pure blood they paved the way for our people to march ahead towards the happy life, socialism and communism. Let us honour, comrades, their memory which will live in centuries shining with glory!

The Communist Party of Albania stood always unshakable on the front ranks of the National Liberation War of our people, never allowing compromises in principles and valuations in the face of the enemy. The communists were always in the most dangerous place, inspiring by their example all the fighters for freedom. Many of the leaders and best sons of the Party heroically fell while on duty.

Along with the undaunted struggle against the Italian and German fascist invaders, the Party carried out a major work to expose before the entire people the betrayal of the exploiting classes, the feudal and big bourgeoisie and their organizations «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legalisti» which had placed themselves at the service of the invaders, as well as the efforts of the Anglo-American imperialists to disrupt and hinder the National Liberation War of our people. Remaining loyal to its clear Marxist-Leninist program, the Party never allowed that the traitorous organizations, which had not fired a single shot against fascism, deceive the people, occupy different positions in the state power after the liberation of the country.

Thanks to the correct class stand of our Party, to its determined tactics, with the liberation of the country the whole state power passed over completely, from the beginning, into the hands of the working class in alliance with all the labouring and patriotic masses of the country, into the hands of a single party, the Communist Party of Albania. This was the fundamental condition which allowed our country to embark without delay upon the course of the socialist development.

The liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power laid down other great and difficult tasks before our Party and people, to carry the people's revolution through to the end, to reconstruct the war-ravaged country and carry it forward on the road of the socialist construction.

Within a very short historical period of about 17 years, our country, under the wise leadership of the Party, liquidated the profound backwardness it had inherited from the past and was transformed from an entirely backward agrarian country, almost without industry and with a primitive agriculture, into an agrarian-industrial country. Whole branches of industry were created, such as the textile, timber-processing, food and mechanical engineering industries; the oil and useful minerals extracting and processing industries assumed a broad development, etc.

During the 1st five-year plan (1951-1955) about 150 important industrial and social-cultural objects were set up, over 250 more were set up during the 2nd five-year plan (1956-1960). Before our eyes, where there used to be plains, desolated hills or swamps, tens upon tens of wonderful projects were erected which our people is proud of today.

The Albanian people, formerly oppressed and ignorant, who always looked at other countries with envy, who expected everything from Europe, from the water gas and up to the petroleum, are present, with their own people's state power and under the leadership of the Party, are creating a new life with their own hands. The total industrial production in our country has increased 25 times in comparison with the pre-war period. That which was produced by the existing industry of the country during the entire year 1938, is now produced by our new socialist industry only in 15 days. In the Fier district alone, which is mainly an agricultural district, industrial production is today about 1.6 times larger than the total industrial production of the whole of Albania in 1938.

Our Party has been guided in the socialist industrialization by the Marixist-Leninist principle of the development of the means of production at more rapid rates, therefore importance has been attached to the development, in the first place, of heavy industry, particularly mining industry, the development of the power base of the country, etc. But taking into account the features of our small country, with limited possibilities of manpower and material and financial means, which made impossible the setting up of all the branches of heavy industry, as well as the urgent needs of our people for consumer goods, various branches of food and light industry have also been developed along with heavy industry.

The great successes achieved in the industrialization of the country, constitute a big historic step in the construction of socialism and a sound basis for the further and more rapid development of our homeland on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

The socialist transformation of our countryside, too, ended with success in general lines. On such important and delicate question of socialist construction, our Party has been con-
has been eliminated for ever, our working people enjoy the
right to work, to a paid annual leave, disability and senes.
ity; work pensions, free of charge medical service and educa-
ion. Cast a glance around our cities and villages and you
will see that they have been transformed into construction
sites, where tons upon tons of new dwelling houses are
being erected every day for the people. During 1960 alone our
State has spent in the city of Tirana for the construction of
blocks of flats about two times more means than there were
spent in 1938 throughout Albania for all kinds of construc-
tion work. Electric light is being introduced in our country
for the first time, using electric power. In the 1950-1960
decade the peasants have built up with their own means about
47,000 new houses, without calculating here the construc-
tion work carried out in the countryside by the state and the agri-
cultural cooperatives. The price reductions are also a vivid
testimony to the increase of the wellbeing of the working
people. From 1950 to 1960, 9 price reductions have been ef-
forced one after another in our country, from which the popula-
tion has an annual profit of over 7 billion and 900 million leks.

A deep-going socialist revolution is being carried out in our
country, Albania, which not long ago was considered as the
most backward country in Europe, where over 80 per cent of
the population was illiterate, has radically changed. Knowl-
dge took the place of ignorance, light of darkness. One out
of five persons attends school. Art and culture are becoming the
property of the people with every passing day. The opera, ci-
nematography, a wide network of hearts of culture, reading
homes, have been created. The State University of Tirana and
other institutes of higher learning, being attended by more
than 9,000 students, have been set up for the first time. A wide
stratum of the people's intelligentsia, loyal to the great cause
of socialism and communism, has been created and is growing
day by day.

As you know, the historic 4th Congress of our Party, which
held its proceedings in February this year, arrived at the con-
clusion that the construction of the economic base of soc-
ialism has been successfully accomplished in our country.
As a result, the exploiting classes have been liquidated as a
class, and the exploitation of man by man has been wiped out.

Today there exist in our country only two friendly classes — the
working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the
stratum of the people's intelligentsia, which, under the leader-
ship of the working class and its Party of Labour have the
state power in their hands and carry the socialist construction
of the country forward. Now our country is embarking on a
new stage of the socialist construction — the stage of the com-
plete construction of the socialist society. The main link for
the complete construction of socialism in our country is the
complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism.
The first steps towards its creation have been taken during the
two previous five-year plans, while the 3rd five-year plan will
be an important step forward on the road of the complete
construction of the material-technical base of socialism. During
this five-year period over 400 big industrial and social-cultural
objects will be set up and put into operation completely or
partially.

The 3rd five-year plan opens great prospects also in the
field of agriculture, the raising of the material well-being of
the people, the further development of the cultural revolution.
as well as in all fields of the social life of the country, to fulfill and overfulfill the targets of the State plan for 1961, which is the first year of the 3rd five-year plan.

The satisfactory results achieved by our working people, mobilized to carry out in practice the historic decisions of the 4th Congress of the Party and in honour of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party, are a sound guarantee for the fulfillment of the 1961 plan ahead of schedule. They are a clear indication of our people's determination to march forward unwaveringly on the road indicated to them by the Party, making light of difficulties and obstacles which the imperialists and various revisionists are trying to raise on their way. Glory to our heroic people!

Bearing in mind that our country is under the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist encirclement, the Party has taught our heroic people to keep their vigilance always sharp, build socialism holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other and not dropping the latter from their hand as long as imperialism and its tools will exist in the world. Our Party has continually borne in mind the question of the defense of the freedom and independence of our country. It has always devoted a special concern to the constant strengthening of the defensive might of the country, the continual raising of the fighting capacity and preparedness of our People's Army, the State Security and Border forces. We can joyfully inform our people that our glorious armed forces are in a position and full fighting preparedness to defend the People's Republic of Albania successfully and give the rebuff to any enemy who would dare touch the sacred borders of our beloved socialist homeland.

Dear comrades,

Such is in general lines the course our glorious Party has traversed during the 20 years of its existence, such are the historic victories our people have achieved under the wise leadership of the Party.

We owe these victories above all to the heroic struggle and efforts of our people, their ardent patriotism, their unshakable determination, their creative abilities and talent. This has been and remains the decisive factor of the liberation of our country and the construction of the socialist and communist society in our country.

We owe these victories to the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, which, at all stages and moments, has had a correct general line. Life itself, practice, show that this is a Marxist-Leninist line, fully responding to the vital interests of the Albanian people, as well as to the common interests of the international communist movement, of our great cause of revolution and socialism, of the freedom of the peoples and peace.

Our Party has always preserved its Marxist-Leninist line crystal-pure, it has defended it in fierce struggle with various enemies and deviationists, from Anastas Lula and Sadik Premtë, Ymer Dishnica and Sejfulla Mailëshova down to Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu, Liri Gega and Liri Bellahova, etc., who have sought to divert the Party from its correct course. But our Party remained always unshakable like a granite-rock. In this struggle it preserved and strengthened further day by day the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, as one of the most important factors of our victories, of the strength and invincibility of our Party in the face of any enemy. We shall preserve this unity like the apple of the eye and shall strengthen it ever more.

Convinced by their very experience of the correctness of the line of our Party, our people have backed up and supported the Party unreservedly, at all moments and in all circumstances, they have united around it in an unbreakable monolithic unity. In this unity resides the unshakable strength of our Party and people, the sound guarantee of all the past, present and future victories of the people. This unity is the heaviest blow against all the enemies of our Party and people, the imperialists and revisionists of all hues. We, Party and people, will preserve this unity like the apple of the eye and will strengthen it unceasingly day by day.

The great historic victories our people have achieved in the struggle for the liberation of the country and for the construction of socialist in a free, independent and sovereign Albania, are due also to the internationalist aid and support which the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries have given and still give to our country. The Party and the Albanian people will be grateful to them for ever for this generous aid. This aid is a wonderful expression of the friendship binding our people with the glorious peoples of the Soviet Union, with the great Chinese people and with all the peoples of the other socialist countries.

Dear comrades,

We are celebrating the 20th glorious anniversary of our Party in new international conditions very favourable to the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. Twenty years ago, when the Albanian Communist Party was founded, the world was ruled by the capitalist system — a system of oppression and savage exploitation of peoples. The Soviet Union, the first country of victorious socialism, was at that time encircled on all sides by capitalist countries. Whole continents were suffering under the colonial yoke of imperialism. The most reactionary forces of bourgeoisie, the fascist and militarist states, incited by the most aggressive circles of international imperialism, had unleashed the Second World War, they had put under their yoke whole nations and, like wild beasts, they were rushing against the off spring of the great October Socialist Revolution — the Soviet Union.

Today, after 20 years, great radical changes have taken place in the world. Owing to the great Patriotic War of the Soviet peoples, in the first place, there was achieved the historic victory over fascism. New states broke away from the capitalist system and embarked on the road of socialism. The People's Revolution triumphed in China; this is the greatest historic event after the October Socialist Revolution.

The irresistible development of socialism and the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples inevitably led to the collapse of the colonial slavery system of imperialism. Forty-two new states, with a total population of more than 1 billion and 200 million, have won freedom and national independence. While after the First World War the countries enslaved and controlled by imperialism made up more than 77 per cent of the territory of the world and accounted for about 70 per cent of the world population, now such countries occupy only over 10 per cent of the area and account for about 3 per cent of the world population. The dissolution of
the colonial system of imperialism is another event of great international importance.

As a result of these changes, the sphere of domination of imperialism has been greatly narrowed, its general crisis has further deepened, all its internal and external class and national contradictions have sharpened. Today imperialism is no more the only and all-powerful ruler in the world. It can no more lord over it. Its laws do not operate everywhere in the world.

Such is the reality of our days and this reality convincingly shows that the balance of forces in the world today has changed to the advantage of socialism and to the detriment of imperialism. The forces of socialism, the forces of national liberation, peace and democracy are superior to the forces of imperialism, colonialism, war and reaction. All these things have created in the world a new situation, very favourable conditions to carry out even more successfully the struggle against imperialism, for peace and for the accomplishment of the socialist, national liberation, democratic and people’s revolutions.

The Party of Labour of Albania recognizes and understands the deep changes that have taken place in the world, the new conditions and phenomena that have arisen. But we reject all and every attempt being made by the present-day revisionists, who, under the slogans of the ‘creative interpretation of Marxism in the new conditions’, are spreading their false and opportunist viewpoints, they are seeking to sell them as a ‘further development of Marxism’, and they hasten to stigmatize as dogmatist, sectarian and adventurer anyone who goes on record against such viewpoints. This is a known tactics. There is nothing new, nothing original in this. All the revisionists and opportunists beginning with Bernstein and ending with Tito, under the guise of the ‘changes in the situation’ and of the ‘new phenomena’, have denied the basic principles of Marxism. As V.I. Lenin used to say, by always masking themselves under the slogan of the fight against dogmatism, using the catch-word: ‘dogmatist’, they have risen against Marxism.

From the changes that have occurred in the world, there must be drawn correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist conclusions, there must be drawn such conclusions as not to create reformist and pacifist illusions and weaken the struggle against imperialism, but to strengthen and enrich this just struggle; there must be drawn such conclusions as not to alienate the peoples from the cause of revolution, but bring them ever closer to it, not divert them from the struggle for their national liberation, but raise this struggle to an ever higher level.

Let us take the problem of war and peace. Does it mean that the change in the balance of forces to the advantage of socialism has brought about also a change in the nature of imperialism, that imperialism has been tied up hands and feet, that it is unable to do anything, to unleash wars and undertake various aggressive actions? Such a conclusion is not only erroneous, but also very harmful. The underestimated of the forces of the enemy and the overestimated of our own forces weakens our vigilance and pushes us into dangerous adventures, just as the underestimation of our own forces and the overestimation of the forces of the enemy leads to unprincipled concessions, to mistakes and opportunist attitudes. Proceeding from the real balance of forces in the world today, our Party has pointed out and continues to point out that in the question of war and peace both eventualities must be considered and we must be prepared for both, for war being prevented, as well as for it being unleashed on the part of the imperialists. Our deep conviction that at the present time a world war and other aggressive wars which imperialism unleashes can be prevented is by no means based on the ‘good intentions’ of the chiefs of imperialism, but on the economic, political and military power of the socialist countries, on the unity and struggle of the international working class, on the resolute efforts of the peoples of the whole world against the imperialist war-mongers, on the unity and compactness of all the peace-loving forces.

During all the years of the existence of the people’s power, the Government of the People’s Republic of Albania has resolutely and consistently pursued a foreign policy which has fully met the interests of our people and homeland, the interests of the defence of freedom and national independence, as well as the interests of the whole camp of socialism and of the cause of peace and progress of human society. The foundation of the foreign policy of the Party of Labour of Albania has always been and remains to be: constant strengthening of the relations of friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual support and assistance with the countries of the socialist camp; support for the national liberation, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations, as well as for the revolutionary struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries; efforts to secure relations of peaceful coexistence of the People’s Republic of Albania with the capitalist countries, especially with the neighbouring countries; efforts for the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world, especially in the Balkan and Adriatic area; exposure of the policy of war and aggression pursued by the imperialist powers headed by the United States of America and their partners and tools round our country, such as the Italian imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists.

In the foreign policy our Party and Government have always marched arm-in-arm with the other socialist countries in their efforts for the preservation and strengthening of the world peace. They have always approved and energetically supported the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries for the settlement of the most important international problems. And this foreign policy of the People’s Republic of Albania has always met the full approval of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which have always considered it as a correct policy, to the advantage of our common cause.

But of late, N. Khrushchev and company turned their coal and are accusing us at times of being ‘adventurers and war-mongers’ and at times of a ‘rapprochement’ with imperialism. Those who are accusing us, besides slanders and inventions, have no argument, not a single fact to prove that the foreign policy of the People’s Republic of Albania has changed. Nothing has changed in our foreign policy. Our attitude also has not changed either as regards the questions of war and peace, or as regards the struggle against imperialism, or with the neighbouring states.

Twenty years of revolutionary life and struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania reject all these base slanders and
inventions which have caused a profound indignation to, and have irritated, our people who have heroically fought and continue to fight against imperialism and its henchmen. Those who accuse and slander the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership are unable to adduce even a single fact that could prove their allegations, while we are in a position to present many documented facts clearly showing their estrangement from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and of the struggle against imperialism. We have never cherished illusions about our enemies, we have not embraced and kissed them, we have not flattered them and we have not caressed them, we have never bowed to them. Our Party and state have always maintained a firm, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand towards the enemies of peace and socialism; they have sharply and constantly exposed the imperialists, whether US or British, French or Italian, and their policy of war and aggression; they have been irreconcilable with the class enemies. Our Party and state have sympathized with and have energetically and unreservedly supported the just cause of the peoples who have risen in struggle against imperialism. They have rendered all their support to the fraternal Algerian, Cuban, Congolese, Laotian and other peoples in their heroic struggle against imperialism, resolutely condemning all the aggressive attempts of imperialism.

For all this 'good' which our Party has done to imperialism during these 20 years, it has been rewarded by it and its tools with a fierce and relentless fight which they have carried out against the People's Republic of Albania through continuous plots and provocations, through diversion, blackmail and successive slanders.

They accuse us of being afraid of imperialism, of being afraid to assume responsibility for the settlement of important international questions.

The question arises: Who fears indeed, who is afraid of the responsibility for the settlement of the German issue, who is dragging it on? Who that have stood and continue to stand for its earliest possible solution, or our accusers who have backed out on this question and have dragged it on from year to year?

Or let us take the disarmament problem. It is a matter of common knowledge that our Government has supported the proposal for disarmament, because as long as the arms exist and the armaments race is being conducted, as long as disarmament is not effected, there is no security for peace. But we are aware that disarmament is a difficult problem. To force its solution upon the imperialists, great efforts must be made as well as resolute struggle must be waged by the socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces. But, N. Khrushchev, instead of pursuing such a correct path, is seeking to disarm a socialist country such as the People's Republic of Albania, which is encircled on all parts by enemies. By weakening the defensive might of the People's Republic of Albania he damaged, not only the interests of our country, but also those of the entire camp of socialism. And all this is done at a time when the US 6th fleet is roaming about like a monster in the Mediterranean, when US rocket bases have been established in Greece and Italy, when the NATO forces are feverishly continuing their armaments race, when the imperialists and revenge-seekers of West Germany are sabre-rattling and seriously endangering the world peace. N. Khrushchev should by no means have gone to such lengths as to openly incite the imperialists and various reactionaries against a socialist country such as the People's Republic of Albania. However, the defense of the Albanian borders is fully ensured.

In conditions when there exist in the world states with different social systems, the only just principle to govern the relations between them is the principle of peaceful coexistence, a principle outlined by Lenin and implemented also by Stalin.

Our Party of Labour has always thought and thinks that the policy of peaceful coexistence meets the vital interests of all the peoples, both of the socialist and capitalist countries; it meets the aim of the further strengthening of the positions of socialism and world peace. Therefore, this principle underlies the relations of our socialist state with the other non-socialist states.

It is absurd to accuse our Party and socialist state of allegedly standing against peaceful coexistence. This slander is refuted by the entire practical activity of our state in the field of foreign policy. We are not opposed to the principle of peaceful coexistence, but we do not agree with some opportunist viewpoints of N. Khrushchev and his followers who consider the peaceful coexistence as the general line of foreign policy of the socialist countries, as the main road to the victory of socialism on a world scale, who for the sake of peaceful coexistence renounce the struggle for the exposure of imperialism, who extinguish almost completely the ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionism under the pretext that in some foreign policy issues Yugoslavia supports the Soviet proposals. Such an interpretation of peaceful coexistence is erroneous and anti-Marxist because it leads to the denial of the class struggle. The correct implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, implying also the exposure of imperialism and its policy of war and aggression, must promote the development of the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries, as well as the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. On their part, the successes of the revolutionary class and national liberation struggle, by narrowing and weakening the positions of imperialism, promote the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence. The communist parties in the capitalist countries, parallel with the struggle to force the policy of peaceful coexistence on the bourgeois governments of their countries, are waging at the same time the class struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois power, for the transition to socialism according to the specific conditions of each country.

As regards the forms of transition to socialism, N. Khrushchev badly complicated this question, too, at the 20th Congress of the CP of the SU and later. He almost raised to absolute the peaceful way of the seizure of power by the working class, and thus the illusion was created that allegedly the working class and its communist party would be able to take power in their hands only by securing a parliamentary majority. Such theses were approved only by the revisionists and various opportunists who used them to justify their anti-Marxist viewpoints. We, the Albanian communists, have never been and are not a priori opposed to the peaceful way. But the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the historical experience and the reality of the present days teach us that, to secure the victory of the cause of socialism, the working class and its
party must prepare themselves simultaneously for both eventualities — the peaceful way and the non-peaceful one. To take one’s bearings only from the peaceful way to secure the victory of the cause of socialism means to embark on an erroneous path. Only by getting well prepared for the non-peaceful way, the chances grow also for the peaceful way.

This is how we understand the peaceful coexistence and its connection with the class struggle. This is how we understand and implement the policy of peaceful coexistence with the other non-socialist states, and in the first place with our neighbours.

It is strange that Nikita Khrushchev and his followers demand from us that we should put into effect the peaceful coexistence with our Greek neighbours. They accuse us of not marching along the same road with them as regards the proposals for the disarmament of the Balkan countries, they accuse us of not making efforts «for a Balkan understanding»; they join the chorus of the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists that we are allegedly the «war-mongers of the Balkans», at a time when Greece continues to consider itself in a «state of war» with Albania, when it advances territorial claims towards our country and is plotting to attack Albania. The charges of our critics are groundless, for no reasonable man can think that little Albania, does not stand for peace and disarmament.

How much monarcho-fascist Greece disdained and to what extent the hopes of those believing in such a thing were realized, this is a matter of common knowledge, it is shown by life, but that we should avoid criticizing Nikita Khrushchev (and this criticism was made by us in a comradely way) when he gives hopes to Sophocles Venizelos for an «autonomy of South Albania», this would be a treason on our part. Nikita Khrushchev did not like our just criticism. This is the least evil. But he turned our criticism into a counter-charge, accusing us of allegedly slandering the Soviet Union, which has liberated us and is defending us. This, of course, is machiavellian. But later the devil showed again his horns. At the time when the Americans, Greeks and Turks were carrying out their large-scale military manoeuvres around the borders of Albania and Bulgaria, N. Khrushchev, in his statement to the «New York Times» reporter, Sultzberger, on September 10, 1961, textually said: «You (Americans) have established bases also in Greece and you are threatening from there our ally Bulgaria». Has not perhaps monarcho-fascist Greece installed rockets also against Albania? How long is it that Nikita Khrushchev has decided that Albania should be no more an ally of the Soviet Union? This is monstrous. Are these unimportant questions? Is it permissible to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, even if he and socialist Albania were at daggers drawn, to openly tell the Greek reaction that socialist Albania is no more an ally of the Soviet Union and inform president Kennedy that the relations between the Soviet Union and Albania have deteriorated?

It is we, therefore, according to some, that view things as «sectarian nationalists», while others, who speculate on the interests of our people, are «Marxists». Tomorrow, these very same critics may hold us responsible also for the losses in election of the Greek progressive party — EDA. Do perhaps these self-styled Marxists think that we should hand the keys of our country to the Greek monarcho-fascists so that their line of «peaceful coexistence» may win or the seizure of power in Greece «in a peaceful and parliamentary way» may be achieved? No, they should not expect this from us. These self-styled Marxists should not forget that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have shown their great internationalism by saving tens of thousands of heroes of the Greek people and of the Greek Communist Party who, we are certain, do not split the horse after having crossed the river.

Such is the foreign policy that has been pursued by our Party and our Government. Such are our viewpoints about the problems of the present-day world development. It is precisely for these attitudes and these viewpoints that we are criticized, it is for this that N. Khrushchev attacked us at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this way, he first, unilaterally, made public our disputes, providing weapons to the enemy and assuming there a heavy historic responsibility as a splitter of the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp. Our Party of Labour has never publicly expressed our differences; it has dwelt on them only at party meetings, but now that N. Khrushchev made them public, our Party, too, is obliged to state openly its viewpoints.

N Khrushchev, accusing our Party in his speeches at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said that the Albanian-Soviet relations were spoiled for the fault of the Albanian leaders. It is well known that the 20 years of revolutionary activity of our Party are 20 years of tremendous work for the promotion of friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet peoples, for the establishment of closer fraternal ties between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union. Twenty years of the activity of our Party are 20 years of sincere faithfulness, of great fraternal love of our Party for Lenin's great Party which has always been for us a source of inspiration and experience, from which we have learned how to work and strive for the good of our people, for the cause of socialism and communism. Twenty years of the activity of our Party have been years of a fraternal internationalist aid to the Albanian people, which our Party and Government have rightly utilized for the economic development of our country, for the upbuilding of socialism in Albania, for the improvement of the living standards of the Albanian people.

In such conditions it is absurd and incredible to everyone to allege that it is the Albanian leaders who «without any reason» and «with an amazing quickness» have changed their attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Incredible is also the monstrous slander that the Albanian leaders have allegedly linked themselves to imperialism and have allegedly sold themselves to it «for 30 pieces of silver». Such «discoveries» may be believed by those who are fond of tales and detective novels, but by no serious man, for every honest person who knows something about the twenty-years old history of our Party, cannot fail to see that such a slander is not justified by any stand of our Party, by any action of its leaders. The Party of Labour of Albania, during its entire revolutionary path, has always fought and continues to fight with determination against imperialism and its agents; never in the past, at present and
the future has it stretched, is stretching or will stretch its hand to anybody for prudence, and lend so to imperialism and its allies. It has received and receives from its friends and brothers of the countries of the socialist camp not alms, but only internationalist aids in credit and it will continue to receive in the future, too, only from those socialist countries which will desire to offer to it such an aid. We ask for alms from nobody. If N. Khrushchev and his followers, for one reason or another, do not like to help us, they are expecting it in vain to address ourselves to the imperialists and their allies for alms. Our people have friends and comrades in the socialist countries who have not abandoned and will not abandon them. But, regardless of this, we tell N. Khrushchev that the Albanian people and their Party of Labour will stand on genuine and with honour rather than live with shame and knelt own.

Why then did the Soviet-Albanian relations deteriorate? is clear and well-known to N. Khrushchev himself and to the international communist movement. Khrushchev knows the true, for he himself is the culprit. We shall say only this: the June 1960 Bucharest meeting was the starting point. Differences had existed between our Party of Labour and the Soviet leadership even prior to June 1960 on some question of ideological and political nature; however they have not exerted any negative influence on the relations between our socialist states, between our two Marxist-Leninist parties. The Party of Labour of Albania has always declared, and declares now, too, that the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been a great help on our road for a upbuilding of the socialist society. However, for example as regards some special theses of principle of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our Party has not been and is not of the same opinion with the Soviet leadership, just as it is not also at present as regards many theses of the 22nd Congress of or of the new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union approved by the 22nd Congress, not our Party entitled to this? Is this not consistent with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism? Can this be considered an anti-Soviet attitude, as they are trying to accuse us?

The Soviet leaders consider as "anti-Marxist", "dogmatist", "sectarian", and "opposed to proletarian internationalism", etc., a party that is not of the same opinion with them as regards those theses of principle which were raised at the 20th congress. Moreover, the former member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, E. Furtseva, went to such lengths as to declare from the dais of the 22nd Congress that "how can they call themselves communists those persons who do not accept the decisions of the 20th Congress of our Party?" That is, according to some Soviet leaders, the criterion of loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards communism and proletarian internationalism, allegedly the attitude towards the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Can such a logic be Marxist? If all the communist and workers' parties in the world would adopt the new criteria invented by Furtseva, then only disagreement, let us say, with many revisionist theses of the 8th Congress of the Italian Communist Party would throw into misfortune millions of communists in the world and difficulties would be created for them, for they would not know to what address they should hand their party cards.

According to the Leninist principles governing the relations between Marxist parties, however important the congress of a party may be, however great and authoritative the party of a country may be, the decisions of its congress are binding only for its members. In the international communist movement all the parties — the Moscow Declaration points out — are equal and independent, they work out their policies proceeding from the specific conditions of their countries and guiding themselves by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The attempt to make the decisions of the congress of a party as international norms binding for all the parties is a crude violation of the principles of equality and independence of the Marxist-Leninist parties; it is in open contrast with proletarian internationalism. Therefore, it is not our Party, but the Soviet leadership, headed by N. Khrushchev, that has deviated from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, seeking to force its course upon the other parties, demanding from them to renounce their own viewpoints and obey and submit to them.

Whether our Party stands or not on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, this is by no means determined by its critical attitude towards some theses expressed by the leaders of some fraternal parties, nor by the subjective evaluation that may be made of its line and activity by N. Khrushchev and his followers. The criterion of truth is life, practice; therefore the individuals and the various parties should be judged by the facts, by their practical activity. The path traversed by the Party of Labour of Albania, the line it has pursued right from its founding, its 20-year old revolutionary activity, are the most convincing facts attesting to its firm loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards the vital interests of the Albanian people, towards the great cause of socialism and communism as well as towards the cause of world peace.

Our Party of Labour has made its special remarks about many theses of principle of the 20th Congress and about some stands of the Soviet leaders, with which it has not agreed, through normal party channels, observing thereby all the jointly established principles governing the relations between the fraternal parties. As regards our remarks relating to the foreign policy and the problems of the present-day world development, we mentioned them above. Let us now see another important problem about which we have held and continue to hold opinions different from those of the Soviet leaders. The question is about the attitude towards J. V. Stalin and his work.

According to the views of our Party, N. Khrushchev had to uncover first J. V. Stalin and his work in order to forward his opportunist theses to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and spread them later. He did this by his special report delivered at the 20th Congress "On the cult of the individual and its consequences". Our Party has not agreed and does not agree with the criticism against Stalin, as it was effected at the 20th Congress and later.

N. Khrushchev, slandering our Party at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and crudely interfering with our domestic affairs, said that the Albanian leaders are against the criticism of Stalin's cult of the individual,
because the methods of the cult of the individual are allegedly thriving in our Party, that terror and injustice are allegedly reigning in Albania. We shall not stop here to reject these slanders, but the fact that their author has fallen so low as to mobilize the public opinion against our Party using such arguments borrowed from the most rabid enemies of socialism and communism, shows his dark aims. It is evident that by linking at the 22nd Congress his unsubstantiated attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania with his “fight against Stalin’s cult and the anti-party group”, N. Khrushchev aimed at showing the “analogy” between the alleged “Albanian Stalinism” and the “epoch of the Stalinist crimes” in the Soviet Union, in order to create in this way the “atmosphere” he needed at the Congress and in the world public opinion to make his slanders more credible.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always taken and continues to take account of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the role of the masses, classes, party and leaders. It has always considered and continues to consider the manifestation of the cult of the individual as a phenomenon alien to Marxism-Leninism, harmful to a communist and workers’ party. Our Party has not hesitated, when the case has been, to criticize while still in embryo the various manifestations of this kind among its ranks, as it did at its 3rd Congress. Likewise, our Party, when the case has been, has boldly fought and has nipped in the bud any violation of the revolutionary legality, any abuse of the state power by anybody, as it did at its 1st Congress. Everybody knows what was the fate of the enemy of the Party and people Koci Xoxe and company, who, before the year 1948, incited by the Yugoslav revisionists and abusing the trust given to them by the people and Party, violated the state laws in order to dig the grave to many party and state cadres.

There does not exist in our Party either the sickness of the cult of the individual or the violation of the socialist legality. But at the same time, while guarding itself against the manifestations of the cult of the individual, our Party, in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, nourishes love and respect for its leaders, strictly observing the socialist legality, our Party and our people’s power are severe towards the enemies of our People’s Republic, towards all those who seek to bury the historic victories of our people.

The Party of Labour of Albania, therefore, has been and is opposed to the criticism done to J. V. Stalin at the 20th Congress and which was repeated also at the 22nd Congress for some other reasons of principle.

According to the viewpoint of our Party, J. V. Stalin, in his entire theoretical and practical activity, has been and remains one of the most distinguished leaders and personalities not only of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also of the international communist and workers’ movement, one of the most ardent defenders and greatest theoreticians of Marxism-Leninism. His great historic merit lies in the fact that for many years in succession he had been a loyal disciple and determined comrade-in-arms of V. I. Lenin in the struggle for the overthrow of tsarism and the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution; following Lenin’s death, heading the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he faithfully defended Leninism against the rabid attacks by the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites and other enemies and routed them ideologically and politically. J. V. Stalin, as the main leader of the Party, made a great contribution to the successful direction of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and the great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against fascism; he further developed Marxism-Leninism in a series of important questions of the Soviet socialist society and the construction of socialism and communism; he made a valuable contribution to the consolidation of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, as well as to the exposure of modern revisionism, in the person of Tito and his revisionist traitorous group. By thus appraising J. V. Stalin’s activity, there is not doubt that some errors he may have committed during the last years of his life were partial and they cannot serve as a criterion to make a general evaluation of J. V. Stalin’s person and his activity. In the general evaluation of J. V. Stalin’s activity, in the foreground stand his great merits: his fight for the defense of Leninism, his struggle for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, his struggle for the creation and consolidation of the socialist camp, for the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers’ movement, his consistent fight against imperialism, his policy for the defense of peace and the peaceful coexistence. They constitute his main characteristic features as a leader and as a communist. Such has been and remains the firm position of the Party of Labour of Albania relating to the evaluation of J. V. Stalin’s work.

N. Khrushchev’s wrong position in his criticism against J. V. Stalin lies in the fact that:

a) he unilaterally and tendentiously exaggerated beyond measure J. V. Stalin’s mistakes, going even to such lengths as to make base slanders against him. Stalin was presented by him almost as an “enemy of the Soviet Union and communism; he was characterized as “brutal”, “capricious”, as a “despot”, “murderer”, “blood-thirsty” and “criminal” towards the party cadres and the loyal and tested revolutionaries, and as a “dupe of the imperialists and fascists, as a man who committed great “follies”, both in practice and theoretical questions, who did not “understand” of what was being done in the Soviet Union, who manifested a “lack of respect towards Lenin’s memory”, and many other changes of this kind. The detailed statements made at the 20th Congress and after it, to the effect that Stalin remains a distinguished Marxist-Leninist, etc., are entirely formal and were made to mitigate the bad impression and the lawful anger aroused in the communists of the whole world by these accusations against Stalin. In fact, neither at the 20th Congress nor up today has the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its propaganda made any positive appraisal of J. V. Stalin’s theoretical legacy to show his positive sides and his contribution to the defense and further development of Marxism-Leninism. This inhumane attitude reached its climax at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where not only were repeated the accusations of the 20th Congress, this time publicly, but there was adopted also a special decision to remove J. V. Stalin’s embalmed body from the mausoleum. Unable to reject Stalin by arguments of principle in the field of theoretical activity and creativeness Khrushchev, in order to fight Stalin, introduces the question into the police and espionage field, and he took measures also for the liquidation of Stalin’s corpse. How much hypocritically sound, following all these actions.
N. Khrushchev’s words pronounced in January 1957 to the effect that “when it was the question of the revolution, of the defense of the interests of the class of the proletariat, in the revolutionary struggle against our class enemies, Stalin defended bravely and irreconcilably the cause of Marxism-Leninism, that in the main and fundamental thing for the Marxist-Leninists is the defense of working class interests, of the cause of socialism, the fight against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism — in this main and fundamental thing, as it is said, pray god every communist be able to fight as Stalin fought!”

b) N. Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet propaganda following that congress, unilaterally treated the question of the fight against the cult of the individual throwing into oblivion the Leninist doctrine about the relations among the masses, classes, parties and leaders. The great Lenin, especially in his book of genius «Leftism — infantile sickness in communism», forcefully pointed out the indispensability of the creation, in every Marxist party, of a group of leaders, more or less permanent, composed of the most authoritative, most influential and most experienced persons. Without such a stable leadership the struggle of the working class and its communist party cannot be crowned with success. In contrast with these clear teachings of Lenin, at the 20th Congress, under the pretext of the fight against the cult of the individual, the alleged «mass democracy» was counterpoised to the role of the revolutionary leaders.

N. Khrushchev and his group used for their own anti-Marxist aims — and this is becoming ever more clear — the alleged «principled criticism» against Stalin’s cult of the individual. How he used it and for what purposes he is acting in the internal plan (in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) this is not our business, this may be judged only by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Despite this, we can but note that in fact N. Khrushchev, dealing with the «crimes» that have been committed in Stalin’s epoch, with the «murders of the innocent people», with the «elimination of thousands of cadres» through «false» court trials, with the regime of «terror» which is described with an unbridled enthusiasm, in the darkest colours, making all these things known to the international public opinion, is rendering a very bad service to the Soviet Union, pleasing only the imperialists and all the enemies of communism.

N. Khrushchev has accused the leadership of our Party of the just criticism and at party meetings, towards some unlawful actions with regard to our country, alleging that the Albanian leaders «throw mud at the Soviet Union». But how should we call this same unbridled zeal of his to darken a whole glorious epoch, the epoch of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to discredit before the eyes of the whole world the glory of the Soviet Union, presenting it as the country where terror and murders have allegedly reigned, just as the whole reactionary bourgeois press has propagated and is propagandizing? Is it not he himself that, by his actions, is discrediting the Soviet Union? Is he not gravely offending the heroism of the Soviet peoples who, in struggle with internal and external enemies, in struggle with countless difficulties and obstacles, under the leadership of their Communist Party which was led by Stalin, laid the foundations of the socialist and communist society in the Soviet Union, when he proposes that there should be erected in Moscow a memorial to the «victims» of the cult of the individual? Someone calls such actions a «bold self-criticism». Let them think more deeply about how much good and how many evils this kind of «bold self-criticism» brought to the Soviet Union and the communist movement!

N. Khrushchev, speaking of the «iniquities» and «victims of the period of the cult of the individual», declaring the various court trials as framed-up, regardless of the fact that in all that struggle there might have been made also some mistakes, appears to be consistent with his anti-Marxist concepts about imperialism and its servitors. Indeed, he rendered a service to imperialism, for he presents it as not dangerous to the countries which are building up socialism; he is weakening the peoples in their struggle against the espionage network of imperialism which has acted and is fiercely acting against the socialist camp. N. Khrushchev adopted his tactics of silence also towards the plot organized by the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the United States’ 6th fleet, a plot which was exposed in our country a few months ago. Moreover, after having recommended this tactics also to some other fraternal parties, he spread the slogan that the plot was an invention, that the participants in this plot were «patriots and honest fighters», whom, later, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in his concluding speech, he openly took them under his protection. While not long ago N. Khrushchev, formally, accused the Albanian leaders of being connected with the imperialist espionage. Therefore, according to his logic, it follows that he who fights against imperialism, he who fights against its agents, he who fights for the defence of the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland, is an «agent of imperialism». And conversely, he who rises against the people’s power and the Party, who places himself at the service of the enemies of socialism, is a «traitor», a «good patriot», he is taken under protection by the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to such persons there will be erected memorials also.

The questions of the fight against Stalin’s cult has been used by N. Khrushchev to uncrown Leninism, to prepare the ground to revise Marxism-Leninism and spread his opportunist views in the most important questions of the present-day world development and the international communist movement. This action and the tactics of his are neither new nor original. In fact, in his fight against Leninism Trotsky, too, used the same tactics.

...Trotsky in his writing — J. V. Stalin says — makes one more (one more!) attempt to prepare the conditions for the substitution of Trotskyism for Leninism. Trotsky has to discredit, «at all costs», the Party, its cadres that carried out the uprising with a view to passing from the discredit of the Party to the discredit of Leninism. While he needs the discredit of Leninism to smuggle in Trotskyism as the «only» «proletarian» ideology (don’t take it for a joke!). All this is certainly (yes, certainly!), done under the banner of Leninism, so that the procedure of this smuggling should be carried out «without any damage at all».


N. Khrushchev used Stalin's question to strike on the healthy Marxist-Leninist elements in the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, to scare, and in case of resistance, also to liquidate any one who would dare to object, to reduce to silence the other parties and various leaders who would not support the revisionist views, his course. The question of the cult of the individual, in short, was used as a bugbear to exercise pressure on the other parties and to liquidate the leaders who were not to the liking of N. Khrushchev. These aims which, but recently, were concealed by him, covering them with a «principled» and «Marxist» phraseology, were openly stated at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

If we take account of the fact that at the same time Khrushchev, as we mentioned above, takes under protection and considers as «patriots» anti-party elements and agents of imperialism, participants in the plot organized by the imperialists against the People's Republic of Albania, then clearly follows N. Khrushchev's «principled» fight against the cult of the individual in Albania, his great concern! He is seeking to liquidate the present-day leaders of our Party and place in their stead anti-party elements and plotters, agents of imperialism.

That N. Khrushchev, under the pretext of the fight against the cult of the individual, is seeking to uncrown Leninism in order to pave the way to revisionism, is known also by the fact that he is by no means concerned with the just and principled Marxist-Leninist fight against the cult of the individual. For, if such were the case, irrespective of his demagogical words, he could not have helped noticing that at present in the Soviet Union manifestations of the cult of the individual are appearing with every passing day, and even in more open and exalting forms for his own person. Thus, one can hardly find an issue of the Soviet illustrated reviews in which one will not find pictures of N. Khrushchev; the pages of the Soviet press are full of quotations from his speeches, he is the only one to speak in all parts and about all questions; a whole film is devoted to his life, and other films to his visits to various countries of the world; numerous praises are made to him in various speeches and writings attributing to him personally the greatest successes of the Soviet people in the field of the development of industry, science and technology. Great, feverish efforts are being exerted to present Khrushchev not only as a «great military strategist», but also as an «architect» of the victory over fascism in the Second World War.

Where does then lie N. Khrushchev's respect for principles in the fight against the manifestations of the cult of the individual which he so noisily advertizes in his unprincipled fight against the other fraternal parties and their leaders?

This is why, comrades, our Party has not agreed and does not agree with the Soviet leadership in the question of their criticism towards Stalin.

Our Party of Labour has not agreed and does not agree with the Soviet leadership also as regards the questions of the attitude towards the present-day revisionism, and especially towards the traitorous clique of the Yugoslav revisionists. N. Khrushchev and his group used Stalin's issue and the issue of the cult of the individual also to prepare the ground for the complete rehabilitation of the Tito's revisionist and traitorous clique, to present it as a «victim» of Stalin's errors, encouraging there by the revisionist renegades, wherever they are, to begin their activity against Marxism-Leninism under the demagogical slogans of «anti-Stalinism», etc.

It is known that the Yugoslav revisionist clique was publicly condemned both by the known letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Soviet Union, signed by J. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov, and by the June 1948 resolution of the Information Bureau of some communist and workers' parties «Concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia», which was later supported by all the communist and workers' parties of the world. Later on, in November 1948, a second resolution of the Information Bureau was issued stating that the Tito clique had finally degenerated into an espionage centre of imperialism, that it had liquidated the gains of the revolution in Yugoslavia, that it had diverted Yugoslavia from the road to socialism and the socialist camp and placed it on the economic and political dependence of imperialism, that the Tito clique waged a broad-scale activity of espionage and plots against the various socialist countries, that it supported in different forms the imperialist policy of war and aggression, etc.

The viewpoint of the Party of Labour of Albania has been and remains that the conclusions of Stalin and the Information Bureau in connection with the Yugoslav renegade revisionist clique, have been and remain correct. These conclusions have been borne out and are being borne out both by the Yugoslav reality at that time and the later and present-day events. The Yugoslav revisionists became the centre of diversion and plots in the service of imperialism against the countries of the socialist camp. Under their direction was working in Albania Koci Xoxe's gang, which aimed at destroying the Party of Labour and at liquidating the people's power. From Yugoslavia were illegally smuggled in the socialist countries hundreds of agents and provocateurs, spies and diversionists, whose duty was terror, sabotage, hitching up of plots against socialism in these countries. Tito's revisionist clique has more and more openly since 1948 and on, placed itself at the service of the US imperialism, with which it is linked with the millions and billions of dollars in the form of US economic and military credits to Yugoslavia, with which it is linked by the participation in the «Balkan Pact», which is nothing else but an appendage to the Atlantic Pact, with which it is linked by the policy of diversion and plots against the socialist countries and the national liberation movement of the newly liberated peoples or of those still suffering under the clutches of colonialism.

Until 1955, all the communist and workers' parties were unanimous in condemning the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and were waging a firm and principled ideological-political struggle against it. However, precisely at that time N. Khrushchev announced that towards Yugoslavia and its leaders had allegedly been done a great injustice, that «under the influence of the agent Beria» groundless charges had been levelled against them, that in the Yugoslav issue, too, J. V. Stalin had allegedly made a serious mistake. And immediately he took the initiative, went to Belgrade, where he called Tito «dear comrade», threw to the waste basket one-sidedly the resolutions of the Information Bureau and loudly announced that «Yugoslavia is a socialist country» and that the Yugoslav leaders, although they have some wavering, are in general Marxist-Leninists.
What does the experience, what does the life show? The experience and the political life both before and after the year 1956 show that in the assessment of the Yugoslav questions, glases and the Information Bureau were right, because their assessment rested on objective facts, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The experience and the practical life, on the other hand, show that in their stand towards the Yugoslav revisionist clique N. Khrushchev and those who follow him are not right, because their actions are based on subjective viewpoints and are contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, contrary to the objective reality.

Let us refer to facts. What have been the results of the efforts to rehabilitate the Tito clique? The Yugoslav revisionist leaders have given up neither their anti-Marxist viewpoints nor their hostile activity against the socialist camp and the fraternal communist and workers' parties. The most obvious result brought about by N. Khrushchev's efforts was the fact that after 1955, possibilities were created for the Yugoslav revisionists to act more freely against the world communist movement and the countries of the socialist camp under the guise of the «persecuted comrade», exploiting in this direction the fanaticism of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The rehabilitation of the Yugoslav revisionists brought with it also the rehabilitation of all the agents and companions in some fraternal parties where, under the mask of «correcting the mistakes», a true campaign started against the sound cadres of the Party and an activation of all the anti-party elements. This happened in some communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries in Europe, as well as in some parties of the capitalist countries. The most typical in this direction are the events of Hungary, where the activation of the revisionist elements, headed by Imre Nagy, who had the active support and instigation of the Yugoslav revisionists, led up to the outbreak of the counter-revolution, which put in danger the very existence of Hungary as a state of people's democracy.

In spite of this, N. Khrushchev continuously, with great confidence in Tito and his companions, pursued insistently the policy of rapprochement, flatteries and caresses with the Yugoslav revisionists. The events of Hungary show still more clearly this stand. When the counter-revolution started in Hungary, it was clear to everybody that in these events a base role was being played also by the Yugoslav revisionists. This was seen in their influence in the counter-revolutionary discussions of the «Petofi» club, this was seen during the counter-revolutionary uprising and the enthusiasm expressed by the Yugoslav revisionists at that time, but is still more clearly seen also in the fact that the traitor Imre Nagy, after the smashing of the counter-revolution, found asylum at the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest. Instead of mercilessly unmasking the Belgrade renegades as direct inspirers of the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary, N. Khrushchev tried in every way to mitigate their responsibility, to minimise it and, finally, to eliminate it entirely. The former ambassador of the Soviet Union at that time in Albania, L. I. Krylov communicated to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania the letter that N. Khrushchev had sent on November 9, 1956 to J. B. Tito. In this letter, among other things, Khrushchev wrote to Tito the following:

«The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has examined your last letter. We consider it possible to agree with your viewpoints that no special importance should be given now to the question whether the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest has acted correctly or not by giving asylum to Imre Nagy and his companions. We are noting with satisfaction that since the Brion talks you have been in full agreement with our stand towards comrade Janos Kadar, as a distinguished personality and with revolutionary authority in Hungary, capable in these difficult moments and conditions to head the new revolutionary government... You were fully satisfied with the fact that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, since the summer of this year, in connection with the departure of Rakosi, was trying that comrade Kadar should become first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party.»

Any comment in connection with this letter is superfluous. This letter shows very clearly that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, trampling underfoot any regulation determining the relations between the fraternal parties, has gone so far as to interfere even in an issue of so importance and of a markedly internal party character, as is the appointment in the place of the first secretary of a fraternal party of this or that person. It shows also very clearly that N. Khrushchev has been long since in full agreement with J. B. Tito, that he has declared it reasonable that for everything, even for the «appointment» of the first secretary of another party, to consult J. B. Tito, the very inspirer and organizer of the counter-revolution in Hungary.

From this it is clearly understood and is entirely logical why N. Khrushchev tried to see the question of the Yugoslav intervention in the Hungarian events closed; because two things cannot be done simultaneously, both to consult Tito and to expose Tito.

After Tito's notorious speech in Pula in November 1956, the struggle of the communist and workers' parties against the Yugoslav revisionism was enlivened and the Yugoslav leaders were criticized for their stand. But the traitorous Tito group not only did not make any self-criticism or any positive step towards the communist movement, but in 1958 it considered it convenient to formulate and sum up its revisionist ideas in the Program of the Yugoslav Communist League, which was published as a counterweight to the Moscow Declaration of the communist and workers' parties of November 1957. It seemed already as if there was no more room even for the least illusion, because Tito and his group had openly written in their program what they were hiding for years under demagogical pseudo-Marxist and pseudo-socialist slogans. But what did happen? At the beginning, N. Khrushchev, who felt himself embarrassed before the public opinion and the international communist movement, although halfheartedly, took a stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists. But this did not last long. With a wonderful nimbleness and contrary to the most elementary logic he, at the 5th Congress of the Socialist United Party of Germany in July 1958, gave the orientation not to speak of the Yugoslav revisionists, by saying: «in our struggle for the common questions we should not devote to the Yugoslav revisionists more attention than they deserve. They want that their value should be raised, that people should think that they are the centre of the...»
world... We will not help in fanning the passions, in aggravating the relations. Even, in the situation created in our relations with the Yugoslav Communist League, it will be useful to retain a spark of hope, to seek acceptable forms for some questions.

He stressed this also during his visit in Albania in May 1959. At the same time, again started to circulate more and more often the word on "comrade Tito", propaganda started again that "Yugoslavia is a socialist state", that between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia there exists mutual understanding on many problems of the foreign policy.

It is appropriate to recall that V.I. Lenin in his time has waged an irreconcilable fight not only against opportunism, but also against those who preached the "unity" with the opportunists.

The revisionists group of the Yugoslav leaders, being left unmolested in their treacherous, anti-socialist and plotting work, continued with a greater intensity their activity, both to split the communist movement and to undermine the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement of the peoples fighting for freedom, or that have just won their national freedom. With every passing day the Yugoslav revisionists show themselves enemies of communism and of the peoples' freedom. Precisely because the revisionist clique of Belgrade is such, the representatives of 81 fraternal communist and workers' parties resolutely condemned in the 1960 Moscow Declaration the Yugoslav revisionist leaders. As it is known the Declaration stresses that the Yugoslav leaders, having betrayed Marxism-Leninism, detached their country from the socialist camp, put it under the dependence of the so-called "aid" of the US and other imperialists and in this way created the danger of losing the revolutionary gains reached with the heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people; that the Yugoslav revisionists are carrying out an undermining activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, that under the pretext of the policy of non-alignment they conduct an activity which brings harm to the question of the unity of all the peace-loving forces and states. Finally, the Declaration stresses the need for a continuous struggle to expose fully the group of the Yugoslav leaders.

However, after November 1960, in the majority of occasions, these correct theses of the Declaration were thrown into oblivion by the Soviet leadership. More than that, as if to encourage Tito's revisionist clique, to appease its resentment, Soviet leaders saw it reasonable to make warm official statements to the address of the Yugoslav "comrades". Thus, only a few days after the issuing of the Declaration of the 81 fraternal parties, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union A. Grumyko, at the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, on December 23rd, 1960, stated that in some fundamental things the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is fully compatible with the foreign policy of Yugoslavia. While N. Krushchev himself, in an interview to the observer of the "New Your Times", Sultzberger, published by "Pravda" on September 10, 1961, stated: "Of course, we consider Yugoslavia a socialist country. Is such a statement not contrary to the Declaration of the 81 fraternal communist and workers' parties of the world? Should it not be thought that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with this statement was aiming at 'appeasing' the resentment of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and at making to them publicly known that what is written in the Moscow Declaration, or also in some other document of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is formal, while his viewpoints are other?

Why is such a thing happening? Why is such a persistence being held such a benevolent stand towards a gang of renegades of Marxism-Leninism, submerged head and feet in the scum of revisionism and of treachery and, at the same time, are being rabidly attacked the communist and workers' parties which have always stood loyal to the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism? The Party of Labour of Albania could not and cannot agree with such an opportunistic stand towards a clique of renegades. In the struggle against the present-day revisionism, especially against the revisionist clique of Belgrade, the Party of Labour of Albania has taken and always takes into consideration the valuable teachings of great Lenin, who stressed powerfully that opportunism constitutes a serious danger for the very existence of the socialist order.

These important teachings of Lenin were all the more understandable for our Party, because it had proved on its back what does Yugoslav revisionism mean, not only in theory but also in practice. Because, in fact, the clique of Belgrade has never renounced, either before 1948 or after 1955, the plots and diversion against the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, but, on the contrary, has increased them. Therefore, the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against the Yugoslav revisionism was an important internationalist task of our Party, as a Marxist- Leninist party, and at the same time its sacred duty to defend our socialist homeland against the aims and the plots of the Yugoslav revisionists. Some of the Soviet leaders did not like this stand of the Party of Labour of Albania, because it was contrary to and constituted a hindrance for their schemes of approachment and embrace with the Titoite clique. The slogans started circulating that the "Albanians are hot-blooded", "they view things narrowly and conduct the struggle against the Yugoslav leaders from the positions of nationalism", that the "Albanians want to capture the banner of anti-revisionism" and that "they are increasing the value of Tito's clique", etc. etc. But our Party did not waver from its principled positions and continued consistently and uncompromisingly the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. This stand of our Party has never been to the liking of N. Krushchev and is one of the reasons explaining his so fierce a stand against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership.

The stand of N. Krushchev's group towards the Yugoslav revisionism, in fact, is not a stand different only from that of the Party of Labour of Albania, but from that of the international communist and workers' movement, expressed in the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960, where revisionism is described as the main danger in the international communist and workers' movement, and the Yugoslav revisionism as underliner of the socialist camp and the forces of peace. Then, it is obvious that the Soviet leadership is trying to mitigate the struggle against opportunism and revisionism in the communist movement. Here lies also the source of all the attempts to distort, by all sorts of manipulations, the clear thesis of the two Moscow Declarations on revisionism as the
main danger in the communist and workers' movements and to bring to the forefront the struggle against dogmatism. For our Party it has become clearer with every passing day that by accepting by words the need of fighting against revisionism and not doing it in fact, N. Khruschev and those who follow him, under the pretext of the struggle against dogmatism, are fighting against Marxism-Leninism, are making efforts to reject the fundamental theses of the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat precisely as Tito tried to do earlier and as have tried to do in the past the opportunists and revisionists of various brands.

What were the consequences of the spreading of the various opportunistic viewpoints, of the unprincipled struggle against J. V. Stalin and the policy of reconciliation with the Titoite treacherous revisionist clique, persistently pursued by N. Khruschev and his group? Although they raise to the skies, with a great noise, the «wonderful consequences» allegedly brought about by the «criticism of the cult of the individual of J. V. Stalin» and the «normalization of relations with Yugoslavia», although they present the question as if with the 20th Congress a new era started in the development and further strengthening of the world communist movement, the facts speak entirely to the contrary. These distorted viewpoints and actions became a banner in the hands of the opportunist and revisionist elements in many countries to launch their revisionist attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties. This happened in the Communist Parties of the United States of America, of Denmark, of the Netherlands, of Italy, of France, of Great Britain, etc. Under the influence of the opportunist viewpoints presented by N. Khruschev to the 20th Congress, revisionism was revived and assumed a large dissemination in many communist and workers' parties, becoming an extremely serious danger for the entire international communist movement. Precisely under the slogans of the struggle against the «Stalinist despotism», borrowed from the «secret» report «On the cult of the individual and its consequences», which, «strange enough», fell into the hands of the reactionary circles of the West and was reproduced by them in toto, the imperialist reaction and the modern revisionists, especially the Belgrade revisionist renegades, enemies of socialism, organized the counter-revolutionary actions against the socialist order in Poland and the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary. Precisely under the protection of these opportunist theses, of the attacks against Stalinus and the appeasing attitudes of N. Khruschev with the Yugoslav revisionists, Tito's renegade gang was enlivened still more, it was given free hand to develop broadly its undermining activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

For us it is very clear that such a conclusion is not acceptable either to N. Khruschev, or to his followers. But it is logical to raise the questions: Why precisely after the 20th Congress were immediately enlivened the renegades and the revisionists in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, the Yugoslav revisionist clique raised again its head and all of them together launched a frontal attack against Marxism-Leninism? Why, let us say, the theses of the 19th or the 18th Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not become their banner? There is only one explanation here: because many theses which were set at the 20th Congress were of an opportunistic nature, therefore they constituted the ideological food for the renegades and the revisionists in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism; because the stands towards Stalin were anti-Marxist, therefore they were utilized so successfully by the enemies of Marxism and socialism for their aims.

These bitter consequences were felt in Albania, too. In our country, the opportunist elements of the Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahi type, as well as many other elements expelled from the Party for anti-party activity were activated and with the direct insigation of the Yugoslav revisionists, organized the plot at the Party Conference for the city of Tirana in April 1956. It is known that a major role in this plot was played by the traitor Fanajot Plaku, an old agent of the Yugoslav espionage, to whom, after he fled from Albania to Yugoslavia, N. Khruschev proposed ever since 1957 to be given political asylum to him in the Soviet Union. The slogans of these traitors were the demagogical slogans of «liberalization and democratization of the proletarian dictatorship», «of normalization of relations with Yugoslavia», «of rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe and other anti-party elements condemned earlier», etc. It is significant the fact that precisely at that time, in April-May 1956, the Soviet leadership, through M. Suslov and P. Pospelov tried to persuade our Party to rehabilitate the traitor Koçi Xoxe, an enemy of the Party and the Albanian people, an agent of the revisionist clique of Belgrade, shot for his hostile activity which was aimed at liquidating the Party and the people's power and at turning Albania into the seventh republic of Titoite Yugoslavia.

N. Khruschev's anti-Marxist stand on the above-mentioned questions caused thus a great damage to our common cause, of socialism and communism. However, the international communist and workers' movement managed to cope successfully with the onslaught of the revisionist renegades. Marxism-Leninism is the banner of victory, therefore its enemies, the revisionists and the opportunists, have failed and will always fall shamefully.

From the above said it follows clearly that the nature of our disagreements has been entirely ideological and political, that our Party has not agreed with the opportunist viewpoints and actions of N. Khruschev as concerns some vital questions of the present-day world development and the international communist and workers' movement, viewpoints which are contrary to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and constitute a serious violation of the 1957 and 1960 Declarations of the communist and workers' parties. But the existence of these wrong viewpoints among the Soviet leaders is only half of the evil. The greatest evil is that they try to impose at any condition their opportunistic concepts to all the communist and workers' parties, not stopping for this purpose even before the pressure, blackmail and the most brutal attacks against those parties and their leaders that do not agree with the revisionist theses of N. Khruschev, that oppose them and resolutely defend Marxism-Leninism. Here lies the greatest evil, here lies also the cause that relations between our country and the Soviet leadership have become tense. Seeing that his multifarious attempts to kneel down the Party of Labour of Albania and to impose on it his anti-Marxist viewpoints have failed in face of the firm Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party and wanting to justify before his party and before the international communist movement his impermissible,
hostile activity against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, N. Khrushchev has gone over to wild and public slanders like those he and other Soviet leaders made at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The fact that he chose the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to carry out the "trial" against our Party, the fact that he deceived the representatives of some communist parties to express themselves uncomradely against our Party in their greetings to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, throws light on his putchist methods, on his tactics of surprise, on the one sided imposing of his desire upon the international communist and workers' movement, on the non-observance of the fundamental principles governing the relations between the communist and workers' parties of the world, which have been established jointly and have been outlined in the Moscow Declarations.

To examine the activity of a communist and workers' party, to express the viewpoint whether it stands on correct positions or not, can judge only an international forum, an international meeting of the communist and workers' parties, after hearing in detail the arguments of that party. But N. Khrushchev feared to ask the convocation of such a meeting, because he was convinced that he would not succeed in condemning our Party of Labour. For this reason he did not invite to the 22nd Congress our Party also, because its word would bring to the fore once more the truth on the Albanian-Soviet relations, would expose again his anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity, would reject all his entirely unfounded slanders and charges.

The methods used by the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to attack one-sidedly our Party is known in the international communist and workers' movement. He applied this tactics also in Bucharest, too, where with false and one-sided charges he tried to kneel down Marxist-Leninist parties and to compromise by means of a quick, unpondered and hasty pronunciation their representatives, but despite his efforts, he did not succeed. On the contrary, N. Khrushchev was forced to agree to the holding of the Moscow meeting in November 1960, where correct debates were conducted, where it was clearly seen that his viewpoints did not meet with the enthusiastic support of the participants, and this is expressed also in the very documents approved by the representatives of 81 parties and which N. Khrushchev is brutally violating in all his activity. Therefore, he, in order to attack our Party, resorted to his putchist methods, utilizing for this purpose the 22nd Congress.

In this way, N. Khrushchev has effectively sabotaged any future international meeting also, because by attacking one-sidedly and publicly our Party, he has put the Party of Labour of Albania on conditions of inequality.

At the 22nd Congress, N. Khrushchev, and his followers charged our Party that it allegedly, with its actions, is "disrupting the unity, is splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement". One must have lost any feeling of responsibility of seriousness to say such a thing. Who is in reality undermining our unity, the Party of Labour of Albania or the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by N. Khrushchev? Our Party, which has always abided by the principles that our disagreements should be solved through the party way, or the Soviet leadership, which has trampled underfoot these principles and has embarked upon the anti-Marxist path of pressure, blackmail and is openly calling for counter-revolution in socialist Albania! The Party of Labour of Albania has never spoken publicly about our differences, it has only through the party way and at party meetings, openly and courageously criticized the wrong viewpoints and actions of the Soviet leaders, while N. Khrushchev was the first to speak publicly from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress not only about the existence of our differences but also to vomit gall, to slander at full daylight against our Party and people's power, presenting it as a "regime of terror, where right and left there are prisons and firing squads", using the language of Rasskovich, who has said that "in Albania there reign the barbed wire and the frontier guard boat". Our Party stands for the unity, for its further strengthening, but for a sound, steel-like unity, not for an anemic and sick unity. Precisely because it stands for the steel-like unity of the international communist and workers' movement and the socialist camp, it has courageously and through the party way criticized N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist manifestations and actions, which weaken this unity.

We greatly regret the fact that some leaders of the communist parties joined with N. Khrushchev's wrong viewpoints. We don't want to seek the causes which forced them to take this stand (we understand very well the diffcult position in which they have found themselves), but can their one-sided position be called correct, a priori; when the majority of the representatives of these parties have no knowledge of the development of relations between our Party and the Soviet leadership? It is correct to take this or that stand, when one hears only the arguments of one side, while the other side has been deprived of the right to state its own viewpoint? Or in the communist movement should be established new principles, according to which the big one must be heard, the little one not, the big is right, while the little is always wrong? According to our opinion, such a reasoning is not at all correct and is not compatible with the Leninist norms of relations between the parties. Such a stand does not help the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, the strengthening of the socialist camp, but weakens it and will later create great troubles.

In spite of this at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev was not supported by all the representatives of the communist and workers' parties. Out of the 80 foreign delegations which attended the proceedings of the Congress and spoke or sent by writing their greetings, 34 representatives of the fraternal parties did not join the N. Khrushchev's slanders and charges against our Party, they did not speak about the disagreements existing between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet leadership. Surely, many of them may have their remarks as concerns the work of the Party of Labour of Albania, but at the 22nd Congress, which was the congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of a definite party, they did not consider it appropriate to speak about a question which concerns the entire international communist movement, taking thus a correct Marxist-Leninist stand. We must say also that even the mass of the home delegates to the 22nd Congress
did not express themselves about the Soviet-Albanian disagreements, they did not speak against our Party, they did not support N. Khrushchev in his attacks and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania. Out of 88 delegates who took part in discussions in the congress, only 14 spoke against our Party. They all were members of the Soviet leadership.

Our Party of Labour thanks for their principled and correct stand both the representatives of the communist and workers’ parties who did not support N. Khrushchev in his unseized attacks against our Party and the delegates of the glorious Communist Party of Lenin, who, preserving the Bolshevik traditions and the Leninist principles of objective judgments of any question, did not support N. Khrushchev in this anti-Marxist act.

From the rostrum of the 22nd Congress, among the numerous slandering charges, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union spoke also of the allegedly lack of democracy in our Party, of the allegedly violations of the Leninist norms in its inner life. This, of course is an open interference in the internal affairs of our Party, but despite this we can say to these ‘defenders’ of democracy: Look better your business, for not in the Party of Labour of Albania, but in your parties there are many scandalous examples of the violation of the most elementary rules of democracy. Dmitri Polyansky, on attacking the anti-party-group, surely refrained himself from telling in detail all the backstage he and his companions had organized at the time of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in summer 1957. Polyansky has hidden this from the congress, but he has told this a ‘friend’ of theirs, who then reported it to our Party in detail.

Let us take another example. When the Tirana tribunal gave the deserved verdict against the agents of US imperialism, of Yugoslavia and Greece, Teme Sejko and company, out of the whole press of the European countries of people’s democracy, only the newspaper ‘Teuta’, the organ of the Albanian working class, reported correctly this trial. But immediately, within the day, by the most ‘democratic’ methods, it was announced that the president and the secretaries in charge of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions had been dismissed from their posts. And this was because the Yugoslav government, on the same day, lodged a serious protest with the Bulgarian Government in connection with the report given in the Tirana trial by this newspaper.

Finally, those who speak of internal democracy and of the observance of the party norms, we are referring here especially to Palmiro Togliatti, does he consider regular, democratic his action at the 22nd Congress when he spoke and condemned our Party? He did not know before what has happened and how the relations between our Party and the Soviet leadership have been developed. At least our Party has not given the Italian Communist Party any material. Its Central Committee had not adopted before any decision by which to denounce our Party and thus to authorize its representatives to condemn it. At least we do not know of any such fact. Then of what democracy are speaking these leaders who scandalize themselves without cause for the fate of a person and who, when it is the question of the fate of a party, of 50,000 communists and an entire people, make offending statements without any responsibility and in flagrant contradiction with the elementary rules not only of the party democracy, but also of the simple logic and human conscience? Palmiro Togliatti threw at us the Roman anathema, by charging us that we are splitting the unity of the international communist movement. On what did Togliatti rely when he a few years ago attacked publically the Soviet socialist system and preached polycentrism and the zones of influence in the international communist movement? He has not and will not have any fact against us, but with his own anti-Marxist theses he has greatly served the Yugoslav revisionists. Nevertheless, strangely enough, nobody rose against Togliatti’s revisionist viewpoints.

N. Khrushchev, who speaks so much of democratic methods, patience and internationalism, has resorted against our Party to the most anti-Marxist methods, methods which are entirely alien to the relations between the socialist countries. In order to subdue the Party of Labour of Albania, to prevent it from having its own viewpoint, to impose on it his anti-Marxist viewpoints, he and his followers have not stopped before any measure, not only as concerns the relations between our parties, but also as concerns the relations between our socialist states. Today we do not want to enter into detail and to dwell long on these questions, because there are many facts and countless documents, which illustrate objectively these, but will mention that as a result of the adoption of anti-Marxist methods by the Soviet leadership for the settlement of existing disagreements, as a result of the consecutive pressure both in the economic and the political and military fields, the relations between our country and the Soviet Union have been greatly aggravated. This process has started since the second half of the last year, that is after the Bucharest meeting. Since then, N. Khrushchev, instead of agreeing to settle patiently the ideological and political disagreements existing between our Party and the Soviet leadership, made them public and extended them to the state relations also.

In his anti-Marxist and hostile actions towards the Albanian people, N. Khrushchev has been followed also by some leaders of the socialist countries of Europe. They are all together doing their utmost to isolate Albania economically, politically and militarily, by creating around it a ‘sanitary cordon’. N. Khrushchev forgets that in the century of the triumph of Leninism there can be no ‘cordon’ to isolate a people and a party which are firmly fighting for the triumph of socialism and of communism, there can be no ‘cordon’, regardless of how organized and strong it may be, to resist to the Marxist-Leninist truth. Any ‘cordon’ will be smashed and its organizers will shamefully fail.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union did not confine himself to this. Seeing that all his pressure, blockades and blackmail did not bring the result he desired, could not kneel down our Party and people, from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress he made an open call for the overthrowing by means of a counter-revolutionary coup the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, for the liquidation of our Party, something which he reserves himself to do even when it is in the question of the governments of the capitalist countries, because he considers it an interference in their internal affairs. He said: ‘To put an end to the cult of the individual means for Shehu, Hoxha and others to give up
in essence the commanding posts in the party and the state. But they do not want to do this. We are convinced that the time will come when the Albanian communists, when the Albanian people, will have their say and then the Albanian leaders will have to give account for the damage they have caused to their country, to their people, to the cause of building of socialism in Albania. The Albanian people and the Albanian communists gave the reply to N. Kruschev by means of hundreds and thousands of telegrams and letters, a part of which has been published by our press.

Our Party and people have heard continuously for 17 years in succession calls for the overthrow of our people’s power, for the liquidation of our Party and its leadership. They have heard and are hearing them every year from the USA State Department, from the US, British and other imperialists, from Franco’s “Nationalist Spain” radio, from the revisionist traitors of Belgrade, from the Greek monarcho-fascists, etc. These have even hatched up plots to achieve their aims. We have heard now such calls also from Nikita Khrušchev, who in fact is joining them in the hostile activity against the Albanian people and its Party of Labour. On what have the imperialists and their tools relied in their activity against the people’s power and the Party in our country? Their forces have been the scum of our society, the degenerate and anti-party elements, the people sold out to the foreign imperialist intelligence services, whom our people recalls only with a feeling of deep hatred, contempt and scorn. These will be also the reserves of Nikita Khrušchev. And it can not be otherwise. The whole our people, old and young, all the honest and patriotic people of our homeland, party and non-party people, have rallied today more than ever around our glorious Party and its correct Marxist-Leninist line, which expresses the vital interests of our people and meets the common interests of our great cause, socialism and communism. In the face of the steel-like unity of our Party and people, in the face of this invincible force, will shamefully fall the hostile actions and the brutal interferences of Nikita Khrušchev, as have failed earlier and will always fail the entire hostile activity and all the plots of the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and other enemies of the Albanian people, its Party of Labour and the People’s Republic of Albania.

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Kruschev accused our Party and its leadership of anti-sovietism, considering any remark and criticism towards his anti-Marxist viewpoints and actions, made in party meetings and according to Leninist rules, an attack against the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples. This is a monstrous slander and distortion.

Who does indeed defend the Soviet Union and its prestige: Nikita Khrušchev, who with his unprincipled attacks and slanders against J. V. Stalin has discredited the glorious Soviet Union, presenting it like a country where the fiercest terror has reigned, the same as in the Hitlerite Germany, or the Party of Labour of Albania that has defended and is defending the Soviet Union from the fierce attacks of the imperialist and revisionist propaganda, which Nikita Khrušchev has provided with weapons? Who does defend the Soviet Union and its prestige: Nikita Khrušchev who with his anti-Marxist actions, attacks, pressure and blockades against the People’s Republic of Albania is providing with weapons the imperialists to stain before the world public opinion the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, or the Party of Labour of Albania, which has shown and is showing that his anti-Marxist actions have nothing in common with the principles and the internationalist traditions of the Soviet Union and the great Party of Lenin?

Our Party heard with patience what was said at the 22nd Congress in its address. We, too, are saying our own viewpoint concerning these questions. The Party of Labour of Albania, with calm and pure conscience, appeals to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appeals to the new Central Committee elected by the 22nd Congress to judge with Leninist equity, with objectivity and calmness not one-sidedly, on the situation created in the relations between our two parties and our two countries. Our Party has always been ready, for the sake of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, of the interests of our countries, to settle the existing disagreements. But it has always been and is of the opinion that these questions should be solved correctly and only in a Marxist-Leninist way, in the conditions of equality and not of pressure and dictate.

Our Party and people, regardless of the attacks, slanders and the hostile actions directed against them, will guard untouched in their hearts the pure feelings of friendship with the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. Our Party has taught us to love the Soviet Union, the great homeland of Lenin and Stalin, both in good and bad times.

Comrades,

The entire 20-year old life and activity of our Party, as well as the facts of the present-day reality show clearly that our Party has always had a correct general line, that in connection with the present-day important questions preoccupying the international communist movement, particularly in connection with the question of the Albanian-Soviet relations, it stands on correct Marxist-Leninist and internationalist positions.

Deeply convinced that they stand for the truth, our people and Party, united like a single body, with a calm and pure conscience and a firm determination, will in the future too, follow unwaveringly their correct path. And in this path they will win.

With this confidence we are celebrating the 44th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution and the great holiday of the 20th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party. With this confidence, with the revolutionary banner of the victorious Leninism, with the unfurled banner of our heroic Party, we, the Albanian communists, together with our entire patriotic and fighting people, shall march forward with sure steps towards new victories, for the glory of Marxism-Leninism, for the glory of communism, for the glory of our socialist homeland!

Glory to the victorious Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the victories of our Party and people!

Long live the 44th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the 20th anniversary of the Party of Labour of Albania!

Long live our heroic and indomitable people!

Glory to the Party of Labour of Albania!

J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 361, (Alb. ed.)
The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Albania is Alive, Vigilant and Active

November 15, 1961

As you know, there are difficulties concerning the course of international events, particularly in regard to political and ideological relations among the communist and workers' parties, which influence the general international situation and that of the socialist camp. The disagreements that have arisen and are developing in the ranks of the communist and workers' movement, are a result of the hostile revisionist activity of N. Khruschev and his group that have emerged at the head of the CPSU. This group is bringing very great harm to the cause of the revolution and socialism, not only in the Soviet Union, but in the whole world. Therefore, every effort must be made to cure and eradicate this dangerous disease in the healthy body of the communist and workers' movement.

From the time it came to power the Khrushchev group, gave signs that it was attacking Marxism-Leninism. These signs were not so obvious at first. Khrushchev and his cronies had known how to disguise themselves well as long as Stalin was alive. But after his death and up to the XX Congress of the CPSU these signs began to become more obvious. It must be said that after the death of J. V. Stalin, from the information we had and from what we could see, the Soviet leadership was making grave mistakes in line, and was flagrantly violating the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Such a situation was created that the opportunist and revisionist elements, through intrigues, were able to seize the key positions in the leadership of the Soviet party and state. The group around N. Khrushchev knew how to manoeuvre and seize the leadership of the party and the Soviet state. We do not know concretely how the events developed, but the conclusion can be quite easily reached that Khrushchev exploited the situation created, setting the leaders against one another in order to weaken their unity, in the first place in the presidium of the CC of the CPSU. It is a fact which we know, too, that after J. V. Stalin's death, when we went to the Soviet Union, we heard from the mouth of Khrushchev himself talking to us before the other comrades of the presidium, that "there are differences between us, there are even disagreements on various problems, but that is all right, because such a situation is bound to arise. When he was speaking in this way the others nodded their heads. This shows that there were frictions in the Soviet leadership before the XX Congress, but behind them were hidden the intrigues of Khrushchev who managed, in allegedly democratic ways, to liquate his opponents and to carry on with the realisation of his own anti-Marxist aims.

N. Khrushchev came to power, not only by violating every Leninist organisational norm, but by acting in a brutal way just as at the time of czarist putsches. Once, Polynskiy said that at a regular meeting of the presidium of the Central Committee the majority defeated the views and stand of N. Khrushchev who did not know what to say before the comrades who asked him to render account. Faced with their facts and arguments he became demoralised and surrendered. The presidium took the decision that N. Khrushchev should be relieved of the functions of first secretary of the CC of the CP and head of the Soviet government and become Minister of Agriculture, because that was what he was fitted for, "specialist in maize growing". But we were informed from inside of what was happening to Khrushchev in the presidium, therefore I and some other comrades, who were in Moscow, surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and soldiers and gave the order that not even a fly should move from the Kremlin. On the other hand we sent aeroplanes to all parts to gather up the members of the plenum of the CC of the CPSU. Then we went into the Kremlin and demanded admission to the meeting. Voroshilov came out and asked us what we wanted. When we told him that we wanted to get into the meeting, he flatly refused. When we showed him our strength he asked: "What are these things that are being done?". But we warned him: "Whatch your words, otherwise we shall arrest you. Thus we got into the meeting and changed the situation". The words of this putschist are sufficient to show how the plot of the usurpation of the party leadership by N. Khrushchev was organised. N. Khrushchev can say what he likes about his "respect for Leninist norms he has violated them himself, not only when he came to power, but continually.

The XX Congress marked the beginning of blantly hostile work in the CPSU and the international communist movement. Khrushchev had to conceal his activity with Marxist phrases, as is the custom of the revisionists. Under this guise he undertook the fight against Leninism. Weeds cannot thrive in clean soil for which continuous care is shown. First Khrushchev had to deslarn Leninism and the work of J. V. Stalin.

At the XX Congress of the CPSU N. Khrushchev presented a series of "new" theses which were allegedly a "creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory." Although they were dressed up in the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, even at that time to our Party these theses smelted of revisionism. With a view to having these theses adopted, not only by the CPSU, but by the entire international communist movement, Khrushchev also delivered a "secret" report. "On the cult of the individual and its consequences", which was directed against Stalin and his work. Towards the end of the proceedings of the congress, copies of this report were given to the first secretaries of the parties which had gone to Moscow to greet the XX Congress and it was recommended that it should be read quickly with the assistance of their interpreters. But the fact is that this "secret" report also fell into the hands of the secret agencies of imperialism, was printed in large num-
bers and distributed throughout the entire world. Such a thing was to the benefit of N. Khrushchev and his cronies. Thus, the question of the «cult of the individual of Stalin» became an international question.

Our Party did not and does not agree with the way Stalin and his work were dealt with at this congress. Neither did we agree with a number of Khrushchev’s performances and attitudes in international policy. At that time we still did not examine many of these performances and attitudes as thoroughly as we do today, but since the XX Congress we saw a rather marked tendency in Khrushchev for conciliation with opportunist elements.

N. Khrushchev began to take some arbitrary measures such as the reconsideration of the decision of the Comintern about the Polish and Hungarian Communist Parties, about the rehabilitation of Bela Kun, etc., which he despised up to us. Thus, on one hand he came out with a report against Stalin, on the other hand he also came out against the Comintern. All these actions of his were carried out hastily, within a few days, holding one meeting here, another meeting there, to condemn the Czech CP, to rehabilitate the Polish CP, etc.

The «secret» report against Stalin not only disturbed our Party, but it began to make us suspicious about all the issues Khrushchev was raising, which he needed in order to blacken the entire revolutionary activity of Stalin. But the facts show that Stalin himself was against the cult of the individual and had often criticised it, while correctly assessing the role of the masses in history and of the Party of the proletariat.

In raising the question of the cult of Stalin Khrushchev had internal and external aims, but their objective was the same; to blacken the CPSU with Stalin at the head, had created, consolidated, and defended, that is the construction of socialism. By raising the question of the cult of the individual, N. Khrushchev tried, on the one hand to cast a black veil over the Soviet Union and obscure the period of the construction of socialism there, on the other hand, under the pretext of the «cult of the individual», to liquidate the sound leaders of other communist and workers’ parties. Thus, after the XX Congress of the CPSU, with the exception of the communist and workers parties of Asia and our Party, in all the other parties, particularly in those of the countries of people’s democracy of Europe, all the previous leaderships were liquidated and people allegedly not infected with the diseases of the cult of the individual were placed at their head. Of the former leaders some died, some were eliminated. Many leaders of the international communist movement, such as Gottwald, Bieruth, Kolahov, Zapotocki died. In Poland people who had been imprisoned but had allegedly been guiltless, were placed in the leadership. In Czechoslovakia people from the base who allegedly were not infected by the cult of the individual, were placed at the head, while those who were in the leadership are being demoted further and further. In Hungary, after all these disturbances people who had allegedly been unjustly imprisoned were placed in the leadership, whereas, in Bulgaria the old leadership was eliminated and replaced by new elements who «guaranteed the implementation of the new Marxist-Leninist course» and were «free of any hangover of dogmatism», etc. The course which N. Khrushchev began to pursue had great repercussions for all the parties, many of which suffered severe upheavals. Only in Albania Khrushchev did not succeed, therefore he decided to bide his time with Albania, and prepare the mines little by little to blow up its leadership.

Our Party understands how harmful the cult of the individual is, therefore it has not allowed manifestations of it. But our Party and people also know how to respect their loyal leaders. But this is just what Khrushchev and Tito do not like. They want to present the respect of our Party for its leaders as the «cult of the individual» so that people suitable to their hostile, anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian work will come to the leadership. At these moments, when our Party is fighting with determination against revisionism, to defend Marxism-Leninism, the manifestations of the people are an expression of their ardent love for our glorious Party, which we are defending with might and main from the danger which is threatening not only it, but the entire international communist movement.

The revisionist line of N. Khrushchev about the question of Stalin had no success. Although not all the parties understood his aims, they did not accept the anti-Marxist attack against Stalin disguised as an attack on the cult of the individual. But there were also parties which were shocked by this attack. Thus, for instance, the French CP did not accept Khrushchev’s thesis about «the cult of Stalin». Indeed at that time Maurice Thorez sent a party delegation to Moscow and declared to Khrushchev that «the French CP does not agree with the treatment of Stalin». Even last year when he came to our country Thorez maintained the same attitude, that Stalin is one of the greatest Marxists, whereas now Maurice Thorez has turned his coat, and taken the revisionist course.

One of the main acts of N. Khrushchev, as soon as he came to power, was to exonerate the Yugoslav revisionists. According to him J. V. Stalin, as in all the other affairs, had allegedly committed another grave mistake in that he had allegedly unjustly persecuted and condemned the Yugoslav leaders. This step which N. Khrushchev took gave political strength to the doubts and conviction of our Party that his group is heading for the abyss, that it is an opportunist revisionist group. Therefore, we realised it was our duty to be vigilant, and we were not mistaken. To achieve his anti-Marxist aims, N. Khrushchev used a number of forms, one of which was the so-called consultation with others. He pretended to ask, but this was only as a matter of form. Thus, before he went to Yugoslavia in 1955, he asked us what we thought about the steps that should be taken to approach «comrades» Tito. We replied that we did not agree with his going to Tito. There was a resolution of the Information Bureau of the communist and workers’ parties on this issue, there were Stalin’s well known letters which condemned the revisionist Tito group. Therefore, in order to say whether or not Stalin was right on the Yugoslav issue, the Information Bureau should be called together to examine the issue and unilateral actions should not be taken. However, at the time when Khrushchev was to go to Yugoslavia the Information Bureau had been dissolved. Therefore in these conditions a meeting should have been called of those parties which had been its members to which a delegation of our Party should have been invited, and then it could be decided what should be done with the Yugoslav leadership. But N. Khrushchev did not take any notice of the view of our Party. He went to Belgrade and you all know what was done.
there. Tito and his cronies emerged innocent and allegedly they had been persecuted unjustly. Thus, they began their activity illegally. Tito was another blow that Khrushchev and company, stuck at Marxism-Leninism, apparently, the Yugoslav issue was of great importance to N. Khrushchev. Khrushchev has declared that «Beria tried to come to terms with Rankovitch». We know nothing about this, because this is their internal affair, but one thing we do know, that Khrushchev himself has met Tito and Rankovitch and they must be in agreement also with regard to the issues which were raised at the XX Congress of the CPSU. We know what Khrushchev and Tito are, and we are also well aware what rankovitch is, a man of conspiracies, intrigues. Khrushchev's aim is that the Tito clique must not be presented as traitors to socialism. On the contrary, he wants Tito and company to be called Marxist-Leninists, irrespective of the fact that he seriously criticised Bulgarian when he was Prime Minister, because he declared at a dinner party that, «Tito is a great Leninist». And Bulgaria did this because he had heard many good words about Tito from Khrushchev's own mouth. However, in order to disguise himself, Khrushchev would have to say that Bulgaria had made a great mistake in applying the term «Leninist» to Tito and, for appearance's sake, he condemned Bulgaria, who was obliged to make a self-criticism.

Hence, according to N. Khrushchev, Tito, this disruptor of socialist countries and communist and workers' parties, who, since 1948 has lived on American dollars, had to be rehabilitated. Khrushchev's efforts to rehabilitate Tito, his kind words addressed to the Belgrade revisionists encourage them to strut like fighting cocks and carry out actions so blatantly anti-Marxist that even Khrushchev and his followers have frequently been placed in difficult positions, particularly with the organisation of the counterrevolution in Hungary, and with Tito's declarations that they should advance on his road in order to establish a new course in the countries of people's democracy. However, the counterrevolution in Hungary exposed the Yugoslav revisionist clique. Tito and N. Khrushchev likewise, because he has made an agreement with the Titoites about changing the situation and the previous leadership in Hungary. And if N. Khrushchev gave the order that the Soviet army, which left thousands of dead in Budapest, should assist the Hungarian people, he was compelled to do this by the circumstances that had arisen. N. Khrushchev would have left the counterrevolution in Hungary under the auspices of the Yugoslav revisionists, and Imre Nagy and other Yugoslav agents would have remained in power there, but the situation got out of hand.

After the Party Conference of Tirana and on the eve of the Hungarian counterrevolution, a delegation of our Party which was to go to the VIII Congress of the CP of China, passed through Budapest and Moscow. I, too, was included in this delegation. The comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party, invited us to a dinner and on this occasion a conversation took place between us. They told us about the disturbances which were taking place in the «Petoeli» club. When we asked why don't you take measures against elements who make trouble, they answered that «these are forms which democracy allows» and asked: What would you do if such things happened in Albania? Then we told them how we acted with the anti-Party and traitor elements at the Tirana Conference and we suggested to them that if you want to save the situation, we think that you, too, must act in the same way. «But we are unable to act in this way», they said, «because here there are even members of the CC who have gone to dinner with Imre Nagy, to congratulat him on his birthday». We expressed our opposition to such an attitude and on this occasion we gave them some comradely advice: «Call a meeting of the plenum and take party measures. In this way you will strengthen the situation. This is how we acted against enemies and this is what revolutionary Marxism teaches us. You may do whatever you see fit in your own home, we told them, but since you asked us, we expressed our view».

In the middle of all this talk a member of the Political Bureau as if to divert the conversation, asked us whether we would like to go to the stadium the next day to see a football match; but we replied that «our delegation will leave for Moscow». Finally they told us that in recent times Hungary had been visited by about 20,000 tourists, even with their own cars. We told them: «Be careful, because there are spies among them». «But we earn great amounts of foreign exchange from them», they said. And as it came out, under the cloak of tourists cars, the imperialists were sending in rifles and machine-guns for the counterrevolution through Austria and the Hungarian leaders were not aware of it.

The whole course of events confirms that Khrushchev had come to terms with the Tito clique, because when we went to Moscow we told Suslov about what was happening in Hungary, that the situation there was not good, that Imre Nagy was moving, etc. «You are mistaken», Suslov replied, «Nagy is not a bad man». We objected there and then, and told Suslov that «we do not agree with the assessment you are making of Nagy». And we added that when Nagy was Prime Minister, he was in favour of the integration of the kulaks in agricultural cooperatives. «You are wrong, you are wrong», Suslov repeated, and took from his drawer Nagy's «fresh self-criticism». Despite this we told Suslov, «Imre Nagy is a traitor». Time showed that we were right. Later it came out what Nagy really was.

The counterrevolution in Hungary was mainly the work of the Yugoslav revisionists, whose aim was that Hungary should break away from the socialist camp. We mentioned our arguments at the Moscow Meeting, but Khrushchev went red with anger and held his head in his hands. Likewise, we mentioned documents in the speech delivered on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the PLA. Sometimes the situation compelled Khrushchev to say something against Tito, to avoid exposing himself. When the «fight» against Tito was eased up by Khrushchev, then he advised us too, to be conciliatory with Tito. Khrushchev's followers did whatever he told them and did not dare speak up. On these occasions Tito attacked again, and Khrushchev was again compelled to take a stand, as he did at the VII Congress of the CP of Bulgaria, where he described Tito as a «Trojan Horse». At the break, after the speech delivered by Khrushchev, he told the comrades: «There, despite all I said against the Yugoslav comrades Enver is still not satisfied». Naturally, we were surprised when Khrushchev spoke in this way, but we did not trust him and he was well aware of this.

Once when I met Vyshinsky and we were talking about the Yugoslav issue, he told me: «You, comrade Enver are still
young, but it is important to expose the band egg patiently, at the proper time, so he will be stripped absolutely bare. This is the heaviest punishment he can be given. If the people understand what a bad egg he is you may shoot him or leave him as you wish, he is already shot dead."

As is known, at the VII Congress of the Yugoslav Communist League the Titoites announced their revisionist program. As a result of the indignation caused in the entire international communist movement, Khrushchev and company were compelled to take a stand. However, shortly after the announcement of the program, Khrushchev began to tell us that we should shut up, be quiet about them, because allegedly there was still a spark of hope about correcting the Yugoslav comrades', «brothers», etc., etc. From our side the fight against revisionism was being waged more and more sternly. This fight against Yugoslav revisionism was becoming a great danger to Khrushchev because he had no success at all in settling us on the road of conciliation with it. The question of Titoite revisionism was becoming a very acute problem also for the entire world communist movement. There were communist and workers’ parties which wavered to the right and to the left. The French CP stopped the fight against the Belgrade clique to the extent that it was discredited before the French working people. At one time it was doing well. When the program of the Yugoslav Communist League was proclaimed, the French CP again intensified the fight against the Tito clique, whereas now it is keeping silent. It listened to Khrushchev and ceased its fight against the Belgrade revisionists. We told Khrushchev that on this issue we must go straight ahead, without hesitation, on a Marxist-Leninist course, but he continued his work. He is incorrigible. N. Khrushchev’s policy is hostile not only because he aims to change the course of the CPSU, but because he has a great international plan. He launched the slogans of the «defence of peace» and «total and general disarmament», the slogan of «peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems», the slogan of the «role of the foreign policy of the socialist states», the slogan that the USSR will go to communism at the same time as and together with all the other countries of the socialist camp. By hiding behind these high-sounding slogans, Khrushchev has tried to conceal his activity which is disastruous to the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the world communist movement.

During the working out of these issues in practice and in life, the objections of our Party, of the CP of China, etc., to Khrushchev’s opportunistic and revisionist line cropped up continually. These objections steadily increased. Under the disguise of allegedly Marxist slogans Khrushchev was working in favour of imperialism. The imperialists have taken full advantage of the weak points of the revisionist policy of Khrushchev and have continued to arm themselves. This does not mean that we should stop their arming by means of war, as Khrushchev says about us. That is a slander. Neither our Party nor that of China have ever had such views, but we say that the efforts of imperialism to arm itself and launch war, will be prevented by arousing the peoples, for the cause of peace is preserved and strengthened if the peoples take it in their own hands and carry it through to the end.

After the XX Congress of the CPSU many communist and workers’ parties of the world, deceived by Khrushchev’s oppor-
chev's course would mean to give up the course of the October Revolution, which he described as «correct only for those historical conditions! Therefore, all the opportunist and revisionist elements among the ranks of the communist and workers' parties supported Khrushchev's thesis, which he developed at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, on the peaceful road of transition to socialism. As a consequence, a period of tranquility was created in the capitalist countries, the revolutionary drive of the communists fell away. The revolutionary road, the road of seizing state power through violence, was rejected. This then, is the great harm Khrushchev revisionism – on the seizure of state power in a peaceful way did: it desarmed the communist and workers' parties and the workers' revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. In short, Khrushchev strove to impose the view that the struggle for the seizure of state power must be rejected, by preaching the parliamentary road, for the purpose of extinguishing the strike movement and the revolutionary drive of the communist parties in the capitalist countries.

Our Party has a correct concept and attitude concerning the roads of transition to socialism. We conceive this question in a Marxist way. The principal thesis which our Party upholds is that violent revolution constitutes a general law of the proletarian revolution. Lenin defines the duty of the revolutionaries in this direction, when he says:

«The need to educate the masses systematically with this idea and precisely with this idea of the violent revolution, is the basis of the whole doctrine of Marx and Engels». (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, p. 473, Alb. ed.).

While emphasizing the road of violent revolution, we do not negate the road of peaceful transition to socialism, but we conceive this in the way the classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism have treated it, as a very limited possibility, which is not extremely rare, in quite special historical conditions and circumstances. The fact that so far, history knows no case in which any country has passed over to socialism in a peaceful way testified to this. The bourgeoisie does not voluntarily surrender its state power to the proletariat. The proletariat would agree to take power in a peaceful way, but this does not mean that it should await this day unarmed facing the bourgeoisie armed to the teeth. On the contrary, the proletariat must be armed, prepared for the violent revolution even if, in the specific historical conditions if some country, it can take power in a peaceful way. The peaceful way itself cannot be conceived otherwise. In the present conditions, when imperialism has increased its efforts to keep the peoples under oppression, when it is committing more acts of aggression, carrying on the armaments race, as never before, maintaining a huge military and police apparatus, increasing its military budget, moving towards reaction in all fields of life, etc., to advertise the peaceful road means to give up the revolution, to betray it.

Khrushchev's other thesis about «total general disarmament» also serves to turn the people away from revolution. This thesis brings grist to the mill of imperialism, for it disarms the peoples in the face of armed imperialism.

It is clear to us that imperialism is the source of war, that as long as imperialism exists the danger of war exists, too. But what do the revisionists say? The revisionists say that weapons, the armaments race, are the source of war. Therefore, according to them, so that there will be no war, arms must be eliminated! Proceeding from this erroneous view, they come out with the slogan of «total general disarmament». However, in the conditions of imperialism, the slogan of «total general disarmament», so zealously advocated by Khrushchev, is a major deception for the peoples. On this question, we must be guided by Lenin's teaching, according to which:

«As long as there are oppressed and exploited people in the world, we must demand no disarmament, but the general arming of the people. Only that will fully ensure freedom. Only that will fully conquer reaction. Only if this transformation is carried out, will millions of working people, and not just a handful of exploiters, really enjoy freedom.» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 10, p. 48, Alb. ed.)

We are for disarmament, but we do not do this without imperialism being disarmed. Imperialism, however, does not lay down its arms. If imperialism were to disarm itself, it would no longer be imperialism. We are armed and imperialism undertakes acts of aggression and organises conspiracies, but if we disarm ourselves, imagine what it will do. Therefore, in these circumstances, how can we disarm ourselves? In no way! Since we uphold this correct view, the revisionists accuse us of being warmongers! Why? Which country have we threatened? Or the contrary, others have threatened us and have tried to invade us. We have always fought and fought to defend our homeland. And for this we need arms, that is why we have armed not only our army, but our entire people, and we keep our powder dry, our eyes and ears open. Our slogan is to build socialism, holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other...

At the Meeting of the 81 parties in Moscow Khrushchev tried to have the question of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems put forward in his revisionist platform. He tried to avoid any word about the struggle of the oppressed and colonial peoples, or about the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalists, and especially against the new colonialists, the US imperialists. Indeed for some time, the Soviet press did not mention US imperialism, but German imperialism. This was his principal aim. Khrushchev also, needed this kind of coexistence to quell the national liberation struggle of colonial and dependent countries. Hence, these slogans were launched by Khrushchev in a planned way and with a purpose, therefore, in exposing their reactionary essence, our Party has demonstrated its revolutionary position by proceeding from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on these issues.

As to the foreign policy of N. Khrushchev, all his efforts, trips and speeches yielded no result whatever. None of the proposals of the Soviet Union hindered US imperialism, or its satellites, indeed even Bonn's Germany, from arming themselves to the teeth. Not one of the most urgent international problems is being solved. The question arises: Why is this the case when the leadership of the Soviet Union is allegedly
pursuing a correct line? According to the theses of the XX Congress of the CPSU, which are allegedly Marxist-Leninist, we should have had results in foreign policy, we should have imposed our views on imperialism. The truth is that the theses of the XX Congress are neither Marxist-Leninist nor mobilising; on the contrary, they are demobilising. In every case our Party has indicated to Khrushchev the weaknesses and the negative content of his theses, but he took no heed at all of our remarks. He thought "I shall tell the things with the Albanians my way". But he was gravely mistaken. His misfortunes came from an unexpected direction.

In his internal policy, particularly in matters of agriculture, the negative consequences of N. Khrushchev's revisionist work are becoming obvious. The fact is that in the USSR there are shortages of foodstuffs like butter, sugar, sausage, eggs, etc. This situation in the field of agriculture is a result of the anti-Marxist-economic policy of Khrushchev, who, formerly called himself a 'specialist in agriculture', while now he poses as a 'specialist in everything', even as the 'father' of missiles. Khrushchev combated the cult of Stalin in order to set up the cult of himself.

The main cause that the results in agriculture in the USSR are not good lies in Khrushchev's anti-Marxist line. We need only mention the measures for the 'reorganisation of agriculture' which went so far as to transfer the MTS from state property to the group property of the collective farm, which is a lower form of property than the socialist property of the entire people. This has brought great harm to Soviet agriculture. This means turning back the clock in the development of agriculture. On the question of the MTS, Khrushchev did the opposite of what Stalin writes in his work 'Economic problems of socialism in the USSR'. This book deals with important questions of the building of socialism. It also speaks of problems of the development of agriculture, about the MTS, which must always be in the hands of the state, etc., theses which are completely correct, but which Khrushchev blackened and violated, and built up another political, economic line which is thoroughly anti-Marxist.

Khrushchev raised a great clamour about the question of opening up new land. This land, however, has not given the profitability that Khrushchev boasted about. In the Soviet Union, there are areas which give high yields of grain, cotton, etc., because they are irrigated with up-to-date technique, while this is not the case in the new lands. Khrushchev's words about abundance from these lands are just so much noise on his part, empty boasts and promises. Khrushchev declared that the Soviet Union had built up reserves in wheat, but when we asked him to assist us, because we were without bread, he did not do so. On the contrary, he said "we are in difficulty ourselves". True, there is difficulty over bread in the present-day Soviet Union, but they had enough grain to supply us; nevertheless, they did not give it to us, because they wanted to bring us to our knees. We see clearly that we must struggle with all our might to ensure the production of grain ourselves at home, and the day will come when we shall realise this.

Khrushchev thought that everybody ought to follow his course. The communists, however, are among the people with the highest political understanding, the most energetic, who judge the problems correctly, in the light of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Through their work, the communists influence the policy of the country, not only where their parties are in power, but also in other countries. Therefore, they followed Khrushchev's actions and the situation he created in the Soviet Union and in the international communist movement. This situation was becoming more difficult for Khrushchev every day. The more time passed after the XX Congress, the greater the obstacles that arose on his revisionist course, so much that he was becoming more and more exposed, not only through some just and cautious criticism, but also through stronger and harsher criticism. This showed that Khrushchev's opponents were increasing.

So the Bucharest putsch was prepared.

After having spoken about the development of the Bucharest Meeting and about the Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA there, comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

The Moscow Meeting has its own history. Before this meeting took place, for 10 to 20 days on end the Chinese comrades, our comrades, and the comrades of other six parties worked 12-12 hours a day to combat the Soviet draft-declaration, which was a revisionist document from start to finish. Finally, this document, which Khrushchev aimed to make into a platform, on the basis of which the whole international communist movement should proceed, was rejected. Since his plan had not succeeded at Bucharest, Khrushchev intended, with the draft-declaration prepared for the Moscow Meeting, to tie the international communist movement hand and foot and to accuse those who would not accept this as splitters of the socialists camp. But our Party was prepared to fight this plan. The comrades we sent to the drafting commission before the Moscow Meeting had everything ready.

A fierce struggle was waged in this commission. No paragraph was allowed to pass without being discussed and without comment. And our struggle was crowned with success. The Soviet delegates were often obliged to accept our proposals in the commission. But the next day, apparently, after receiving a dressing down from Khrushchev they would demand that amendments be made in what the commission had approved.

Although our opponents constituted the majority and we were the minority, they were obliged to accept many theses in the way we and the Chinese comrades proposed them. The only fundamental issue with which we did not agree, but on which we were obliged to make a concession for the sake of unity, is the mention of the XX Congress in the Declaration. But our Party made its assessment of the XX Congress in the speech delivered at the Moscow Meeting.

Mehmet and I left Moscow early because they had placed us under general surveillance. Secret microphones had been placed in the house where they received us, but we had an apparatus which detected where their apparatuses were placed. Having been put under surveillance, we left the house which they put at our disposal and went to stay in our embassy. At the time we were leaving, a young man of the Soviet security organs told our comrades that «comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu did very well to leave, because our crowd have some dirty work afoot». But when we went to the embassy we discovered that it had been «bugged» too. At the meeting we had with Khrushchev we slapped it right in his face about the means and methods they had used against us, we pointed
out the depths to which they had sunk in putting the pressure on us. When we said that the Vlora base is ours and will remain ours, and that we respect you and you must respect us, Khrushchev replied: "This is how McMillan wanted to speak to me." Immediately we got up and went away.

Before our speech was delivered at the Moscow Meeting, they put many other forms of pressure on us. Khrushchev had told the Chinese delegates that "we shall treat the Albanians as we do the Yugoslavs" whereas the truth is that he is on the best of terms with the Yugoslavs. Then he added: "It is true we lost Albania, but what you've won is nothing much."

At the Moscow Meeting we denounced this view and told Khrushchev that Albania is not a commodity to be traded. These were some of the efforts of Khrushchev and his followers who had the idea that there was nothing for it but to bring Albania to its knees or to weaken it, and, if it did not surrender, then to take the final decision.

After the Moscow Meeting, Khrushchev intensified his hostile activity towards our country. Thus, he began to take measures for the liquidation of the naval base of Vlora, created to ensure the defence of Albania and the socialist camp. We had signed an agreement, according to which all the ships to be stationed there would in the course of time, be handed over to us, and from the time of their coming into our waters they would be the property of the Albanian state. However, during the proceedings of the Moscow Meeting, Khrushchev said that "the submarines are ours, therefore we shall withdraw them". We replied: "You have no right to take any ship at all, because on the basis of the agreement they are the property of the Albanian people". We told him also that they had no right whatever to dismantle the base in a unilateral way, because the ships are the property of the Albanian state and Albania and the Socialist camp are defended with them. He thought that by exerting pressure on us through the liquidation of the base, we would raise our hands, but he did not know the Albanians well!

He found his "major reason" for the liquidation of the base: allegedly the Albanians were ill-treating the Soviet sailors, making life impossible for them, because, while checking a bus on the road to Pashaliman, a policeman had asked to see the identity cards of three Soviet women who were on board and this was allegedly a great insult. And he had this "other reason", too, the children of Dukat had quarrelled with some Soviet children, and this was allegedly another "incident".

The Soviet leaders have used these things in their documents as "arguments" to prove that life had been made impossible for Soviet personnel in Albania. For these reasons, according to them, "the Vlora base should be handed over to the Soviets and the command should be Soviet". This means that we Albanians would accept restrictions on our own land and when we wanted to go to Vlora we would have to seek permission from the command of the Soviet navy. In a word, a Soviet garrison would be in command in Vlora. But how could such a thing be permitted? This could not even be thought of, let alone permitted!

Khrushchev had in mind to repeat the manoeuvre of the Yugoslav revisionists who sought to introduce their army divisions into Albania, allegedly to defend us from any attack by the Greek monarchofascists. Our Party rejected such anti-Marxist demands. It told Khrushchev that such demands are by no means proper, and retorted that our men are quite capable of handling the warships and defending the Adriatic shores, the interests of the homeland and the socialist camp. Vlora and the region around it is Albanian, and will remain Albanian as long as it exists. Your charges about life being made intolerable for the Soviet sailors in Vlora are absolutely without foundation and we reject them with contempt.

Our Party and Government had long been expecting that Khrushchev and company would arrive at such a point. As to the naval means in the hands of our crews, they remained and did not move from their berths, and to avoid opening up any conflict we allowed those ships which were handled by Soviet crews, to leave, although legally they were ours, and we were prepared to take them over and have them in full readiness, and not as Khrushchev's emissaries had left them.

On account of this correct stand they called us pirates, because we kept the ships which were in the hands of our sailors. Over economic problems Khrushchev thought that we would not know where to turn to and would submit to him. "Come to Moscow", he said, "so that we can reconsider what we have decided". But why should we go to Moscow, since the agreements had been concluded and signed by both sides? In fact, Khrushchev wanted comrade Mehemet and me to go to Moscow to agree to whatever he told us and then issue some communique to suit his taste. To defend the honour and line of our Party, we replied to Khrushchev that we had no reason to go to Moscow over problems on which agreements have been signed, therefore all those things you are doing are pressures to humiliate the Albanian people and their Party of Labour. But it is not the habit of Marxist-Leninist parties to submit. Since we refused to go to Moscow, they suspended the credits, being aware that in this way they were sabotaging our economy. However, our plans were not hindered, they were realised, indeed they are being overfulfilled. The People's Republic of China has provided us with sufficient credits.

When he saw that even with the suspension of credits and supplies he did not succeed in making us submit, Khrushchev then ordered the withdrawal of the Soviet specialists from Albania. How shameless the Soviet revisionists have shown themselves! We wanted the Soviet specialists to stay on, and on this we have the letters we sent to the Soviet leadership, but they took no heed of our request and spread the slander that it was we who expelled them. The time will come when our letters will be published and those who trust N. Khrushchev will be convinced what a dirty revisionist he is. He and his henchmen are the sort, who "murder you at night and weep over you in daylight", as our people say.

N. Khrushchev also cut off the bursaries of our students who were studying in Soviet higher schools. He has established a complete blockade of Albania. Not a word about Albania is written in the Soviet press, nor in the press of the countries of people's democracy of Europe. Whereas our newspapers write about the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries. We are carrying out a correct policy. Naturally, we also write about problems which are hurting the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, i.e. we expose the actions of the revisionist Khrushchevite group. This attitude infuriates the revisionists.

Khrushchev and company probably think that through the measures they have taken they will oblige us to pursue ano-
Their line, to fall on our knees, and to hitch ourselves to their revisionist chariot. This is how they think themselves, because they are revisionists. We speak of our love for the Soviet people and Soviet communists, but at the same time we cannot sit back and not expose Khrushchev and his cronies. This we do on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles and with documents, whereas Khrushchev and his crowd can only slander us.

Because they were convinced that our Party not only was not yielding, but on the contrary was sticking to its Marxist-Leninist course, that the Albanian people did not remain without bread, but are successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling this year's plan, Khrushchev and company decided to attack us openly at the XXII Congress of the CPSU. They were aware of the discredit they would suffer in the eyes of the Soviet people and the international communist movement with this action, but they could not do otherwise, because from day to day the situation was becoming more serious for N. Khrushchev with his revisionist theories being continually exposed.

The main item on the agenda for the XXII Congress of the CPSU was the discussion and approval of the program for the construction of communism in the Soviet Union. But under the disguise of this program, Khrushchev advanced many of his revisionist theses, putting them forward there to be approved by the congress.

Khrushchev's plan envisaged that the XXII Congress should once again discuss the question of the cult of the individual. With this question Khrushchev linked the Party of Labour of Albania, which has allegedly not grasped the importance of the consequences of the cult of the individual. He had to hit his opponent hard in order to intimidate the other parties, to avoid their deviation from the Khrushchev course. Thus Khrushchev intended to kill two birds with one stone: To condemn Albania and to intimidate the others by saying: Do you see what I did to Albania? I shall do the same thing to you; hence, either come with us or you will suffer for it like the PLA. Likewise Khrushchev threatened the communist and workers' parties which have begun to wake up to where the truth stands and to resist him. Thus, instead of becoming a tribune for the problems of the construction of communism, the XXII Congress was turned into a tribune against the cult of the individual and the anti-party group, from the hatred of the revisionists for the PLA erupted. These three issues were made the objective of the fight of Khrushchev and his followers. It has become so scandalous that the newspapers "Pravda", "Humanity" and "Unita" began to point out to the bourgeois press that it was forgetting to speak of the program of building communism, and was dealing only with the issues of the cult of the individual, the anti-party group and Albania. Thus, the N. Khrushchev group themselves saw that they had deviated greatly but the international bourgeoisie, for its own interests seized on it and exploited it properly, poured petrol on the flames and was overjoyed that it had brought Khrushchev on to its own course.

This was the plan N. Khrushchev had at the XXII Congress. He knew that with the raising of these three issues there would be some reaction. He did not invite a delegation from our Party to this Congress, because he was going to make accusations against us there and he could envisage two possibilities: either our delegation would walk out of the congress in protest, or it would be patient and then demand to express its own view. Both these possibilities were dangerous for Khrushchev, therefore he did not invite us. What he had to do, he did at the congress of his own party and he was afraid to propose a new meeting of the parties, for he saw what he suffered in Moscow last year. His aim was to mobilise all the communist and workers' parties against us, and indirectly also against the CP of China, and ensure as many followers as possible, to sing the praises of the theses of the XXII Congress and the draft-program of the CPSU, hence to achieve what he was unable to achieve at the Bucharest Meeting and later at the Moscow Meeting. But this did not work for him either.

At the XXII Congress the representative of the CP of China rose and described Khrushchev's attacks on our Party as anti-Marxist. This was a very heavy blow for Khrushchev and his followers. With his speech, the representative of the CP of China gave Khrushchev to understand that his actions were anti-Marxist and served only the enemies of socialism. The statement of the CC of the PLA and the articles of "Zeri i Popullit" about the attacks of the Soviet revisionists at their XXII Congress, have been published in the Chinese press, indeed on the front page. Since the beginning of the XXII Congress of the CPSU, up to two pages of the newspaper "Zheminzhibao" have been full of materials about Albania and her successes. When the 20th anniversary of our Party was celebrated, the Chinese press announced that "comrade Enver Hoxha has delivered a very important speech". And a few days later, they published it in their own language. Apart from this, they sent us a message of congratulations on the 20th anniversary of the founding of our Party, with full appreciations of the correct course of our Party. In this way, the CP of China told Khrushchev that it does not agree at all with the stand he maintains towards the PLA.

Our Party is young, but tempered in struggles. It did not make the disagreements public as Khrushchev and his followers did. Thus, very shortly after the Moscow Meeting, Walter Ulbricht publicly accused our Party of being sectarian and dogmatic with the aim of goading us into making an international issue of this so that the ground would be prepared for what he wanted. But we said nothing, we only sent a letter to the CC of the SED of Germany, in which we refuted Ulbricht's dirty attacks. Later Togliatti attacked us, but we did not even write a letter to him. We add that there are views in the leadership of the Italian CP that not only the CPSU, but every other party has the right to denounce the policy of another party. There are many communists in this party who are with Stalin's line, as they say. There is opposition in the ranks of the CC, but the speeches published in the newspaper "Unita" are arranged to show the alleged unity of the Party, which in reality does not exist. And there can be no unity, for these are very great issues. Khrushchev has opened up a great gulf into which he will fall himself. Every day that passes what he has done is being exposed. The correct stand of our Party, the CP of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties will expose it. Therefore, his revisionist activity will become more and more pronounced and the communists and peoples of the world will see more clearly what this group is, where it is leading the communist movement, and whom its policy serves.

With its correct stand, our Party, however small it may be, has more and more won the support and respect of the revi-
Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, and shall never reconcile ourselves with those, whose hands are stained with the blood of the finest sons of the Albanian people, such as Koci Xoxe and others who have assisted them to create the Albanian CP方针.

Apparently, Tito and Khrushchev, as the cronies: they are, think that the time has come to lay their cards on the table. What Khrushchev says, like these things that Tito said in Shkup, show that both of them pursue the same course.

But naturally, comrades, this struggle which we are waging against the revisionists, is neither easy nor short. We must not have illusions that Khrushchevism has been destroyed with what we have done. The struggle will be a protracted one, but it will develop constantly in our favour, in favour of socialism.

Our Party is armed to bring this struggle to a victorious conclusion and it is convinced that it is in the right. After all we are not alone; those who are with us make up the overwhelming majority of the communists. Nevertheless, we must always be vigilant, preserve the unity of the Party like the apple of our eye, for the arrows have been aimed against our Party. It is a great honour for our Party which is defending not only the freedom and independence of our homeland, but also the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, gloriously and with self-sacrifice.

However our Party does not become conceited. Our Party is young, but it has waged an uninterrupted Marxist-Leninist struggle over 20 years, which has tempered it and made it invincible. Our Party has created a real and steel-like unity, which is apparent at any time in all parts of the homeland. What enthusiasm, what strong unity there is in our entire Party from the base to the top! What steel-like unity there is between the communists and the people! The more difficult the moments the stronger the people-party unity becomes. This shows the people's approval of the correct line of our Party, this shows how correctly the Party has worked, for the education of the masses, who have tested in practice the correctness of its line in every sector, therefore they give their Party their unreserved support.

Khrushchev knows this, that is why he tried to spilt the unity of our Party through Liri Belishova and Koco Tashko, but couldn't. However, we should not think that he will lay down his arms. Khrushchev will try by every means to attack the unity of our Party, but he will suffer defeat as always. Our enemies, all of them but especially these we have round about us, will carry on their provocations as always. Therefore, with patience and heroism we must guard our unity and the purity of Marxism-Leninism with the greatest care, by making this clear to people. But when there are people who do not want to correct themselves, we must put them in their place. The dictatorship of the proletariat is alive, vigilant, and active. What Khrushchev says about there being «no dictatorship in the USSR, that in our country it is not necessary to condemn people and throw them into jail», is nonsense. Then why did he raise the question of Stalin once again, after his death? He did this because nobody forgets Stalin, he led the Soviet Union for 30 years after Lenin's death.

An Albanian was travelling by train in Azerbaijan. An old man asked him and when he learned that he was Albanian, he told him: «We love you very much, and you are doing very well that you are with Stalin. He was a great man.» Another Soviet
citizen nearby chipped and said: "Yes, that's so, but Stalin also made mistakes." "But I am an old Bolshevik," the old man went on, "and I know Stalin better than yours." The conversation became heated and the old man said: "Listen you Albanian, the machinegun opened up in the streets of Baku when they wanted to remove the monument to Stalin, because the people came out and demonstrated in opposition, thus Khrushchev's men cleared off with their tails between their legs."

The question of Stalin and his work is not a minor matter. It attracts many people, who become opponents of Khrushchev, and he attacks them when he discovers them, therefore let him say as much as he likes about there being no dictatorship and no political prisoners in the USSR. To us it is clear: true, there is no dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but there is a fascist dictatorship which jails the bolsheviks and honest people and releases the counterrevolutionaries.

The situation dictates that in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened further. It must act against those who try to rise against the unity of the Party with the people and against the interests of our homeland and socialism. Therefore vigilance must remain a first-rate duty for us. The Party must always be ready and place itself at the head of the people in carrying out the political, ideological and economic tasks, for the defence of the homeland and the purity of Marxian-Leninism. We should more and more strengthen the confidence of the people in the Party, in the just cause the Party defends. We are not alone. Together with our Party, the CP of China and other parties are marching with determination on this course. People's China plays a major role in the international communist movement. The CP of China takes a sound Marxist-Leninist stand. It is a great party and with long experience, which terrifies Khrushchev.

In conclusion, like to express the opinion of the Central Committee that the Party organisation of your district is one of the best organisations, with valiant and one hundred percent resolute communists, undaunted fighters, and I have the conviction that at the head of the working people it will successfully realise the economic tasks as well as any task concerning the defence of the Party and the people, the defence of the borders and freedom of the homeland.

I wish you, comrades, success in your work wherever you are.

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AN ACT OF UNPRECEDENTED HOSTILITY AGAINST THE PRA AND THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

December 13, 1961

On the urge of N. Khrushchev the Soviet government 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 act of unprecedented 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 the 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, N. Khrushchev gladdens only the enemies and gives them weapons to discredit the Communist Party, the Soviet state and their traditional policy of friendship among the peoples. This shows the level of enmity which N. Khrushchev has reached in his hostile feelings towards the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian 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 war for freedom, national independence, the building of socialism. It has been consecrated with the blood of the valiant sons of the Soviet peoples and the Albanian partisans fallen 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 unshakable loyalty towards the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet peoples. The PLA and the Albanian people have considered and continued to consider 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 inconceivable to any honest person how N. Khrushchev could go so far as to sever even state
diplomatic relations with a small friendly and brother 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 I mentioned 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 N. 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 N. 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 the rapprochement and embracing with 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 N. Khrushchev’s act against the PRA, and they will see whom this act serves in reality.

As a pretext for the withdrawal of the entire personnel of the Soviet embassy from Tirana, N. Khrushchev found that allegedly the Albanian government is 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 N. 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 N. 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 J. Andropov, that an editorial of the newspaper «Zeri i Popullit» published on the eve of the XXII 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 «Zeri i Popullit» or any other Albanian newspaper. These are the fabrications on which N. Khrushchev bases his «arguments». What hypocrisy! He hurl 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, where as 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 rejection. N. 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 been in Moscow, and not in Albania, since August 19,1961. It is truly astonishing that ambassador Shlik has noted, from Moscow, the obstacles created for him in Albanian recently!

N. 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, N. 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 N. Khrushchev towards the PRA? The real cause, which drove N. 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 N. 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 criticised the opportunist views and the anti-Marxist actions of N. 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, N. 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 carried out, one after another, the economic blockade, the blockade of silence and political isolation, etc., in order to force our Party to its knees, at the XXII Congress he went so far as to publicly level the base slanders and accusations at the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders and make a blatantly counterrevolutionary call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Albanian Party and state, thus brutally interfering in the internal affairs of a so-
vereign, 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 PRA of Albania. 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 N. Khrushchev has been following for some time now towards the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people. But, by this unprecedented act of hostility N. 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 N. 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 N. Khrushchev the Leninist principles of equality, independence and noninterference in the internal affairs of one another are nothing but deception, for in fact the PLA needed only express its viewpoint on a number of questions of the present day developments in the world and the international communist movement, in opposition to N. Khrushchev’s revisionist concepts, and all the stones were rained upon it and all methods used, up to those which the imperialists and the other most reactionary forces have used and continue to use.

What does N. 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, N. 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 reaped 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 the 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 all the efforts of the imperialist enemies and modern revisionists will fall ignominiously as they have done so far.

The attacks, slanders and hostile actions of N. 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 third five-year plan will be fulfilled and overfulfilled, irrespective of the obstacles which N. 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 great internationalist aid 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 N. Khrushchev and his cronies. Just as it has done heretofore, the People’s Republic of Albania, as a socialist country, will have at the foundation of its foreign policy its efforts for the strengthening of 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 warmongering 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 N. 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 N. 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.

1) This material has been published in the form of an editorial in the newspaper ‘Zëri i Popullit’ under the title: ‘An unprecedented act in the relations among socialist countries’.
At the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union N. Khrushchev publicly attacked the Party of Labour of Albania. The slanders and anti-Marxist attacks of N. Khrushchev serve only the enemies of communism and of the People’s Republic of Albania, the various imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists. By making public before the enemies the disagreements which had existed for a long time between the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party of Labour of Albania, N. Khrushchev brutally violated the 1950 Moscow Declaration which points out that the disagreements which arise between sister parties must be resolved with patience, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the principles of equality and consultations. By attacking publicly the Party of Labour of Albania, N. Khrushchev effectively launched the open attack against the unity of the international communist and workers movement, against the unity of the socialist camp. For this anti-Marxist act, for all the consequences arising from it, N. Khrushchev bears full responsibility.

The Party of Labour of Albania, led by the interests of the unity of the world communist movement and the socialist camp, with a great patience, since our disagreements with the Soviet leadership arose, has striven to resolve them on the correct Marxist-Leninist course, on the course defined by the Moscow Declaration. N. Khrushchev chose the anti-Marxist course of their exacerbation, the course of attacks and slanders, pressures and threats, the course of public denunciation of our disagreements.

The Party of Labour of Albania welcomed with sympathy the declaration of the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of China at the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, comrade Chou En-lai, which points out that the unilateral criticisms and making public, before the enemy, of the disagreements between sister parties cannot be considered as a serious and Marxist-Leninist attitude. However, from the Tribune of the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, even after this principled warning of the representative of the Communist Party of China, the most savage attacks and slanders continue against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People’s Republic of Albania, by some members of the Soviet leadership as well as by some leaders of the communist and workers’ parties of other countries, thus assuming, they, too, a heavy historical responsibility, as disrupters of the unity of the international communist and workers’ movement.

In these conditions, in the face of the organised anti-Marxist attack of N. Khrushchev and those who follow him, in the face of slanders and inventions, which aim at discrediting our Party, in the face of the serious danger to the further fate of the unity of the international communist and workers’ movement and the socialist camp, the Party of Labour of Albania cannot keep silent. With facts and documents, it will make known to the entire communist and workers’ movement, as well as to the entire international public opinion, how the truth stands about the relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on which side is the right, and will expose the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian actions of N. Khrushchev and his group.

The unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers’ movement is being seriously endangered by the anti-Marxist actions of N. Khrushchev and his followers. In this situation, to defend the supreme interests of the people and the homeland, their socialist victories, to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the ranks of the communist movement and the socialist camp, the Party of Labour of Albania, with a pure conscience, has assumed and will assume the responsibility for every action of its own, as well before the international communist and workers’ movement, as also before the Albanian people.

The struggle which is being imposed on our Party and people will be a protracted and difficult one. But difficulties have never frightened our Party and people. Our Party and people have been tempered in struggle against the many and continual slanders, attacks and conspiracies of various imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists. They will not bend and will not fall to their knees either before the slanderous attacks, blackmails and pressures of N. Khrushchev or of those who follow him. Party and people, in steel unity, as always, will blaze ahead determined and will win on their correct course, on the course of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism and communism. We shall win because we are not alone. With us, with the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, are the communists and the peoples of the Soviet Union, with whom we are bound with an unbreakable love and friendship which we shall preserve intact in our hearts as always. In every storm and stress; with us are the communists and peoples of China, all the communists and peoples of other socialist countries. The victorious banner of the Party, the unconquerable banner of Marxism-Leninism, will flutter always proudly in new socialist Albania.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania
COMMUNIQUE ON THE MEETING OF THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA convened on July 19-20, 1976 under the chairmanship of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha. It examined the report of the Political Bureau on the draft-directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA for the sixth five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture of the RPA for the years 1976-1980 and, after having broadly discussed this issue, took the decisions concerned.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party decided likewise to summon the 7th regular Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on the 1st of November 1976.

At the conclusion of the proceedings of the Plenum, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha, delivered an important speech.

THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

Tirana, July 20, 1976.

DECISION ON SUMMONING THE 7th REGULAR CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, gathered on the 19th and 20th of July 1976,

DE C I D E D :

I. – To summon the 7th regular Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on the 1st of November 1976, with the following agenda:


   The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha, reports.


   The Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, comrade Ibrahim Sina, reports.

The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, comrade Mehmet Shehu, reports.

4. Elections to the central organs of the Party.

II. The norm of representation in the Congress will be: for every 120 party members — one delegate with deliberative vote and for every 120 candidates for party members — one delegate with consultative vote.

III. The district Party conferences for rendering accounts and the election of the leading organs and delegates to the 7th Congress of the PLA will take place from the 1st to the 30th of September 1976.

The Party organisations of the People's Army will elect the delegates to the 7th Congress of the PLA together with the organisations of the terrain at the district Party conferences where they are.

THE 9th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

Tirana, July 20, 1976.

DECISION ON THE APPROVAL
OF THE DRAFT-DIRECTIVES
OF THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PLA
FOR THE SIXTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN
FOR THE YEARS 1976-1980

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, at its meeting of July 19-20, 1976, after having taken under examination and broadly discussed the report of the Political Bureau of the CC «On the draft-directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA for the sixth five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture of the PRA for the years 1976-1980»,

DECIDED:

1. To fully approve the draft-directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA for the sixth five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture of the PRA for the years 1976-1980.

2. The draft-directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA for the sixth five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture of the PRA for the years 1976-1980 be published in the press in the month of July 1976, and a broad discussion be held on them in the Party organisations and the working masses of the town and countryside.

THE 9th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

Tirana, July 20, 1976.
The 55th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China in Albania

The Albanian communists and the whole Albanian people joyfully celebrated the 55th anniversary of the Communist Party of China. Since several days before, broad meetings dedicated to this important event were organised in the main districts of the country and in large work and production centres, agricultural cooperatives and cultural institutions. The principal cadres of the Party and State, representatives of mass organisations and distinguished working people took part in these meetings. Representatives of the Embassy of the PR of China to the PR of Albania, the members of the Chinese workers’ delegation who were in Albania for a friendly visit, as well as Chinese specialists assisting in the realisation of important projects which are being built in Albania with the aid of the PR of China were also present at some of these meetings. Messages of greetings were sent to the Embassy of the PR of China to the PR of Albania.

The message of greetings sent by comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and comrade Mao Tse-tung on behalf of the Central Committee of the FLA, the Albanian communists and people, was published in the Albanian press on July 1, 1976. The message reads:

«Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the notable event for the Chinese Communists and people, as well as for the entire world communist and revolutionary movement, the 55th anniversary of the founding of the glorious Communist Party of China, it is a special joy for me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists and people, to send to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese communists and the whole fraternal Chinese people, and to you personally, comrade Mao Tse-tung, ardent revolutionary greetings.

The founding of the Communist Party of China marked the great turning point in the history of the great Chinese people who, under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, carried out the armed revolution, overturned the old order of exploitation and oppression, and set up a new and powerful socialist state – the People’s Republic of China.

In the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China, the heroic Chinese people have scored brilliant victories on all fronts for the successful construction of socialism, for the prosperity and all-round strengthening of their homeland. Today People’s China has become an advanced socialist country, with modern industry, agriculture, science and technology and with an impregnable defence. It is a powerful socialist fortress and a reliable support for the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples, therefore it enjoys the love and respect of all the peoples and revolutionaries of the world.

The fifty-five years of the Communist Party of China are years of a fierce and uninterrupted struggle for the defence and creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism against various deviationist and opportunist trends in China, as well as in the international arena, against modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism.

The successful crowning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led directly by comrade Mao Tse-tung, as well as the defeat, in the process of a fierce class struggle, of the revisionist line of the traitor Liu Shao Chi, of the anti-party clique of the conspirator Lin Piao and of the counterrevolutionary course of the capitulationist Teng Hsiao Ping, are outstanding historic victories of the Chinese Party and people and the Marxist-Leninist line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in the struggle for the
Dear comrades,

A great militant friendship, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, formed in the struggle for the common cause of the revolution and socialism and tempered in the common battles against imperialism and international reaction, particularly against the two greatest and most dangerous enemies of the peoples of the whole world in our epoch, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, as well as against modern revisionism, binds our two parties, our two peoples and our two socialist countries. This friendship has withstood all tests and has been sealed with every passing day.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists and the entire Albanian people have guarded and will guard this revolutionary friendship as the most sacred thing. In the future, too, they will do their utmost to see that this exemplary friendship, which has the everlasting principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism inscribed on its banner, becomes ever firmer and stronger, for the benefit of our two peoples and our two countries, for the cause of the revolution and socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Long live the 55th anniversary of the glorious Communist Party of China!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great and beloved leader of the Chinese people, the most beloved friend of the Albanian people!

Long live the great revolutionary friendship and the militant unity between our peoples and our sister parties!

The organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the newspaper "Zeri i Popullit", published a long article dedicated to this event, which reads in part:

The history of the Chinese people during these 55 years is filled with ceaseless struggle and efforts. The heroic Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party and enlightened by the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, fought, arms in hand, with determination and heroism for more than 25 years until they defeated the hated feudal-bourgeois regime and the foreign imperialists on the battle-field, established the new state power, and founded the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. The successful crowning of the great Chinese people's revolution and the creation of the PR of China are an historic deed of the Communist Party of China which faithfully and in a creative way implemented the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the revolution and the armed uprising in the concrete conditions of the country. These triumphs constitute very valuable experience for all the Marxist-Leninists, the genuine revolutionaries, and the progressive forces of all countries, a great example of inspiration and encouragement for all the oppressed peoples, showing them that true freedom and independence, the triumph of the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, can be achieved only through the people's armed struggle under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, by carrying it through to the end, to the final victory over imperialism and reaction, the capitulationists and opportunists of every hue, over the traitorous revisionists who advocate class conciliation and do their utmost to sabotage and strangle the revolution.

After October 1, 1949 the Chinese people and their tested and reliable leader, the Communist Party of China, had to set out on a difficult course, that of profound revolutionary transformations, to carry out socialist construction and the socialist revolution, overcoming countless obstacles, at the same time, to defend the victories of the revolution from the internal and external enemies. But just as in the armed revolution, in these battles too, the loyalty to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the ability and farsightedness of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung to carry out the new tasks of the time successfully in the concrete conditions of China were outstanding. And within a short time, indeed very short in the life of a great people, the Communist Party of China achieved majestic victories which have transformed China into a developed and powerful socialist country, with modern industry and advanced agriculture, with science and technology, of the highest world levels, with a defence potential capable of annihilating any aggressor or coalition of aggressors who might dare undertake any adventure against it.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led directly by comrade Mao Tse-tung, which gave a new powerful impulse to the cause of the construction and defence of socialism in the PR of China constitutes a brilliant chapter in the history of the CP of China. The triumph of this revolution defeated the bourgeoisie-revisionist line of the traitorous Liu Chao Chi band and foiled the counter-revolutionary plot of the traitor and agent of the Soviet revisionists, Lin Piao, defended and further strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, barring the way to the revisionist peaceful counterrevolution, and destroyed the hopes and efforts of the imperialists and the social imperialists of Moscow to wipe out the socialist victories of the Chinese people, to restore capitalism in China as in the Soviet Union and other countries where the revisionist traitor cliques are ruling. Now a determined class struggle is being waged in China against the revisionist, counter-revolutionary, capitulationist line of Teng Hsiao Ping, who was demanding the reconsideration of the correct conclusions of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and aimed at overturning the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. But the great Chinese people burned his cards, they stood up and resolutely defended the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung showing once again that faced with the revolutionary strength of Marxism-Leninism the enemies of the Party and the people are doomed to inevitable defeat.

The Party of Labour of Albania, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has linked the Albanian communists, our entire people, in a great revolutionary
friendship with such a glorious party as the CP of China and with the fraternal Chinese people. This friendship, forged by our two Marxist-Leninist parties and by our two beloved leaders, comrade Enver Hoxha and comrade Mao Tse-tung, has at its foundations the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the common struggle for the triumph of the cause of the revolution and socialism, against the aggressive plans, perfidious conspiracies and intrigues of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the two greatest and most dangerous enemies of the peoples, against modern revisionism and international reaction. Precisely because our friendship is such, precisely because the Albanian Chinese relations are sincere and internationalist, our imperialist and revisionist enemies concoct the most vicious slanders and are trying in every way to damage our great friendship, but they will never be able to harm it. At a meeting on April 20, this year, with a group of Albanian Chinese workers and specialists of the Elbasan metallurgical complex comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Our Marxist-Leninist parties have always fought and worked and will always work and fight for the further strengthening and deepening of our unbreakable friendship, which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism».

A marked event in the scientific life of the PR of Albania

From June 28th to the 30th the National Conference of Ethnographic Studies, organised by the Academy of Sciences of the PR of Albania, held its proceedings in Tirana. This was an important event for Albanian ethnographic science and the scientific life of the country in general.

Cadres of people's culture from all over the country, activists and scientific workers, teachers, professional and amateur authors, etc., took part in the conference. Representatives of the scientific institutions of the Academy of Sciences of China as well as scientists, ethnographers and publicists from other countries participated, too.

The proceedings of the Conference were followed by Party and State leaders, including the members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party comrade Hynsi Kapo and Ramiz Alia, the member of the Political Bureau of the CC and first secretary of the Tirana Committee of the PLA comrade Manush Myftiu and others.

The Conference was presided over by the Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami.

«In our new Albania», she said among other things, «as in every field, in the field of ethnography too, there has been a turning point in many directions. Albanian ethnographic science began its existence guided and inspired by the Party, based on a correct scientific methodology with a lofty purpose, to serve the present, social development, bring to the fore the historical, cultural creativity of the Albanian people as an ethnic unit and, on the other hand, to follow the present-day cultural phenomena of the socialist life of development, maintaining a critical stand towards the heritage of the past. Thus our ethnography helps to accelerate the process of the birth and development of the progressive new in the life of the people, making their best values a property of all the working people, and also accelerates the overthrow of the conservative old, backward customs, religious beliefs and others tains of the past which are a hindrance to the progress of our socialist society.

Our ethnography, she continued, is entirely different from the ethnographic sciences in the bourgeois-revisionist countries and is opposed to all theories which aim at liquidating the culture of other peoples.»

Tefta Cami also pointed out that the great care displayed by the Party and the people's power for the development of
The 33rd anniversary of the creation of the Albanian people’s army

On July 10, 1943, in the flames of the war against the foreign invaders and traitors to the country, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania, the General Anti-fascist National Liberation Council created the General Staff of the National Liberation Army. This event went down in history as the day of the creation of the Albanian People’s Army.

The Albanian people celebrate July 10 joyfully every year; but this year the celebrations for this remarkable event assumed a special character as they were held on the eve of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is the organiser, leader, inspirer of the Albanian People’s Army.

Since several days ago, various activities were organised throughout the country: in military units, schools, work and production centres, institutions, etc. In meetings and talks with young people, veterans of the National Liberation War spoke of the glorious road of the army and its role as a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat in defence of the freedom, independence of the homeland and the victories achieved in the socialist construction of the country.

On July 9 the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the Ministry of People’s Defence and the Tirana district Party Committee arranged a solemn evening dedicated to the 33rd anniversary of the creation of the People’s Army. Working people of work and production centres, servicemen, veterans of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, workers of Government departments and central institutions of the capital city, mothers of the martyrs and relatives of their families and others participated in the evening. Present were likewise the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Ramiz Alia, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Xhafer Spahiu and other leading personalities.

Those present were addressed by the deputy Minister of People’s Defence Maliq Sadushi. At the end, an artistic program was given in which the idea of the victories achieved under the leadership of the PLA in the construction and defence of the socialist homeland stood out.

Solemn meetings devoted to this event were organised also in the country’s main districts.

On July 10 a meeting was organised in Labinit of Elbasan (Central Albania), where the General Staff of the National Liberation Army was created 33 years ago. Many veterans of the National Liberation War and working people from the city of Elbasan and the nearby villages took part in this meeting. The local authorities as well as the former commander of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army, now member of the Presidium of the People’s Assembly, Spiro Moisiu, were also present.

After the main address various cultural-artistic activities dedicated to July 10 were carried out.

The numerous activities dedicated to July 10 include also the national games of the People’s Army, which mobilised thousands of members of the People’s Army.
CLOSING SPEECH
BY COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

Comrade delegates,

The proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Party are drawing to a close with a full success and amidst indescribable revolutionary enthusiasm.

At its 1st Plenum, the new Central Committee unanimously elected by the 7th Congress, elected the political Bureau and the Secretariat. To the political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee the following comrades have been unanimously elected:

MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU:


ALTERNATE-MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

Lenka Çuko, Llambi Gegprifti, Pilo Peristeri, Qiriako Mihali and Simon Stefani.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

Enver Hoxha, Hekuran Isai, Hysni Kapo, Prokop Murra and Ramiz Alia.

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

Enver Hoxha

CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL CONTROL AND AUDIT COMMISSION:

Pilo Peristeri

Allow me to assure the Party and the entire people, on behalf of all the comrades you elected to the Central Committee, that the new leadership will fight and work unflinchingly, with loyalty and devotion, for the cause of socialism in Albania, and the freedom and independence of the homeland, that it will always measure up to its great mission and remain unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

The proceedings of this Congress and the election of the leading organs of the Party provided fresh evidence of the revolutionary communist features which characterize our Party, of its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, on which the Party always bases itself to guide the construction of the socialist society in Albania with a firm hand, to smash the obstacles and overcome the difficulties that our country has faced on its victorious march, to guarantee the people a happy and brilliant future.

The 7th Congress was another brilliant manifestation of the unity of the ranks of the Party, of the sound revolutionary solidarity which has been the invincible and all-conquering weapon in all the great class battles against internal and external enemies. From this Congress our unity emerged even stronger, and this is another guarantee that the enemies will never find cracks in our Party.

During these days, delegates who broadly represented the entire Party and all sectors have spoken in the Congress. With their mature and profound participation in the discussion, they made a valuable contribution to deepening the analyses and making the tasks now facing the Party clearer. They were an expression of the determination of the members of our Party and our entire people to carry constantly forward the communist ideals for which our heroic Party has fought boldly and dauntlessly.

The proceedings of the Congress were characterized by boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our Party, by loyalty to revolutionary principle and lofty proletarian consciousness. This is a testimony to the strength of the Party, a proof that it has in its hands the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism, which helps it to avoid mistakes and score ever greater victories.

The decisions which the Congress adopted, like those of earlier Congresses, will be another brilliant page in the glorious history of the construction of socialism in Albania, of the resolute struggle it is waging for the victory of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism.

Now, a great program of work and struggle lies ahead of the Party and the people. In the documents
which our Congress endorsed all the targets and objectives which have to be attained in the coming five years have been laid down in a clear and concrete way. Achievement of them will make our economy even more powerful, will make the defence of the homeland even stronger, raise our culture to a higher level and further improve the life of the people. Therefore, let us mobilize all our forces to carry out the 6th five year plan.

The successes achieved, the waging of the class struggle on the correct road, revolutionary determination and lofty patriotism of our people, the maturity and rich revolutionary experience of the Party, its correct Marxist-Leninist line enable us to say with firm conviction that the new objectives and tasks laid down by this Congress will be achieved and fulfilled successfully in all fields.

Therefore, just as up to now, we must spare nothing for the further strengthening and tempering of our heroic Party, the tested and reliable leader of our people, we must ceaselessly study Marxism-Leninism, the triumphant science of the proletariat, must assimilate and use more and more the rich experience of our People’s Revolution and the construction of socialism, further strengthen the unity of the people around the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the invincible weapons for the successful construction of socialism and defence of the homeland.

Comrades,

A large number of representatives of the Marxist-Leninist sister parties from all continents took part in the proceedings of our Congress. This is a great honour for our Party. Allow me, in your name, and in the name of the entire Party and people, to extend my heartfelt thanks to our dear friends and comrades for the ardent greetings which they brought us and the warm words they addressed to our Party, and to thank the Communist Party of China for the fraternal message it sent our Congress.

The support which the Marxist-Leninist sister parties give the efforts of our Party for the construction of socialism, their evaluation of its struggle against US-led imperialism, Soviet-led social-imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction, are a great and very valuable source of encouragement to us.

We assure our comrades in arms, the Marxist-Leninists everywhere in the world, that their sister Party of Labour, the Albanian communists and the Albanian people will always march forward on their road of the revolution and socialism, that they will never submit to any threat, however terrible it may be. Our Party will fight unflinchingly, always stand shoulder to shoulder with the Marxist-Leninist parties and the genuine revolutionaries in the class battles, and together, we shall conquer and triumph over our enemies, because we are all guided by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The militant unity and internationalist proletarian solidarity of the Marxist-Leninists have been and are very precious to our Party. We shall not spare our efforts to strengthen them continuously, certain that in this way, we are performing our internationalist duty. Our Party will never cease its struggle against the aggressive plots and plans of the two superpowers, against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, its determined struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, for the victory of communism.

Forward, comrades to put the decisions of the 7th Congress into practice as quickly and effectively as possible, to score new victories on the brilliant road, on which the Party leads us.

**LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOUR, THE INDOMITABLE LEADER OF THE VICTORIES, OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE, OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA!**

**LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!**

**LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!**

**GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!**

I declare the 7th congress of the Party of Labour of Albania closed.
ENVER HOXHA

A CONSTITUTION THAT EMBODIES THE TRUE ESSENCE OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Entirely based on the Marxist-Leninist principles creatively implemented by the PLA and being a scientific synthesis of the revolutionary experience, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a document of major theoretical and practical importance that will serve the complete and successful construction of socialism in Albania.

Report submitted to the 5th Session of the 8th Legislature of the People's Assembly on behalf of the Special Commission for the new draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.
Dear comrade deputies,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Special Commission set up by this Assembly to draw up the new draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have charged me to present to you, on their behalf, the final draft of the new fundamental law of our socialist state which you have the honour and the great responsibility to discuss and approve.

After the initial draft that was published by the People's Assembly in January this year, the broad masses of the working people, in town and countryside, under the direct leadership of the Party and its Central Committee, acquainted themselves with its provisions and held an exceptionally broad, vigorous, revolutionary discussion of the draft in the most democratic forms, in order to supplement and improve it and make it more precise in its political, ideological, juridical, organizational, and other aspects.

The acquaintance of the masses with the draft-Constitution and the discussion of it conducted with a most effective method and style of work, not only made a great contribution to our socialist country in the drawing up of a most democratic and revolutionary Constitution, but at the same time served as a great theoretical, political and moral school. This broad activity has given and will give an unprecedented impulse to production, to progressive thinking and to revolutionary action. All these things will open brilliant perspectives for speeding up the construction of socialism in Albania.

Taking into account the great number of the contributors to the discussion throughout Albania and their many profound and valuable contributions, it can be stated with confidence that the entire draft that is being presented to you for approval bears the seal of the wise and revolutionary opinion of the people. The draft-Constitution is a major work of our Party and people, a brilliant reflection of our reality, and shows the great political and ideological maturity of our Party and people, as well as their vitality, courage, determination and unwavering consistency in carrying forward and defending their socialist homeland, strengthening it and making it prosperous and rich.

All the allround work carried out for the great popular discussion of the new draft-Constitution in the context of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its Congress, was crowned with success. In an atmosphere of indescribable enthusiasm, the 7th Congress of the Party was unanimous in its high appraisal of the draft of our new socialist Constitution.

With a proper appreciation of the task with which it was charged by the People's Assembly, after thoroughly acquainting itself with the materials prepared by the Central Committee, with the many additions, alterations, and improvements proposed by the broad masses of the working people, by the cadres, institutions, organizations and
Comrade Enver Hoxha submitting the report of the Special Commission of the People’s Assembly for the new draft-Consti...
organs of the Party and the State, as well as with the high assessment which the 7th Congress of the Party made of the draft, the Special Commission for drafting the Constitution arranged them systematically, and after careful study, included them in the final draft.

You, comrade deputies, are acquainted with the content of the provisions of the draft-constitution, because, together with the people, you, too, took an active part in the discussion and the whole process of drawing up the draft-constitution.

In the report the Central Committee of the Party presented to the 7th Congress, a special chapter was devoted entirely to the Constitution. The Congress defined the line of the Party in the political, economic and organizational fields, on questions of our foreign policy and our stand towards the problems of the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement. The historic decisions of the Congress, which guide our entire Party and people, have inspired the masses of the working people of our country and have aroused a high spirit of enthusiasm and mobilization at work everywhere.

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

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

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

Clarity is its characteristic feature, and this is apparent in every article that deals with problems of the structure and superstructure, organization, or the rights and duties of Albanian citizens. Our people, of whatever social origin and cultural level, interpret and implement the articles of the constitution as individuals and collectively in the great interest of the socialist society that is being built under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, which with great loyalty and consistency, follows and implements the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of our country.

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

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

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

The draft-Constitution also sanctions another very important idea that in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class and of its Party, is the ruling ideology. This constitutional norm, which expresses a great historic victory attained in our country, on one hand, affirms the important thesis of principle that socialism can be built only on the basis of this scientific ideology, and, on the other hand, bars the way to the spread in our country of alien ideologies and all the theories of the modern revisionists about «ideological pluralism», «the free circulation» of reactionary ideas and cultures, which are weapons of the political counter-revolution and ideological aggression, which prepare the ground for armed military aggression.

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

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

Every state that respects itself and others has its norms which guide it in its friendly relations. These norms differ according to the world-outlook of each state. None can impose its norms on another.

A thing that is agreeable or suitable to one regime may not be agreeable or suitable to another. No state leaves its opinions and viewpoints in obscurity, without expressing them, even in critical and polemical form, towards another state. It is logical that there should be truly sovereign states, like ours, that have not agreed and do not agree to obey the «conductor's baton» and no other.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our country has never accepted and never will accept such enslaving credits which are nothing else but forms of neo-colonialism. The new Constitution leaves no way open to equivocation or interpretation to the detriment of the freedom, independence, sovereignty, and defence of the homeland. At the same time, it does not infringe upon the rights of any other state. The Constitution does not allow any state or individual to meddle in the internal affairs of our country and, vice-versa, does not allow our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country.

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

Our Constitution is not a Constitution that brings about the isolation of the country, as some people claim, but on the contrary, it arouses love and respect among nations and democrats, among progressive people and states.

In many of its articles, the draft-Constitution embodies the Marxist-Leninist principle that socialist democracy is inseparable from the dictatorship of the proletariat, that only through the complete implementation of broad democracy for the working people can the dictatorship of the proletariat be preserved and consolidated, and that only this dictatorship can ensure genuine democracy for the masses of the people.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania all state power stems from the working people and belongs to them. The working class, the working peasantry, and the other working people can exercise their constitutional rights in governing the country not only through the representative organs, but also directly.

The spirit of socialist democracy thoroughly pervades the entire structure of our socialist state, ranging from the people's councils of the lowest instances to the highest organ of state power, which is the People's Assembly. In carrying out their activity, the representative organs and the other state organs rely on the creative initiative of the work-
ing people and the social organizations and render account to the people.

A vivid and concrete expression of the leading role of the working class and socialist democracy in action is the right of the working class, under the leadership of the Party, to exercise control over the activity of state organs, economic and social organizations and the working people, which is sanctioned in the Constitution. The workers' control is a component part of the line of the masses and not only constitutes a basic principle of the activity of the Party and State, but also expresses a distinctive and characteristic feature of our socialist reality.

Most constitutions of capitalist countries, where the savage dictatorship of the bourgeoisie prevails, as well as the constitutions of the countries ruled by the revisionists, abound in democratic phrases, but behind their beautiful words and empty promises of «freedom», «equality», «justice», etc. lurks the violence of exploiting classes and ruling cliques which is exerted over the working people.

Today the masses of the working people in the four corners of the earth are struggling to achieve democratic rights and freedoms. As Lenin said, they want to gain not just the promise of freedom, not freedom on paper, but genuine freedom. Whenever the masses demand the enactment of constitutional norms which are proclaimed only to deceive them, their efforts are immediately labelled as activities which endanger the state and political order, and are suppressed with fire and sword. This reality confirms the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis that wherever the dictatorship of the proletariat has not yet triumphed, or where it has been abolished, the masses of the working people cannot enjoy truly democratic rights and freedoms.

In our socialist homeland, through the implementation of socialist democracy, citizens have been guaranteed by law rights which they enjoy in reality, because in our country there is no gulf between the law and the reality. Such rights are, in particular, the equality of citizens before the law regardless of sex, race, nationality, education, social position, and material situation; the right to elect and to be elected to all the organs of state power; the right to work and rest after work; the right to the necessary means of livelihood in old age, in case of illness or loss of ability to work; the guarantee of medical services free of charge, as well as of treatment in the health institutions of the country; the right to education; the right to join various organizations, which act in the political, economic, and cultural fields, as well as in any other field in the life of the country; the right to present demands, complaints, suggestions and proposals to the competent organs about individual, social and state problems, as well as many other rights which are recognised by our fundamental law and the other laws. Albania is the first country in the world to do away with all taxes.

Likewise, the draft-Constitution not only proclaims the rights of national minorities but also provides that any infringement of these rights is condemned by law.

Corresponding to the many fundamental rights that the state guarantees our citizens are their duties, which at the same time, are also an honour for them. Citizens have the duty to respect the Constitution and other laws of the country; to protect and strengthen the socialist order and to implement the rules of socialist communal life; to defend and strengthen socialist property and to take a conscientious attitude towards work; to defend the socialist homeland, and in this connection, to engage in universal military service and continuous military training. In Albania everybody is a soldier, always fully prepared to defend his socialist homeland and the great victories of our people's revolution.

In opposing the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of its party, with a view to defending the capitalist order and justifying the restoration of the bourgeois order there where it has been overthrown, the enemies of freedom and socialism «theorize» about «democratic socialism», «socialism with a human face», and a return to the democracy lost by the exploiting classes and the enemies of the people.

As has been pointed out, in our country the citizens are guaranteed all the rights recognised by the Constitution and the other laws, but the path has been closed, and will always remain closed, to the enemies of our state and social order to do even the slightest harm to the interests of the people, the homeland, and socialism. With us there has not been, is not, and will never be, freedom of action for the enemies. Defending this line of the Party, the draft-Constitution prohibits the setting up of any organization of a fascist, anti-democratic, religious, or antisocialist character; prohibits fascist, antidemocratic, religious, warmongering, or anti-socialist propaganda or activity, as well as the incitement of national and racial hatred. In this stand our Party proceeds from the teaching of Lenin who said: «Together with a very broad extension of democracy which, for the first time, becomes democracy for the poor... and not democracy for
the rich, the dictatorship of the proletariat brings a series of restrictions of freedom for the oppressors, the exploiters and capitalists».

The rights of citizens are indivisible from the fulfilment of the duties, and they cannot be exercised in opposition to the socialist order. The rights and duties of citizens are in unity and are built on the basis of reconciling the interests of the individual with those of the socialist society, always giving priority to the general interest. The development of socialist society leads to an ever better integration of personal and social interests, for, as Marx wrote, socialist society creates conditions such that the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all.

In regard to the economic order, too, the draft-Constitution reflects the fundamental principles of the economic policy of the Party and legalizes those aspects of the system of socialist relations of production which constitute the essential features of true socialism.

On a juridical plane, the draft-Constitution proclaims that the means of production are socialist social property in the forms of state property, which belongs to the entire people, and cooperative property in agriculture, which belongs to the group of the working people of the countryside.

On the basis of the socialist ownership of the means of production and through the conscious activity of the Party and the masses of the working people themselves, city and countryside, mental and manual work are coming ever more closely together, and the gradual abolition of the various distinctions that still exist in our society is being brought about.

Because the socialist ownership of the means of production constitutes the inviolable basis of the socialist economic order, the draft-Constitution proclaims as a constitutional norm the duty of the state to defend this ownership.

Personal property, too, which consists of income from work and other lawful sources and serves to meet the material and cultural needs of the individual and the members of his family, is recognized and protected by our state with the sole limitation that it cannot be used to the detriment of the social interests.

Among other objects the land, too, has been proclaimed state property. In proclaiming the land as exclusively property of the state, the draft-Constitution aims to express in juridical form the reality which, in fact, has long been attained in our country. The proclamation of the land as state property does not mean the slightest change in the relations that exist today and that stem from its being given to the agricultural cooperatives or social organizations for social use.

Comrade deputees,

Besides these principles and norms which I mentioned briefly, as you know, the draft-Constitution also sanctions many other principles and norms of importance for the construction and functioning of the entire political, social, economic, cultural, etc., life of our country, such as those that regulate the social-economic order, the relations of ownership and distribution, the planned development of the economy, the relations between cadres and the masses, between the state and society, the principle of the unity of the state power, democratic centralism, socialist law, etc.

These principles and norms, sanctioned in the draft-Constitution, give a full picture of our socialist society that is forging ahead on the basis of the principles of Marxist-Leninism, which have been completely confirmed in our revolutionary practice. The new Constitution will be the main source and the basis of our future legislation. Its adoption should mark the starting point for new work for the further improvement of the principal laws of our state.

First of all in this context come the various codes, which have played an important role but which have now become outdated in some directions, and therefore should be revised so that they respond better to the requirements of the present stage.

Comrade deputees,

Our socialist regime is the regime of the working class, its dictatorship, which has its social basis in the unbreakable alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry; the regime of genuine revolutionary democracy. In a regime such as ours the people have taken their fate in their own hands and govern the country.

The draft-Constitution will be developed, and defends these great ideas. The great strength of our people lies in these ideas and in their implementation. The foundation of these ideas and of the correct and resolute actions is the correct policy which the Albanian State follows in the international arena and with which the peoples and progressive individuals understand and respect. Our policy is honored and respected, for it is characterized by goodwill towards other states and the desire for the existence of good relations on the basis of the recognized principles of equality, respect for
state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit. We are going against the imperialist and revisionist current. Our current is the revolution and the destruction of the capitalist order, which will be replaced by socialism and communism, the classless society. This society is the future of mankind, which will be built through class struggle, with bloodshed and sacrifice. But it will be built. Imperialism and social-imperialism are in decay. Socialism will triumph, the world and mankind will be saved from these plagues.

The approval of the new Constitution is a great event in the history of our people, a step of major importance in their struggle for the construction of their socialist society. Based entirely on the Marxist-Leninist principles implemented in a creative way by our glorious Party and being a scientific synthesis of our revolutionary experience, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a document of great theoretical and practical importance which will serve the complete and successful construction of socialism in our country.

Carrying out the great tasks set by the 7th Congress of the Party, our heroic people, who are building their life unaided by the imperialist encirclement, will carry the construction of socialism further forward, will further strengthen the defence of their homeland. In their Constitution, the people will find fresh inspiration for still greater victories to make Albania stronger and more prosperous, to guarantee socialism and the homeland against any danger, wherever it may come from.

The broad masses of our people have now had their say on the new Constitution. Faithfully carrying out the mandate of the people, I invite you, comrades deputies, to adopt the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania unanimously and enthusiastically, the Constitution that embodies the true features of triumphant socialism, the freedom-loving and courageous spirit of our people, the wise Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

**LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!**

**LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA!**

**LONG LIVE OUR STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!**
Many outstanding fighters of the Marxist-Leninist movement have been barbarously murdered by the fascist criminals who are ruling in many countries, have died under police torture, or are still languishing in the dark dungeons of reaction. Through their determination, their courage, their lofty spirit of self-denial and their devotion to the great cause of the proletariat, they have become radiant beacons of the struggle of the masses of the working people for national and social liberation...

Their unblemished image and revolutionary life will live on in the hearts of all true patriots and communists as a lofty example of inspiration, a call to arms in the struggle against the blood-thirsty bourgeoisie and reaction.

Enver Hoxha

Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA

Some weeks ago, comrade Pedro Pomar, Member of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, together with his brave comrades, Angelo Arrojo and Juan Battista Drummond, fell heroically fighting the fascist dictatorship of Brazil.

Comrade Pedro Pomar was an outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Brazil, an indomitable fighter against imperialism, modern revisionism and fascist reaction, a dear friend of socialist Albania.

Comrade Pedro Pomar was three times in our country and cherished a great love and respect for the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian people, and their struggle against imperialism and revisionism, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the construction of socialism.

As a mark of honour and respect to the memory of comrade Pedro Pomar we publish below excerpts from a conversation comrade Enver Hoxha had with him when he visited Albania on August 18, 1967.
Comrade ENVER HOXHA: How are you, comrade Pomar? How is comrade Amazonas?

Comrade PEDRO POMAR: Thank you, we are well, all of us are well.

Comrade ENVER HOXHA: It is a great pleasure to meet you, comrades of the heroic Communist Party of Brazil, again.

We have the best recollections from the meeting we had with comrade Amazonas when he was in Albania. Comrade Amazonas is a very resolute fighter for Marxism-Leninism, a capable man, strong in his spirit and thoughts, as well as in his correct interpretation of Marxist-Leninist knowledge. All our comrades were extremely pleased and considered it a great honour that comrade Amazonas came to attend the 5th Congress of our Party. On that occasion he and the other comrades gave us a clear picture of the situation in Brazil and Latin America. This was of very great help to us.

We know that the two sides, both you and we, need to exchange opinions with each other, therefore your coming to Albania is of help to us.

Comrade PEDRO POMAR: Your words, comrade Enver, arouse very deep emotions in us. They are very warm and cordial.

Whenever we have come here we have been very happy and ready to exchange opinions with the Albanian comrades.

Comrade Amazonas left your country very satisfied and with the best impressions about the comrades of the Party of Labour of Albania, and even more convinced of the correctness of the line of your Party.

Standing in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, the Party of Labour of Albania has given us the great example that, basing oneself on Marxism-Leninism, one can successfully face up to any enemy, not matter how powerful. Being united and closely linked with each other, no one can defeat us. Therefore, in the name of all our comrades, we greet you warmly and assure you that we will always be your true brothers.

Comrade ENVER HOXHA: You make a very high assessment of our Party, Comrade Pomar. Your words strengthen our confidence in our common struggle, they enhance the sense of the responsibility our Party has towards the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

Of course, our experience is not very great, nor is it the only one. We do not say this out of modesty, but proceeding from the truth that the struggle and the revolution are the great common cause of all the peoples, about which immense experience has been accumulated and is still being accumulated, which shows that only those parties that implement Marxism-Leninism consistently can carry out the revolution and make it triumph. But where does the strength of the Marxist-Leninist parties lie? It lies in the fact that they always look at life as it is, with its contradictions and zigzags, its tendency to perpetual advance, its inevitable progress through the revolution. This confidence in the future enables the Marxist-Leninist parties to orientate themselves correctly in their struggle, makes them unafraid of difficulties and means that they do not despair because of temporary setbacks, because Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the road of the revolution is not strown with roses. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninists should lead with indomitable courage and determination, overcome all difficulties through struggle and efforts and, in the process of this struggle, gather the experience that will enable them to forge further ahead. Over its course of 25 years, our Party has learnt a great deal, but we see that we still have more to learn.
Now we are implementing the decisions of the 5th Congress of the Party, and I can tell you briefly that we have achieved successes in implementing the line of the Party. This does not mean that we are not encountering difficulties, but the question is that these difficulties, no matter how great, are being rapidly overcome in the situation created by the Party, because our Party, like your party, is closely linked with the people, and its line represents the wishes and aspirations of the working people. On the other hand, it is working tirelessly so that the people understand, feel, and carry out the line of the Party, Marxism-Leninism, and interpret all the phenomena and the directives of the Party in the Marxist-Leninist spirit.

We see that the implementation of the directives of the Congress of the Party has brought results. The principal result is the high level of political consciousness of the communists and people, which is expressed in the fulfillment of our economic plans as never before, whether in industry, agriculture, education, culture, or in the question of the defence of the Homeland.

After acquainting comrade Pomar with a series of successes achieved in our country in the struggle for the further, all-round revolutionization of the Party and the whole life of the country, comrade Enver Hoxha went on:

In regard to the great common fight against imperialism as well as modern revisionism, also, we consider that we should never be satisfied with the successes we have achieved, for the reason that there is still a great struggle ahead of us. Even if some results have been achieved in Albania, and the main result is the establishment and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must never forget that our communists and the other peoples are fighting and shedding their blood, are making colossal sacrifices and going through innumerable hardships in extremely difficult internal and external circumstances. Therefore, we must not only assist them, but must also understand them, and have great trust in our comrades in their heroism, struggle and Marxist-Leninist maturity, and never jump to erroneous conclusions and claim that some one is in a position to show off and issue ready-made prescriptions for others to act in this way or that. This is not at all Marxism-Leninist. The comrades know the situation in their own countries very well. They know the situation and the mentality of their own people best. On the basis of this knowledge and being guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, they are in a position to educate and mobilize the party, to throw it into struggle and march ahead. This question is connected with the understanding and implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the concrete situation of the country.

Some one may say that you may make mistakes. But where is that party, big or small, old or new, which has not had shortcomings and made mistakes in its work? The important thing here is not to conceal them, but to recognize them, to analyze and correct them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is Marxist dialectics. Hence, we learn from our struggle and our mistakes. If a people or a party do not struggle, that party and people have no history. History is not made without struggle. As you know, we face many enemies, imperialism led by U.S. imperialism and the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionists, who are very cunning and have great experience. But no matter how great our enemies’ cunning and means, they haven’t our strength, for our strength lies in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, in our confidence in victory, in our faith in the people. The people are with us, because the future, the truth is with us, but we must know how to educate the people for this future, how to organize and enthuse them, and then we shall certainly triumph over the enemies.

Now that China is carrying out its Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we must support it, for this revolution has great importance not only for China, but for the entire world revolution. This revolution is one of the forms that the Communist Party of China and comrade Mao Tse-tung have found to smash the revisionist group of Liu Shao-chi, which had managed to infiltrate its line into the Party and the socialist state.

As you know, the Soviet revisionists have launched a furious attack on Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in general, because their positions are growing weaker and weaker while ours are becoming stronger. And we do not say this for nothing, but judging from the concrete situation. The Soviet revisionist have become the most shameful allies of U.S. imperialism. But why has this come about? Because they are in the position of traitors and cannot do otherwise. Why are we the stronger? Because the Marxist-Leninists of the entire world did not allow the Soviet revisionists to disguise themselves, but forced them into a corner and denounced them openly as agents of the bourgeoisie, which the communists and the masses of the working people all over the world are seeing more and more clearly with each passing day. Their exposure led to the exposure of the revisionists of all the former countries of people’s democracy as well. The contradictions between the Soviet revisionists and the revisionists of the former countries of people’s democracy of Europe were made more profound.

Such is the situation in general. But, despite the successes the Marxist-Leninists have achieved, we still have a great deal to do.

Our help, about which you spoke, comrade Pomar, is modest, but, as Marxist-Leninists, we shall help each other with all our strength. We have great admiration for the Communist Party of Brazil, the Central Committee of your Party and comrade Aranzonos. The fact that your Party is in a correct revolutionary position is of great
A cordial and unforgettable meeting. Comrade ENVER HOXHA with comrade PEDRO POMAR
during the latter's visit to our country in August 1967.
importance, also, for the entire Marxist-Leninist movement and the revolution in Latin America.

We have contacts with the other Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America and are sure that, despite the difficulties they encounter, the Marxist-Leninists will overcome them through their struggle. The important thing is that the Marxist-Leninist parties of Chile, Colombia, Bolivia and so on should succeed in taking control of the situation in their own countries.

Comrade PEDRO POMAR: Thank you very much for all that you have said, comrade Enver. I am deeply moved by your very warm and cordial words and the opportunity you have given me to listen to you personally once more.

Today you have given us a general outline of the situation in Albania. I have been in your country four years ago. During this period you have passed through difficult circumstances. With this I do not imply that there are no difficulties now, but, since then you have made evident progress. The successes you have achieved are exceptionally great. The results you have achieved from the political and ideological viewpoint are such that the capitalist countries of the world could not achieve in centuries. Many capitalist countries may be more advanced economically, but this is not the main thing, for the peoples of these countries are oppressed and exploited, and this economic development itself is not in the hands of the people, but in those of the bourgeoisie. Whereas in your country the political situation and the morale of the people is extremely enthusiastic. And there is no doubt that all these victories are due to the correct leadership of your Party, to Marxism-Leninism, to your Party's loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the great unity of the people with the Party. Indisputably, all this is a great encouragement for us to advance still further ahead in our struggle. Therefore, we shall struggle even harder against our enemies who are, at the same time, the enemies of the Albanian Party and people.

The further revolutionization of the country, which the Albanian people are carrying out under the leadership of the PLA, has great international significance. Indeed, I can tell you that it is reflected in our country as well. A few years ago our people had never heard of Albania and knew nothing about it, while now they know about and are showing continuous interest in Albania, learning about and rejoicing at the successes of the Albanian people. The people know that, in Albania, the revolution is going on uninterruptedly and with sure steps. So much so that this year even some bourgeois newspapers have been obliged to write about Albania, to publish news and informative articles on the courageous and independent stand of the Albanian comrades. It is the facts that make Albania known all over the world. We think that Albania is forging ahead successfully.

We are in complete agreement over the problems you put forward at the 5th Congress of your Party. It is not in the least accidental that all the Marxist-Leninists respect and visit Albania. The revolutionary peoples consider Albania as a bastion, a citadel of their liberation struggle as the vanguard of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's message addressed to the 5th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania should be applauded by all when it says that, «Albania is a great glowing beacon of socialism in Europe».

On this occasion we want to stress that your assistance to us has been exceptionally great. We are extremely grateful for it and will do everything possible to make our contribution, too.

At present the bourgeois propaganda is having a great deal to say about Latin America being one country, whereas in reality our states are very much divided among themselves, not only by their interests as separate capitalist states, but also by national interests. But the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America have a common task, especially in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and revisionism. Now a situation has been created that calls for the coordination of all our forces. We must get a thorough grasp of this situation, because the difficulties which the Marxist-Leninist movement is experiencing in Latin America are great, for, apart from U.S. imperialism, the bourgeoisie and all reaction, the revisionists, too, are fighting against us.

The anti-imperialist and democratic movement in Latin America has suffered heavy blows in recent years in these conditions we have to cope with the attacks of U.S. Imperialism and the revisionists, the Soviet-U.S. collaboration, and local reaction. All this creates a difficult situation for us.

Following the coup of 1964, the U.S. imperialists have taken over all the key positions in Brazil. A government totally subservient to U.S. imperialism seized power there, because, though the government in power up till then was one of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners, it defended some national interests. Whereas now the problem is quite different. The people understand that a new grave situation has been created in Brazil, but the bourgeois and revisionist parties have worked and are working to create illusions among the people, telling them that the Marxist-Leninists exaggerate the problem when they accuse imperialism of neo-colonialism, for there is no danger of this happening» etc. etc. We must cope with these problems, because they are fostering illusions among the masses, the people are being misled, so that they are unable to understand the grave situation created as a result of the coming to power of the reactionary pro-American government, quickly and correctly. Before us stands the great task of making things clear to our people, of opening their eyes to the truth, and arousing them in the armed struggle to ensure national freedom.
Even the representatives of the bourgeoisie did not understand the new situation that was being created in Brazil. Thus Brizola, the brother-in-law of Brazil's ex-president Guilart, although a man of great prestige, did not make a stand at the time of the coup, but fled abroad, allegedly to stage a come-back. In fact, he had not understood the situation that had been created in Brazil.

The Americans saw that these politicians of the nationalistic bourgeoisie were no longer useful to them, so they threw them out and brought to power instead those whom they had trained as officers for many years in the USA. This shows that they want to maintain the fascist dictatorship in Brazil by force of arms in order to have it as a reliable support and to utilize it in carrying out their neo-colonialist plans in the other countries. In fact, Brazil sent armed forces to participate in the occupation of San Domingo. This is the first time that our country's army has been sent to fight in another country.

We have denounced these events and are working to convince the masses that they must struggle against U.S. imperialism; we are exposing the treacherous role of the Soviet revisionists, because not only have they recognised the reactionary government in power, but they have also concluded several trade agreements with it.

As regards the Brazilian revisionists, their situation is worse than before. They have suffered a great defeat. Prior to the 1964 coup they were in a favourable situation, because the Guilart bourgeoisie government supported the revisionists' policy, but experience showed that this policy, acceptable to the bourgeoisie, was a sham through and through. After the coup d'état, we strengthened our positions considerably, because we showed the people that only Marxism-Leninism defends their interests. Our Party emerged with great influence. The revisionists, however, are merely sowing their hopes on illusions, pretending that democracy can be re-established without armed struggle, and as a result their political activity is very weak. Now they have split into several groups. One of them is on a course bringing it closer to us, because it is for the armed struggle, but at the same time it maintains a centrist and opportunist stand. Another group is a group of adventurers and party liquidators. Then comes the Prestes group which is greatly weakened and with all the characteristics of a group completely in the service of the bourgeoisie.

At present the position of the reactionary clique in Brazil is shaky and unstable. The country's sovereignty is in the hands of the Americans. The principal forces of the country, the working class, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie, want progress and the economic development of the country, because the standard of living of the people is miserably low, all the assets, the mines and the land are in the hands of the Americans. The peasants not only have no land but they have become even more impoverished. The dictatorial regime has completely li-
for the new parties and any party that is determined to carry the revolution through to the end, the steering of the party is of prime importance.

We fully agree with your Party's view and analysis of the development of events. Perhaps some one who has not made a proper assessment of the development of events and alliances may say, «Why do the comrades of this or that party advance so slowly?»

I say this because such a thing has happened to us. But when the situation is looked at objectively and the necessary measures are taken to attain the objective decided, everything will come about in its own time. Of course, once begun, the revolution must be carried through to the end without fail. But those who want to accelerate the development of events artificially are lacking in correct Marxist-Leninist judgment, because the revolution is not organized and carried out in one day. It is not a wedding party, but a great people's war and, in war, the enemies attack with all their savagery. However, the Marxist-Leninists are not afraid to fight, although they may suffer temporary defeats; on the contrary, in war and revolution they become stronger and more indomitable. Therefore, the line of your Party is correct.

The correct struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, like ours, we think, is of great importance for the creation of a correct concept about the revolution there. If I am not mistaken, Latin America has putchist traditions, but there must be a break with these traditions because all the anarchist adventurers that pose as Marxist revolutionaries base themselves on them. If the Marxist-Leninist parties do not make this question clear, we think that the anarchists, who come out with «ultra-Marxist» slogans, will do great harm to the cause of the revolution, because there are people who equate a putch with the revolution and engage in adventures, calling on the people to take to arms at a time when the conditions for this have not been created. Your Party, which has a correct Marxist-Leninist line, is educating people to understand what revolution is, who should take part in it, and who should lead it.

A new Marxist-Leninist party should not be disturbed by the fact that, initially, it does not have the necessary strength and authority, but on the contrary it should be thinking about how to strengthen its work and, on the other hand, how to secure its allies. Perhaps it may be weak, not well-organized, and still have little influence among the masses, but this should not make it sectarian and avoid contact with those to whom it can explain things, win them to its cause and throw them into struggle. At the same time, this party must not efface its individually, enter every sort of front and destroy itself. On the contrary it should always preserve its independence, principles and norms. It must, without fail, ensure its hegemonic role in the revolution through struggle and its correct policy. For the revolution to be crowned with suc-

Our opinion is that the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, such as your Party, those of Chile, Bolivia and Colombia, etc., are very important factors for the revolution.

After speaking about the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against imperialism and modern revisionism, comrade Enver Hoxha concluded:

In general, that is what I wanted to say, comrades from Central America. Our opinion is that the revolutionary struggle is making progress and that successes are being achieved. All of us have scored successes. The struggle, pressures, intrigues and blockades, which the imperialists and revisionists have perpetrated and are perpetrating, do not frighten the revolutionaries. Right is on our side, the peoples are with us, our cause will certainly triumph.

As regards contacts and relations between our parties, I assure you once more, that the Party of Labour of Albania will always stand by the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, will always assist and help them in their just struggle, it will always fight shoulder to shoulder with them, consistently and unflinchingly, for the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. Please convey our most ardent greetings to the comrades of the Communist Party of Brazil! May you always score successes in your struggle.

A DOCUMENT WHICH STRENGTHENS AMONG THE MARXIST-LENINIST

At the end of January, the newspaper «No Tresar», organ of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Argentina, published the Joint Statement of the Delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America. On February 1, the newspaper «ZÉRI I POPULLIT», organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, published the text of this Statement which reads:

The delegations of the Central Committees of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Argentina, the Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, and the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay, which took part in the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, availed themselves of the opportunity to organize a fraternal meeting, at which they exchanged opinions on the problems of common interest. The meeting was held in an atmosphere of great internationalist brotherhood and showed the high level of maturity of the bonds which unite the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, based on Marxism-Leninism and strengthened through wide ranging exchanges of opinions in bilateral, regional, and multi-lateral meetings held in the past. As a result of this meeting the Marxist-Leninist parties named above decided to publish this Joint Declaration which is a synthesis of the points of view expressed.

1) The delegations participating in the meeting, unanimously expressed their satisfaction at having taken part in the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which they consider of great significance for the world revolutionary Marxist-Leninist communist movement. The Albanian communists, brothers of the same ideal with the communists of all countries of the world, have raised high the banner of proletarian internationalism and resolute defence of Marxism-Leninism, the invincible weapon of the working class in its struggle for liberation, revolution and the construction of socialism.

2) The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America were united in the opinion that this meeting is taking place in a situation which, in general, is in favour of the peoples and their revolutionary struggles.

The two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which in their uncurbed rivalry are hatching up new plots every day against the independence of the nations, and actively preparing a new world war, are the main enemies of the peoples. For their part, the peoples everywhere are mobilizing themselves to defend their vital interests and to fight for their national and social emancipation. The peoples are ever better understanding the policy for world domination which the two superpowers practise, and are striking repeated and powerful blows at them. The progressive forces are trying to forge a broad world front that will unite all those who effectively oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers and their preparations for war. The liberation struggle must be directed against both imperialist superpowers: Although it is true that the main enemy differs in different areas of the world, it would be a grave error, in these circumstances, to disregard the threat represented by the other superpower, to link up with one of them to combat the other. Among the peoples the correct idea is maturing that in face of the war threats of the two superpowers, the revolutionary class struggle must be raised to an even higher level to oppose the outbreak of the war, to weaken the base of the aggressive forces, or to turn the unjust inter-imperialist war into a just liberation war. Socialist China and Albania are powerful bastions of the world revolution. They are sound and reliable bases for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. The unity of the revolutionary forces of the whole world with the true socialist countries is a prerequisite for the triumph of the struggle for national independence, people's democracy and socialism. The strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and Albania and the consistent support which these countries give the world revolutionary movement are an internationalist contribution carrying on the finest traditions of the period of the lifetime of Lenin and Stalin.

3) In the exchange of information the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America observed once again that the great majority of the peoples of our continent are living under military fascist dictatorial regimes. Political terrorism and suppression of liberties are apparent in almost all the countries of Latin America. Assassination of revolutionaries and torture of patriots and democrats constitute the method most used by the repressive forces in their efforts to strangle the aspirations of the peo-
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COMMUNIST PARTIES

pies of Latin America for freedom. These regimes serve imperialist capital which brutally exploits the working people and plunder the wealth of nations. The trusts and monopolies, as well as the ruling class circles linked with them, utilize these military regimes to savagely exploit our peoples and countries, to extract exorbitant profits from them, at a time when the living conditions of the broad masses of the people are getting worse day by day. The victories of the working class are being liquidated, and in many countries its organizations are under police control or are run by agents of the employers. Relying on the reactionary oligarchy and, in particular, the armed forces of our countries, US imperialism is the promoter and supporter of anti-national and anti-popular tyrannical regimes. The Yankees consider Latin America as their support base and an area under their domination; they make huge investments there from which they draw fat profits; they exploit our natural assets; they interfere brazenly in internal policy; they control the repressive apparatuses and exert a decisive influence on the armed forces. This imperialism is the main enemy of the peoples of the continent. Our parties are convinced that the Latin American nations cannot be liberated without attacking and defeating this imperialism, which is particularly rapacious and aggressive on our continent, and without simultaneously liquidating the internal reactionary forces on which it bases itself.

4) The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties also considered that Russian social-imperialism is carrying on intensive activities aimed at capturing economic, political, and strategic positions in this part of the world. It offers Latin American countries its so-called aid to camouflage its aims of hegemony and plunder. Just like US imperialism, the social-imperialists are aiming more and more at gaining the support of the reactionary armed forces of the continent, in order to create the conditions to take part in the exploitation of our peoples. This can be seen in Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and other countries. The aim of the Russian social-imperialists is not to help the liberation of the peoples of Latin America. What they really want is to take part in the exploitation of the resources and spread their sphere of influence on our continent. Their anti-imperialist demagogy is simply a smoke-screen to hide their plans of domination and exploitation. Their pretensions are in opposition to the interests of the United States of America, which cannot make them the slightest concession, and uses every means, even including violence, in its efforts to preserve its hegemonic positions in Latin America.

On the other hand, in their struggle against Yankee imperialism, the Latin American peoples will not permit social-imperialism to sabotage their struggle for national liberation and to take the place of its rival, the United States of America.

5) The delegations present at the meeting stressed the high fighting spirit and the desire of the Latin American peoples to struggle. Despite the heavy blows they have suffered through the establishment of pro-Yankee dictatorships, they have not submitted to their oppressors and are resisting them heroically. The desire for freedom, national independence and the liberating revolution is growing everywhere. Our peoples hate US imperialism and the reactionary and fascist regimes it props up. They also hate the military traitor cliques, which have usurped power in various countries and have turned into stooges of foreign capital and gendar-
have connections with the dictatorships, which give them the right to carry on political activity, a right which is denied the working masses and the people, and they issue slogans against the US monopolies to deceive the people and to conceal their real stand. Their phoney struggle against imperialism is not intended to achieve genuine national liberation and independence. Their real aim is to open the way to Soviet domination. Today, rather than lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the revisionist parties of Latin America are more agents of Russian social-imperialism, its fifth column in the patriotic and people's movement. The conference held in Havana in May 1975, in which all the revisionist parties of the continent took part, was a real conspiracy to betray our peoples. The revisionists have their guns trained on the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, socialist China and Albania. But there is no future for them. They are in decay throughout Latin America, with their forces falling away, their followers dwindling, and their policy meeting one defeat after another, as in Chile, here their so-called "peaceful road" was proved a farce. The revisionists will undoubtedly be defeated by the Latin American people's and revolutionary forces led by the Marxist-Leninist parties. The banner of Marxism-Leninism has always emerged triumphant from the class battles against opportunism, against the agents of the bourgeoisie in the communist and workers' movement.

1) The important question of solidarity and mutual aid was also discussed at the meeting. In the conditions in which the people's revolutionary movement of Latin America is operating, under savage repression, there is an imperative need to develop international solidarity in order to mobilize public opinion in support of the struggle of the peoples against the dictatorships, the reactionary forces, and US imperialism. It was emphasized that the revolutionary armed struggle, as the highest form of the people's struggle, is developing in various countries. In particular in Colombia, where the People's Liberation Army (E.P.L.), the military organization of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), resolutely supported by our parties, has been carrying on the fight for more than 8 years.

The international solidarity with the victims of reaction helps to strike a blow at the common enemies of the peoples. The denunciation of the use of torture and the assassination of patriots and democrats, as well as the protests against the repressive actions against the people's movement, contribute to the isolation of reactionaries, to the exposure of their policy, and in certain cases, they may stay the hand of the henchmen and save the lives of revolutionaries and patriots. The delegations were in agreement about the need to coordinate the various movements of solidarity, giving them the broadest possible extension, in order to include the progressive organizations and personalities of the various countries. At the present moment, the demand for the immediate release of comrade Mario Echenique, Political Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay, arrested in Buenos Aires of Argentina; the patriotic heroine Margarita Baés, brutally tortured in Asuncion, Paraguay; the veteran Brazilian proletarian militant, José Duarte, imprisoned since 1972; the miners' leaders of Bolivia, both those imprisoned in their own country and those interned in Chile; the thousands of revolutionaries and democrats jailed in Chile, Argentina and other countries of the continent, assumes importance.

2) The delegations present at this meeting honoured the memory, and expressed their deep sorrow, at the death of comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the undisputed leader of the Chinese people, the great Marxist-Leninist and teacher of the proletariat and all the oppressed peoples of the world. Under the wise leadership of comrade Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China, the Chinese proletariat and people forged ahead in their revolutionary struggle, seized power, and established socialism in China. Thus the formerly backward and dependent China has been transformed into a modern socialist country, a reliable support base for the world revolution. Likewise, under the leadership of comrade Mao Tsetung, the important problem of continuing the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism in China, has been solved correctly. Comrade Mao Tsetung resolutely upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism and launched the struggle against modern revisionism, thus making a decisive contribution to the reconstruction of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement. His example as a revolutionary fighter and his ideas, which have developed Marxism-Leninism, will remain indelible in the hearts and minds of the peoples and communists of the whole world.

4) The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, hailed the successful results achieved by the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. The report presented by the great and tested Marxist-Leninist, the outstanding leader of the Albanian people and of all the peoples of the world, comrade Enver Hoxha, is a valuable contribution to the elucidation of the important and decisive problems of the present situation that are concerning the revolutionaries of all the continents. It broadens the perspective of the struggle of the exploited and oppressed and sets the flame of confidence in the triumph of their cause ablaze in their hearts. The fiery appeal it makes for the strengthening of the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement aroused lively interest among the delegations. We are sure that comrade Enver Hoxha's contribution will be greatly appreciated by our parties, and will become a source of lessons for the consolidation of their revolutionary activity. The great successes achieved by socialist Albania show how powerful the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are and what a party based on these ideas is capable of doing. The example of the Party of Labour of Albania inspires all the fighters of revolution to drive ahead, overcoming all difficulties, under the banner of the struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism. The fact that we have beside us the proletarian revolutionaries, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, comrade Enver Hoxha, fills us with joy and enthusiasm. His confidence in the
future, his theoretical profundity and his political clarity make him one of the greatest revolutionaries of our time.

10) In concluding this fraternal meeting, the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America expressed their unshaken confidence in the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism, in the triumph of the working class, and the revolutionary peoples over imperialism, social-imperialism, and world reaction. From this meeting we emerged stronger in our fraternal ties and loyalty to the noble ideals of proletarian internationalism, even more convinced of the need to work for the unity of the communist and workers' movement, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our parties will muster all their energies to achieve this objective in close unity with the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and the International Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

On February 2, the newspaper «ZERI I POPULLIT» published an editorial article devoted to the Joint Statement of the Delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties of Latin America, which says among other things:

This Statement, as its content shows, is the result of the broad exchange of opinions, of a frank Marxist-Leninist discussion of a number of the most important problems today worrying the parties which have signed it. It is pervaded by the lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism and by the determination and desire to carry forward the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the other working masses on the Latin American continent.

At the same time, it constitutes a big stride forward on the course of strengthening the unity among the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, an indispensable condition to the victory of the revolution.

The Albanian communists wholeheartedly welcome this multilateral meeting of the sister parties of Latin America and support the correct theses and conclusions collectively confirmed by them. The success of this meeting, which is expressed so clearly in the Joint Statement, is based on the loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism of the participating parties, on their desire and persistent efforts to strengthen the unity and collaboration among them in the struggle against their common enemies, the military dictatorships, the reactionary forces, U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the undermining activity of the revisionists.

The dictatorial, military fascist regimes, which are ruling in many countries of Latin America, mercilessly oppress and exploit the peoples of that continent. Being servile defenders of the U.S. monopolies, they are kept in power through the direct support of U.S. imperialism, which stands behind them. This situation, as the Statement stresses, raises before all the fighters for freedom, independence and socialism the imperative duty to fight, first and foremost, against the reactionary cliques of the various countries and against U.S. imperialism which is the greatest plunderer of the riches of the Latin-American continent, the real ruler of many countries of this area.

At the same time, the Statement exposes the efforts of Soviet social imperialism to seize 'economic, political and strategic positions in the area of Latin America.'

The Statement devotes an important place to the exposure of the counter-revolutionary activity of the revisionist parties of the countries of Latin America, which have undertaken to quell the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the peoples against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, to protect the dictatorial military governments which serve the interests of foreign capitalism, to paralyse the activity of the genuine revolutionary forces, especially of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Statement makes a correct assessment of the aggressive expansionist and hegemonic global policy of the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. It exposes the plans, intrigues and plots they are hatching up against the freedom and independence of the peoples of the world, as well as against the revolution and socialism. It calls for a broad world front which will unite all those who do not tolerate oppression and exploitation by the two superpowers, who are opposed to the hegemony of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, who are fighting to undermine their preparations for a new war.

It is because of these correct, consistent, revolutionary stands, based on a principled Marxist-Leninist analysis, with a sound class criterion, that the Joint Statement of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Latin America rejoices not only the Marxist-Leninists, but also all who are fighting imperialism and social imperialism for the freedom and independence of the peoples. All genuine revolutionaries cannot fail to see in this document that Marxism-Leninism is full of vitality, that it is revolutionary, in thought and action, that it has more youthful vigour than ever. Therefore, we are fully convinced that the Joint Statement will have favourable consequences in all the Latin-American and other countries, in which the communist and the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are the most consistent force of the struggle for national and social liberation, are militating, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, revisionism and the reactionary bourgeoisie will be worried by this document and will strive with every means to combat its revolutionary ideas. But no force has ever been able to hinder the Marxist-Leninist truth. It has always forged ahead triumphant. The bourgeoisie and reaction outlaw the
communists, but they enjoy the great love and support of the proletariat and people. The fascists prohibit and burn Marxist-Leninist books, but they can never burn Marxism-Leninism, cannot hinder the spread of revolutionary ideas.

The revolutionary content of the joint statement of the delegations of Latin America proves that it is a document which could be achieved only by parties which are ideologically and politically mature, by parties which are deeply rooted in the revolutionary struggle of the masses, which do not separate their words from their deeds and have in their ranks militants who are ready to make even the supreme sacrifice in the interest of the proletariat and the people. The working class, the peasantry, the patriots and the revolutionary intelligentsia, all the popular masses in the Latin-American countries, need such parties. In the conditions when all these classes and social strata have made the Latin-American continent seethe with their revolts and revolutionary struggle, when the reactionary governments, and together with them U.S. imperialism, find themselves in all-round crises and difficulties, when modern revisionism is steadily losing its political credit among the masses, the cooperation of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America assumes special importance.

The revolutionary movement and the liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America are on the upsurge, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. There is no doubt that this example will also help the freedom-loving peoples of Africa and other countries to find their road of salvation. The Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Latin America are parties which are following a revolutionary course of action. This is a great fact which proves that the working masses of these countries have risen in revolutionary and liberation struggle. The Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America base themselves firmly on the struggle of the proletariat and the labouring peasantry, a struggle which assumes the general cause of the world revolution.

The meeting of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the Latin-American countries is not accidental; it is the fruit of the wise and persistent work of their leaderships. The conditions for such a meeting had been brought to maturity. The bilateral, and especially the multi-lateral talks and exchanges of opinions between a number of parties of that continent, which have been held in recent years, had shown in practice the usefulness of this work and had created the conviction in all the participants that the question of the unity between the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, the cooperation and solidarity among them should be carried further ahead, to the benefit of the struggle for national and social liberation of their peoples.

The all-round cooperation and mutual aid among the Marxist-Leninist parties are powerful weapons in the unequal struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, against modern revisionism and reaction. Lenin said, "Capital is an international force. In order to triumph over it the international alliance of the workers, their international fraternalization are required."

Our party has always been convinced that it is useful for the Marxist-Leninists to meet, that it is necessary for the Marxist-Leninist parties not only to maintain bilateral contacts, but also to organize multi-lateral contacts and broad meetings. This firm conviction was reiterated in the report to the 7th Congress of the Party presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The usefulness of multi-lateral meetings lies in the broad discussion of the main problems facing the Marxist-Leninist movement and parties. At these meetings the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties freely discuss and exchange their experiences, and make criticism or self-criticism. In this way, the multi-lateral meetings constitute a valuable aid, in working out joint attitudes and in coordinating actions in the revolutionary struggle against the same enemies. They constantly strengthen the international solidarity of the Marxist-Leninists, and help consolidate the unity and cooperation among them.

The problems raised by the revolution, which the Marxist-Leninist movement must cope with, are as numerous as they are complicated. By operating with closed ranks, always basing themselves on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the proletariat and its parties overcome difficulties more easily and cope with the tasks of the revolution better. This serves the revolutionary struggle of the working class and masses of the people, the struggle for national and social liberation, the revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. Our enemies are united, therefore, we should not remain isolated from one another facing their attack. In their struggle, the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionsaries are guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and apply them in the concrete conditions of the countries where they operate. They always bear in mind the interests of the revolution in their own country, but also the interests of the revolution and liberation of the peoples in the other countries. The joint statement of the delegations of Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America is inspired by these teachings.

Hailing this statement, our Party will always stand beside the Marxist-Leninist comrades of Latin America and all countries in their revolutionary struggle against oligarchies and the reactionary bourgeoisie, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, and against modern revisionism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, it will always uphold the principle of fraternal solidarity and support between the Marxist-Leninist sister parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will fight with unwavering conviction on the Marxist-Leninist road to preserve the purity of our proletarian ideology, for the triumph of communism.

**ALBANIA TODAY**

**During the National Liberation War, many sons and daughters of the Albanian people fell fighting heroically for national and social liberation. Among them are the five heroes who, encircled by enemy forces vastly superior in numbers and weapons, at the village of Viq (Northern Albania), refused to surrender and fought back blow for blow until they died with the name of the Party on their lips.**

**To these heroes the sculptor, Shaban Hadiri, has dedicated the sculptural group in the photo.**

The just, principled struggle of our Party against the Krushchev group, its valiant and resolute stand in face of the fiercest pressure and provocations from N. Krushchev and his group, the cool-headedness and wisdom of our heroic Party and people have enhanced the authority of our Party in the eyes of the communists of the whole world, in the eyes of the different nations and progressive people. This is best seen in thousands of letters of solidarity which the Central Committee of our Party has received and continues to receive from the communists of different countries. The communists of the world and the international public are seeing ever more clearly that the Party of Labour of Albania is defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism, while, with his opportunist policy and his anti-Marxist activities, N. Krushchev is damaging the interests of the communist movement, damaging the struggle of the peoples for freedom, democracy and socialism.

The development of the international situation up to date has provided many proofs that it is the Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist parties that have taken a principled stand that are right in their evaluations, and not the modern revisionists, the group of Krushchev and his followers. The communists and the peoples of the world are seeing ever more clearly how N. Krushchev’s illusions about “Kennedy’s desire for peace”, his hopes of changing the aggressive nature of imperialism, are collapsing. It is becoming ever more clear that N. Krushchev’s opportunistic policy, a policy of concessions and flattery...
Is a correct, in conformity with Marxism-Leninism

Letter to all Party Basic Organizations - May 9, 1962

to the imperialists, of instability and constant vacillation, not only resolves nothing, but, on the contrary, is to the advantage of imperialism. In fact, what results have been attained up till now? None at all. The issue of the peace treaty with Germany and the question of West Berlin are deadlocked. So is the question of disarmament. Indeed, while talks on disarmament were going on in Geneva, the Kennedy government resumed its nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

The national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has gained new momentum. In complete opposition to the illusions N. Khrushchev is trying to create among the oppressed peoples about awaiting their liberation from a resolution of the United Nations Organization, or from complete and general disarmament, the peoples have taken up arms. After seven years of sacrifice, through bloodshed and struggle, the Algerian people imposed a cease-fire on French imperialism and won their right to independence; the peoples of the Congo, Laos, and South Vietnam are fighting arms in hand. Everywhere, on all the fundamental questions of the development of the international situation, it is clearly apparent that our Party is right, that its line is in conformity with the teachings of Leninism, hence it is a revolutionary line, while N. Khrushchev with his revisionist, anti-Marxist line is to the detriment of the interests of the peoples, is wrong.

The just struggle of principle of our Party against the Khrushchev group, its heroic resistance to his attacks and pressure, as well as the development of international events, not in the direction which the revisionists want, but in the opposite direction, have further strengthened the positions of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in the ranks of the international communist and workers’ movement. Not only the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, but also many other parties are resolutely defending the correct Marxist-Leninist positions. The line followed by N. Khrushchev against our Party has been publicly criticized, also, by the Communist Party of New Zealand and many other parties.

Neither is N. Khrushchev finding the support he needs even among his loyal allies in the ranks of the parties of the socialist countries of Europe. This is clearly seen in their stand towards our Party and our country.

How is it explained?

First, it is connected with the wise tactics pursued by our Party of Labour. Our Party has been and is convinced that the leaderships of the parties of the European socialist countries take Khrushchev's position. But, as is known, our struggle has been concentrated on the exposure of N. Khrushchev and his followers. This correct tactical differentiation placed the leaderships of the parties of the European socialist countries in a difficult position, since they did not find any formal pretext to undertake actions similar to those of N. Khrushchev against our country. It must be said that in order to create such a pretext they have committed many provocations against our Party, especially through intensive oral and written propaganda, through their official organs. But our Party has always maneuvered coolly and wisely.

Second, the fact that the leaderships of the European socialist countries did not follow N. Khrushchev in all his measures against our Party and country also expresses the existence of contradictions among them, which is quite
logical, because there can never be unity and mutual trust among opportunists and revisionists.

As a conclusion, we may say that the just, principled struggle of our Party against the Khrushchev group, the consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of the Communist Party of China and the other parties as well as the development of events in the world contrary to the wishes of the revisionists have placed N. Khrushchev and his followers in a difficult position. They are realizing that the ground is slipping from under their feet, that their anti-Marxist-Leninist features are being exposed. But it is clear that N. Khrushchev is not giving up his opportunist course and his aims against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. That is why he is trying to manoeuvre, to change his tactics in order to attain the same objectives by other means. Khrushchev’s change of tactics is also connected with the strong pressure being exerted by a number of fraternal communist and workers’ parties of different countries, who want to find ways for the re-establishment of Marxist-Leninist unity in the ranks of the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

Recently, several communist and workers’ parties have sent letters to the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the CC of the Communist Party of China, and the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. In these letters they express their deep concern about the undesirable situation created in the socialist camp and the international communist movement following Khrushchev’s publicizing of our disagreements at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and make an appeal for finding ways to re-establish unity, on the basis of the principles defined in the 1960 Moscow Declaration. In order to settle the existing differences they propose a meeting of the representatives of the three parties—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, and the Party of Labour of Albania, or a meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers’ parties of the socialist countries, or, eventually, a meeting of the representatives of all the communist and workers’ parties of the world.

The Central Committee of our Party has sent the leaderships of these parties the appropriate answers. In its reply, the Central Committee of our Party points out that it understands the concern of these parties about the situation created in the relations between our Party and country and the Khrushchev group, and that it highly appreciates their efforts for settling the differences and strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist movement.

The Central Committee of our Party points out also that it has constantly striven and proposed that the differences with the Soviet leadership should be resolved on a Marxist-Leninist basis, in conditions of complete equality and independence, in the spirit of comradely consultations. There is clear and detailed evidence of this in the correspondence between the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, however, the Khrushchev group paid no heed to our proposals. It went on ever more brutally with its anti-Marxist activity aimed at the worsening of the relations between our two parties and countries to the maximum. It went to such lengths as to attack our Party publicly, from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in fact to break off diplomatic relations with our country, and to launch a frenzied anti-Marxist campaign against the Party of Labour of Albania, utilizing the vilest slanders of the reactionary bourgeois press as ‘arguments’.

N. Khrushchev tried to exploit the initiative taken by those parties for his own hostile purposes. In February this year, the CC of the CPSU addressed a letter to the CC of the CP of China, in the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, apart from utterly hypocritical words about unity, attempts are made to drive wedges between fraternal parties which stand resolutely for Marxist-Leninist principles, concretely, between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, to set aside and isolate our Party, as if the issue of the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People’s Republic of Albania were a separate problem, which allegedly is not connected with the question of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

It should be noted that, in the letter of the Soviet leadership, terms such as ‘we should look forward, not backward’, ‘we should consider what unites us and not what divides us’, etc., etc., are used. The comrades will recall that N. Khrushchev has always used such terms whenever he has been seeking agreement and rapprochement with the U.S. imperialists or the Whole revisionist clique. From this it can be inferred that N. Khrushchev is not in the least concerned about the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp but is only indulging in demagogy.

This is the essence of the above letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In April this year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent its reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

After acquainting itself with the content of the letters of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the CC of the Communist Party of China, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania found it reasonable to express its opinion once again on the differences in the ranks of the socialist camp and the communist movement, and on the state of relations between our Party and country and the present Soviet leadership. To this end, in April this year, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sent the
Central Committee of the Communist party of China a letter in which our party’s view on these questions was expressed.

In its letter, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania observes with satisfaction that both our party and the Communist Party of China proceed from the same basic principles — from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism — in defining their line and views on all questions facing the international communist and workers’ movement. Among other things, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania stresses that:

«The unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers’ movement has been and is being gravely harmed by the anti-Marxist views and activity of the Khrushchev group that has departed from the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and has violated and is still brutally violating the principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, both in regard to the main questions of present-day world developments and in regard to the relations which should exist among socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist parties, and this is only to the advantage of our common enemy — imperialism.»

The letter brings out many facts and arguments which prove that the views of N. Khrushchev and his group, as well as his disruptive anti-Marxist activities, are opportunist and revisionist.

«The actions of N. Khrushchev and his group», says the letter, «are the deliberate actions of a revisionist who sees the danger of his exposure in the correct and principled line and stand of the parties which stand firm on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles, and therefore, is striving by every means to subdue them, to impose his own anti-Marxist line on them, to discredit and isolate them.»

«The anti-Marxist and hostile stand of the group of N. Khrushchev towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People’s Republic of Albania», points out the letter of the Central Committee of our Party, «is neither an isolated nor fortuitous action, but a logical consequence of his whole anti-Marxist line, it is one of the steps in the context of his activity aimed at splitting and subduing the socialist camp and the entire international communist and workers’ movement, in order to impose his revisionist line on them, a clear expression of the methods he uses to further his aims. N. Khrushchev thought that the Party of Labour of Albania, as the party of a small socialist country, was the link which could be broken most easily, the most suitable target for his attacks because, by attacking and subduing it, he would be able to attack, intimidate and subdue the others, to impose his revisionist line on them.»

In its letter, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania stressed that it is in complete accord with the opinion of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China that, for an agreement on unity to be reached, first of all, the grave situation in Soviet-Albanian relations created on the initiative of N. Khrushchev must be cleared up. The letter says: «The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania holds that an indispensable condition for achieving Marxist-Leninist unity in our movement and its further strengthening is the rigorous implementation of the principles of independence, equality and comradely consultations in the relations among the fraternal communist and workers’ parties. Therefore, it is absolutely essential that the course of violation of these principles by the Khrushchev group must be resolutely stopped, and the anti-Marxist actions and methods it uses in order to impose its revisionist line on the entire international communist and workers’ movement, which leads to the further deepening of the split among the forces of socialism, must be condemned in a resolute and principled way. The first step and the touchstone to prove that N. Khrushchev and his group genuinely reject these anti-Marxist methods and activities would be admission on his part of his grave mistakes in regard to the Party of Labour of Albania and the People’s Republic of Albania, which have been subjected to savage public attacks by N. Khrushchev. If N. Khrushchev does not honestly and publicly admit his grave mistake towards our Party and our country, as well as towards other fraternal parties, this means that he is not sincerely for unity but is only manoeuvring with words about unity, that he is trying to gain time, seeking a respite, dictated by the failures his policy is suffering, and secretly trying to prepare fresh attacks on unity; this means that he intends to persist in his anti-Marxist course of violating the principles of independence and equality in the relations among the communist and workers’ parties and the socialist countries, thus making any comradely and equal consultation among fraternal parties impossible.

Apart from this, with his political and economic pressure and blackmail, and, especially, his savage slanderous attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, with his breaking off of diplomatic relations with Albania and his public appeals for the overthrow of the Albanian leadership, N. Khrushchev has, in fact, posed unacceptable preconditions for negotiations with our Party, and has put our Party in conditions of inequality. Without the elimination of these preconditions there cannot be any kind of comradely consultations, based on the principles of independence and complete equality, which have been clearly defined in the 1960 Declaration of the Communist and Workers’ Parties, while without comradely consultations, without strictly adhering to the principles of independence and equality among the fraternal parties, no kind of unity is possible.»

In its letter, the Central Committee of our Party stresses that it is fully confident that the other fraternal parties, even those parties which are not yet clear, with understand this correctly, «Speaking of the course which should be followed to prepare
the ground for the elimination of differences in the socialist camp and for the normalization of Albanian-Soviet relations, this is not a matter of satisfying 'our national pride' but of restoring and defending the Leninist principles in the relations among fraternal parties and socialist countries. Failure to condemn the anti-Marxist methods and actions of N. Khrushchev, which have been expressed in the most open and brutal manner in his stand towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, not only gives no guarantee that they will not be repeated in the future towards some other fraternal party or socialist country, but, on the contrary, encourages him to proceed further on his dangerous course, to cause still greater damage to our unity.

This, in general outline, is the content of the letter which the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in April this year, in which our Party's stand in connection with the question of unity is clearly expressed.

Dear comrades,

Our Party has always been and always will be for the unity of the international communist movement. It has fought with determination and in a principled manner for the strengthening of this unity on the sound basis of Marxism-Leninism. Proceeding from this principled position, our Party has always stood loyal to the common line of the international communist movement and has resolutely put this line into practice. In its relations with the sister parties and fraternal socialist countries our Party has always rigorously upheld the principles of proletarian internationalism, unity and independence, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and of fraternal mutual aid and support, of reaching unity by means of comradely consultations.

As a resolute fighter for unity, the Party of Labour of Albania has been, is, and always will be, for the preservation and strengthening of unity in the international communist movement. Our Party has fought and is fighting not for any kind of unity in the socialist camp and in the international communist movement, but for a sound unity, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for a unity in struggle against imperialism and the renegades of Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists. The struggle for unity and the struggle against the splitters of unity, the modern revisionists, cannot be separated. Only such a Marxist-Leninist unity can be the truly effective and durable unity which the international communist movement needs. Precisely because it has upheld and upholds such a principled stand on the question of unity, our Party has been savagely attacked by the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and of our unity — N. Khrushchev and his supporters.

The ground is slipping from under the feet of N. Khrushchev and his group. N. Khrushchev is seeing the danger of his complete exposure, therefore he is striving to come out with the banner of «unity», to manoeuvre with words about «unity», in order to gain time, to gain a kind of reprieve, to deceive the communist and workers' parties, and prepare fresh attacks on unity. This tactic of N. Khrushchev's is especially dangerous now, when the problem of unity is seriously worrying the parties and the communists of the world over. In these conditions, it is all the more necessary for the parties which stand resolutely on sound Marxist-Leninist positions to take the banner of the unity of the international communist movement into their own hands, to take the initiative in this direction, and thus expose the tactical manoeuvres of N. Khrushchev. It should be borne in mind that N. Khrushchev is not yet fully exposed in the communist movement as a splitter of the socialist camp and the communist movement and as an anti-Marxist.

Of course, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that the Khrushchev group will not admit its mistakes, that it will not make self-criticism. We are already well acquainted with the revisionists. We have seen what the Tito clique is and we know that they never, under any circumstances, make self-criticism, or give up their anti-Marxist course. We know the Khrushchev group, too, and we are convinced that it will try to take the opportunity to make its revisionist activity more refined, to increase its efforts, both against our Party and against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, in other forms.

The Central Committee requires that the party organizations and all the communists understand the stand of our Party in connection with the issue of unity in the present situation correctly, that they combat illusions that may be created from the fact that, for the time being, our press will not speak out against N. Khrushchev, etc.

On the other hand, the party organizations should further step up their work of mouth propaganda, through conferences, lectures and talks with the masses of the people, to expose the revisionist views and activities of the Khrushchev group. It must be thoroughly understood that the line of the Party remaining unchanged, remains what it has been, therefore it should be well publicized among the masses. On this question, you will have the aid of our press, which will write more about the various problems, presenting our line in all its aspects.

As always, the Central Committee is informing all the members of our Party about the situation created in recent times in the international communist and workers' movement. Therefore, this letter should be discussed and analysed in all the party basic organizations by 30th May, 1962.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

ENVIR. NOXHA
ENVER HOXHA

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 1) – October 25, 1962

DEAR COMRADES,


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 situ-

1) On the invitation of the Rectorate of the University of Tirana on October 5, 1962, comrade Enver Hoxha had a meeting with the teaching staff, the scientific workers and the students of the University and higher institutes of the capital and other representatives of the intelligentsia.

ation 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, was 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 new state power and the social 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 quite 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 loved his heart from his chest and raised it high to illuminate his people's way through the darkness and led them out into light? Just like him, the people's teacher, Ndrec Nane Gjoka from Mirdita, went from cottage to cottage and made his blood into light, in order to open the eyes of the sons and daughters of his people. Without the social-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»). This does not negate 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 aspirations 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 if we 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 of more pressing problems. Once few in number, our intelligentsia gradually grew, and like an avalanche, carried our cultural revolution ever further forward. And the efforts 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, 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, while our march 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 hands of diversionsists smuggled into the country from all sides, they had to build combines, to drain marshes, to break in new land, to adopt new techniques, 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, diversionsists, 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 of them to 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 farsighted 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 the new Albania has not 350, but 6,000 cadres of higher training, not about 2,000 but 21,000 cadres of medium training, besides 95,000 qualified workers. At one time, out of very 18 citizens one only 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 40,000, 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.

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 Sani Frasheri, Qamri and Alifieri dreamed of seeing Albania as a «first lady», with a «university»; they burned themselves out to attain this. But the
Part of Labour at the head, armed with the immortal science of Marxism-Leninism, not only took over the dreams of their forbears, 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.

We Must Study And Have All The Possibilities to Do More For The Development Of Science And Technology

However, comrades, the truth is that we should 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 inestimable 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, Ampère 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, who have made the various combinations and have managed to create the endless chain of modern science.

During the history of mankind, the development of science 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 tombstone on which were engraved the dictatorship of Aristotle and the name of St. Thomas of Aquinas, to whom the Bible, Aristotle and magic were science. 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 crises, when pyres of books are burned in city squares.

We must recall these lessons of history, because in our times, too, U.S. 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 people and of 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 people.

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 electricty, of Marxism-Leninism and of atomic energy, comes forward and opposes reason. There is no greater absurdity and nothing more unscientific 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 of great traditions who could leave the imprint of their genius and their tradition on universities and faculties, or on the practical development of their experience 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 laboratorics, 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 professor Aleksandër Xhunxhi and Kos-tat 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 conciliated, a danger which does not exist, since they are capable and modest people, as are many, many others, whose names I did not mention for lack of time, 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, 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 bringing 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 nourished by the people's genius, and which fights for the good of its people. All this is born out by life, all this constitutes our objective reality, on which our Party bases itself in its judgments 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 N. Khrushchev and his followers have more than once declared that, allegedly, it was they who created our intelligentsia.
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 it 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 would 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 pedagogical-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 underated, without, however, going to the other extreme, of engaging in practice at the expense of theory; the future specialists 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 own 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 gray 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 Ender, 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 sciences is ever more firmly based on high level 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 Inodid 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 Khruuschev, who is a reviler 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...
Let me remind you of what the feudal Fejzi Allizotis said 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 Allizotis have not been wiped out everywhere. They revive wherever the seed of revisionism germinates and these other Fejzi Allizotis, 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 demagogy.

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 intellectuals and the enhancement of its role in the socialist construction, further qualification should be the continuous preoccupation of all our cadres. The solution of 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 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 teachers and pedagogues, pupils and students, doctors and engineers, agronomists and musicians, in short, everyone.

The teachers, pedagogues, 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, every one 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 pedagogue or a manager. But when you start your independent life working in your sector, and encounter the most different 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, of 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
What Must We Study?

After all this has been said, the questions arise: 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 basis of socialism, the industrialization of the country, intensification of agriculture, etc. 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 corps, livestock 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 of 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 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 minerals and the country’s energy sources, 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 that 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 to-day for tomorrow and the day after to-morrow.

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 different 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, phosphates, 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 dermatomyositis 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. The cadres. Therefore, we can and must cope with this burden too — continuous study, which in the final analysis will lighten the overall burden of work...
ing 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 coordination, the collaboration of different scientists on these 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 marvelous 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 more than 10,000 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 workshops, 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 give 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 of 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 draught, 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 prelate about planting only sunflower in our country, because he would bring us wheat from Yugoslavia. 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 ate as much as we wanted’, although when our people were in need he refused to give us wheat. To carry out these tasks we should concentrate our attention mainly on the districts of Fierz, Shushica, Durres, and Korca, and then of Skodra, 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 other 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 cooperativist 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, pedagogues 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 the 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 guest 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 uniriting 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 Medieval 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. In order that Albanian linguists, through its studies, can assist in the great problem of the normalization of the Albanian literary language, the work started on compiling the Albanian scientific grammar, 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 dialectologic 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 in 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, matter 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 the 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 the everyone, without exception, must work tirelessly to master Marxism-Leninism and to study 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 to 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 Bogomolov, nor the thousands of other distinguished scientists of every epoch are known to mankind not because they went to church and prayed to God, but for their rational, progressive, materialistic, anti-clerical, anti-religious 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 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 inexorable for our scientists and specialists 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 specialties. 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 prescriptions, 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 wrangle 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 is not 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 these sciences in the world, we should study those 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 over all 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 a better 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 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 plans 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 various papers and free discussions, without arbitrary interpretations and without rejecting the new thesis apriori by means of political epithets, the sound things should be brought out, experience summed up, and the cadres
Ties 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 wellbeing 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. The ties 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 works, 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 ties with the people, with the heroic working class, with our co-operative 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 experiences, 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 «pleasant» job somewhere in 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 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 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 his 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 their «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 kind, various traitors and renegades deserted the ranks of the revolutionaries — nevertheless the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin live on and will go through the centuries. The period we are passing through is one of the most heroic: the most rapid colonization and imperialist reactions, treacheries, social-democracy and the revisionists 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 out 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 do not come out openly on the attack against Marxism-Leninism, but, under the pretext of the «new conditions», they oppose particular theses of it and try to find arguments in support of their revisionist theses.

Another characteristic of the present-day revisionists is that they direct their blows mainly at these questions where their demagogy 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 all-out and so shameless that it does not hesitate to attack even dialectical and historical materialism, the Marxist economic theory, historical sciences, Marxist aesthetics, etc. The trend is clear: everything is being done to get out from materialism to idealism and from dialectics to metaphysics, to substitute the 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 philosophy, some of them, — these were the most far-sighted revisionists, — drew the conclu-
tion that, since cognition has reached a stage in which the real knowledge has been developed by the individual sciences, Marxist philosophy should confine itself to the study of the theory of thoughts 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 bourgeoisie and revisionist ideologists: to deny 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 N. Krushchev and his bankrupt "theorists" who define the directions and set the tone for these and other assaults against Marxism-Leninism. After all what was the meeting of the so-called Marxist theorists on economic questions, convened in Moscow some time ago, to discuss present-day capitalism? What were the conclusions reached by these "theorists"? 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 "substitute" the revisionist theses of N. Krushchev 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 monstrousities 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.

1) 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 fulfillment of the 2nd Five-year Plan in the 30s. 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 sovkhizes and kolkhozes, in our transport, in our Red Army there were sufficient numbers of cadres able to handle this equipment our country would have 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.)

2) Today in Albania there are six times as many cadres of higher training and specialists of medium training as there were fifteen-sixteen years ago.

3) Leading figures of the Albanian National Renaissance.

4) Albanian revolutionary poet of the Thirties.

5) A well-known Italian calculator (1867-1950).

6) In 1935, sounding the alarm about "the danger of over-production of intellectuals", which allegedly came from the three general secondary schools that existed in the whole of Albania at that time and which would turn out 500-600 clerical workers within 10-15 years, and that as a result of this "over-production" they would end up as grocery boys, Fejsi Aliosi declared in parliament, "I am convinced that this money we spend on schooling is wasted".

8) The Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania was founded in 1973.
YOUTH GIVES LIFE AND ANIMATING NEW BLOOD TO THE PARTY

The organisations of the youth are the life-giving tissues, are like the clean lungs of a healthy body which give the Homeland life and vigour. They are those powerful organs which strengthen our Party, which provide new blood for the heart of the people, the Party.

Speech at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA on June 7, 1977 on the report presented by the ALYU Central Committee on the education of the youth, and the theses on the report of the 7th Congress of the ALYU.
TO THE COUNTRY,


The masses and organisations of the youth are the life-giving tissues, are like the clean lungs of a healthy body which give the Homeland life and vigour. They are those powerful organs which strengthen our Party, which provide new blood for the heart of the people, the Party. When we speak about new blood, we mean all those young men and women of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, educated in the Marxist-Leninist spirit and ideology, with proletarian discipline, with sincerity, honesty and courage which are valuable characteristics of our people.

For this reason, the congress of the youth, and in general all the rallies of our younger generation, must not be considered only from their festive aspect. Public display, the aspect of beauty and rejoicing, is characteristic of the younger generation. This is necessary for the youth, but it is not only this which must characterize its rallies. Along with these aspects, the mature thinking of the Party must flow among the youth, it must display the necessary seriousness in carrying out the tasks it is faced with, in finding the forms and methods it must use to carry them into effect, the creative thinking of the young men and women who are educated by the Party in schools, factories, the army, in the countryside and elsewhere, must stand out. In this way, their rallies become really joyful as well as fruitful! All these things build up the morale, knowledge, intelligence, courage and heroism, not only of our youth, but also of the whole people, because such a spirit pervades the older people, too, the working people in the factories, the workers in the fields, the men of the pen, and all this is combined in a special harmony which cannot exist except in a country where socialism is being built, in a country which is led by Marxist-Leninist Party, such as our party.

It is essential that the youth, should be guided in its work by such orientations, not only in the congress, but also now before the congress and all the time. In all its activity, whether study, creative or productive activity, in the schools, factories and fields, in the great national and local actions which it is continually undertaking and carrying out successfully, the youth must always be embued and tempered with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, with the teachings of our Party, which must, without fail, be made comprehensible to the youth. We must not hear that there are young men and women in our country who do not properly understand the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the theory of our great teachers in all its breadth and profundity. We must ensure that the theory and practice of our Party is understood in the course of its implementation. Practice will develop the creative thinking of young people and their ability to assimilate the Marxist-Leninist theory more easily and to link it with life, with their everyday struggle. So from books and from practice they must succeed in gaining a profound understanding of the laws of our Marxist-Leninist theory.

In other words, it is the task of the Party, through such work, to ensure the future of the country, socialism, which the people are building, the people are defending and the people are developing and driving forward. But these people must always have their sleeves rolled up in order to lay the stones one upon the other, must bind them well together with mortar and steel and hand on this work to the succeeding generations one after
Comrade ENVER HOXHA amid a group of youth
another, so that they advance continuously under the
guidance of Marxism-Leninism, which they know how
to apply in practice, in the development of socialist so-
ciety. This means that they must be constantly enriching
Marxism-Leninism. This is a major objective ahead of
our Party. The task falls on us to think deeply about
this question and to see to it that the correct ideas of
the Party are implanted in the hearts and minds of the
young generation.

As the Party has repeatedly stressed, both now and
in the future, we must strive to ensure that our youth
understands that there will always be difficulties ahead
in life, because the struggle for the complete construction
of socialism, the struggle to defend the socialist Homeland
and the victories achieved, cannot be crowned with
success without encountering challenges and fighting against
the internal and external enemies. The class struggle mustalways be waged from our side on the basis of the prin-
ciples of Marxism-Leninism, so that we are neither
sectarian nor opportunists.

We must know how to solve the numerous prob-
lems facing us correctly, how to distinguish the anti-
gonistic contradictions among the people and the enemies
from the non-antagonistic contradictions among the people.
The resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions among
the people is a great, complicated and many-sided task.
Maturity and wisdom are required to solve these con-
tradictions in favour of socialism and to the disadvantage
of the enemies of the proletariat and the People’s So-
cialist Republic of Albania. The non-antagonistic contra-
dictions, of which there is a wide range, in the most
varied forms, at different places and times, must be ob-
erved, studied, corrected, and explained with great pa-
tience, because such is their nature. The mark of the ab-
ility of the Party and the youth is that they must know
how to resolve these contradictions properly, and to
achieve this, as I said above, they must work to acquire
Marxist-Leninist maturity which creates that good sense,
that sound judgement in people, which helps them to
cope with and overcome any difficulty they may be faced
with. The Party should be carrying on such education
among the younger generation right now. It must see to it that
this generation is activated in this class struggle, the
struggle against the enemies within the country and the
struggle against the external enemies.

In this direction, the Party should bear in mind that
the work with the youth is very delicate, therefore, it
should be vigilant because the class enemies are not only
working to sabotage everything at present, but are also
striving to undermine the future. In this direction, the
youth is one of the fields of their activity. The enemies
know that if they manage to influence the youth through
their discredited petty-bourgeois and decadent life, their
crazy music and their evil vices, then the future of our
people will decay, and the young samplings, these who will
take the place of the old and have to uphold the torch
of socialism, will degenerate. Taking account of this, we
must ensure that the youth understands the importance
of the dictatorship of the proletariat thoroughly and well,
in theory and in practice, understands that the dictatorship
of the proletariat is that means which has guaranteed it
and the entire people all these advantages, all this happy,
prosperous and cultured life, with an extensive, sound
and just democracy.

We must work to ensure that the youth does not have
only a superficial understanding of the dictatorship of
the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is trying to describe the
dictatorship of the proletariat as the enemy of a “broad
democracy”, that allegedly exists in the capitalist coun-
tries. In fact, in these countries there is only a formal
democracy, democracy for the rich and not for the broad
working masses, not for the proletariat. The dictatorship
in the capitalist countries is comprised of the armed forces
and other state apparatuses of compulsion of these coun-
tries, which secure the bourgeoisie-capitalist order, secure
the assets of the monoplies against the struggle of the
proletariat and the other masses of poor working people
of town and countryside, who are exploited to the bone.

We should not think that in our youth, so pure, so
heroic and so industrious, so intelligent and cultured, petty
bourgeois leftovers do not strike root, external hostile in-
fuences do not make themselves felt sometimes. The red
apple should always preserve its beautiful colour, and for
it not to lose colour and freshness measures must be taken
to prevent the worm from eating itself into it. Such should
be our care and struggle for our younger generation, the
future of our Homeland, the future we are now fighting
for with all our forces, for socialism and communism.
In all the plants, factories, cooperatives, schools, wherever
young people are working and learning, in all the forms
and at all levels, we must know how to combine po-
itical education, moral education and ideological education
in such a manner that we launch into life a youth which
is not only qualified and trained technically, but first
of all, pure and sound morally, politically and ideolo-
gically.

The Party has the duty to use all methods and means
to ensure that our youth, which was born and has grown
up in socialism, but which has taken part in this magni-
ficent construction carried out in our country, knows
about the past of our people, not only about the gloomy
economic and political past, but also about the brilliant
past, its patriotic and revolutionary traditions. Work must
not go on ceaselessly in all forms so that these revolutionary
and patriotic traditions of our people in all fields are
deeply implanted in the hearts and minds of the young
people to ensure that while they live and work in the
socialist reality, they also appreciate and love this reality,
because it is the work of their own blood and sweat and
that of our forefathers, thus, every step forward we take
becomes many times more valuable. It is vital that we
make it clear to the youth that they must never forget
that every furrow in this soil has been filled with the
blood, sweat and bones of our courageous, freedom-far-
ing, and indomitable people.

In many different ways the Party must continuously
arouse in the youth the desire to learn and educate
themselves, and in order that this lesson may be absorbed
with the greatest zeal, persistence and seriousness, the youth must understand the great aim of learning, which enlightens the individual and gives him a priceless weapon which must be used properly in the general interests of the people, the Homeland and socialism. It must understand that to use learning and knowledge to serve the general interest means that every one must serve wherever the Homeland requires and must work with total self-sacrifice to the supreme sacrifice in the needs of the people and Homeland require it.

It is not advisable for us to always make everything a bed of roses for the youth, even when it is not a bed of roses, but we must work so that it understands that for a bed of roses to be always in bloom it must be kept free of weeds, watered, and hoed, and that when we plant the roses they must be looked after. The youth should know, too, that there are all sorts of difficulties of growth for these roses; there are diseases and weeds which can infect them and there are atmospheric agents, which, on many occasions, if we are not careful and do not protect them, will ruin the rose garden, weaken and wither the roses raised with such care. Therefore it remains our permanent duty to acquaint the youth with and accustom it to difficulties, so that it understands these difficulties correctly, both objectively and subjectively, and fights to overcome them with success. Precisely here lies the force of a truly Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary education for the youth.

The Party must always have the youth organisation under its patronage, and must be very careful not to make it a sectarian organisation, but a militant mass organisation. Among the masses of the youth, the Party must use a wide range of methods to do all the things I have touched on briefly above and carry out many other directives it has issued from time to time, so that all this great mass of the youth, ranked in its organisation with an iron discipline, conscious of the tasks with which it is charged, with great enthusiasm to get into these tasks and carry them out properly, merges itself with the people, identifies itself with the people, shares the people's joys and sorrows, is inspired by the people and itself inspires the people.

It is precisely with this form, this impulse, this way of working that the Party should provide the Youth Organisation and all the other mass organisations.

When we say that the youth is the future of our country, the Party must think deeply about this and watch over the youth with the greatest care. This means that, it must be envisaged that capable, revolutionary, loyal and cultured young men and women must be brought into the leading positions, the key positions of every sector, and must gradually take the work into their own hands, in close collaboration with their elders. It is the duty of the latter, the older cadres, to teach the young men and women, to train them as their replacements, to treat them with the greatest affection, warmth and care.

We must always have confidence in the rising generation, this healthy generation which is being educated by the Party. We must strive, gradually, to hand the torch on to our young men and women and we can be sure that they will do their job properly. These young people will see that the word and thought of the Party are creative and unforgettable and compose that great force which makes man capable and equips him with rare virtues in the service of the Homeland.

I agree with the report which the Central Committee of the Youth presented to us on the state of the organisation, and the work of the youth in all its social, economic, educational, cultural and other activities.

In general, we may say that our youth is proceeding resolutely on the right course the Party has set for it. The struggle and the powerful heart beat of the youth is making itself felt throughout the entire life of the country, that beat which comes from a pure and healthy heart, from a brain with sound logic, knowledge and science. Notwithstanding that there are some shortcomings in the work of the youth, that there are some young people with negative attitudes, and of course, this is the struggle for development, in which the clash of the opposites can be seen, one thing comes out clearly: with the passage of time and persistent education, the work of the Party and the youth organisation matures those few of our young people who sometimes do something childish. This work makes them aware of their incorrect actions over some issue or at a given time.

Despite this, the task of the youth organisation and the Party is to do everything possible to keep the youth pure, to protect it from evil influences. And it is known that we can protect the young people from such influences, alien to our society, not by shutting them up within four walls, but by educating them wherever they are living, working and learning, with the morality of the class, with the ideology of the Party. Hence if, through our work, we enable the youth to see things correctly politically, then we shall certainly have fewer undesirable manifestations among the masses of the youth. In comparison with the really commendable work of the youth, these manifestations are not numerous, however they must never be underestimated.

I agree also with the theses of the report which the Central Committee of the Youth presented about the forthcoming Congress and I am sure that this report will be soundly constructed, inspired from start to finish by the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. In every chapter of the report the correct line of the Party on all the problems to be raised must stand out. The sound and revolutionary defence of this line, in policy, theory and practice, must stand out and mobilize the masses of the youth with great enthusiasm to carry out these directives and this line in practice, so that our socialist Homeland becomes even more prosperous and strong.
ENVER HOXHA

THE WORD AND DEED OF OUR PAST ARE NOT DIVORCED FROM THE SPIRIT OF OUR PEOPLE*

«The internal and external enemies pursued and persecuted us, but more than that they were unable to do. The enemies could never break the progressive, freedom-loving fighting spirit of the Albanians, could not destroy their characteristics, because virtues had age-long roots deeply implanted in the minds and hearts of our people.»

GREETING TO THE PEOPLE OF GJIROKASTRA

Dear brothers and sisters of Gjirokastër!
Dear students, dear teachers,

Since it is impossible for me to be with you on this outstanding day of great significance and lofty patriotic inspiration, I am speaking to you from Tirana, so that together we can recall those times of glorious history, full of struggles, sacrifice and heroism of our parents and grandparents, our respected teachers, and the entire people of the region and city of Gjirokastër. Although I am speaking to you from Tirana, in heart, in mind and in memory, I am there, with you, amongst my people, in the small square where sixty years ago, together with my schoolmates of the «Drëta» school, I used to run around the little courtyard, with the ABC in my hand, repeating the lesson. Precisely in that square, a series of leagues, democratic societies and patriotic clubs were founded, one after the other, and carried on their patriotic and cultural activity. Together with my mother's songs and stories, they were the first school of my childhood and early youth, where I learned to love and honour this beloved Homeland, this glorious people, our beautiful language, our brilliant traditions, our ancient and progressive culture with my whole heart, and, like all our honest and patriotic-minded people, to dedicate my life to them. Today, that small square swarming with young pioneers, reminds me of the meadow on Mount Çajet, with its sweet-smelling trignella, in the midst of which rises an obelisk, great and majestic, like all those brave

*This material is the greeting that comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the people of his birthplace, Gjirokastër, on the occasion of the inauguration there of a museum centre and an obelisk dedicated to all the teachers, pioneers of education, of the Albanian school and language.
our honoured patriots,
can never prevent the outburst of our people’s patriotism,
spirit, courage and loyalty
hence these lofty
thoughts of the entire people."

men of the rifle and of the pen who fought in very
difficult times against ignorance, occupation and tyranny,
who followed the heroic, militant freedom-loving traditions
of our forefathers, who kept these traditions alive, de-
developed them further and handed them down to us as our
heritage, who opened the way for us, tempered us with
patriotism, taught us to always keep a firm hold on the
gun, to master knowledge and strengthen our love for
each other.

Today, we older people, the children of those heroic
times, when we were short of both paper and pencil and
it was hard to find the ABC’s with the old letters of
alphabets of Istanbul and Salonica, smuggled in the
knapsacks under the rifle and the goat’s hair cloaks of
Çerëj, Bajo, Mihaïl and others, recall with great respect
those brave men and fiery patriots who went up and down
the streets of the Gjirokastra market place. So deeply are
they engraved on our minds and hearts that even now
it seems as if we can see them as they were — modest,
gray-haired with age and troubles, but with eyes that
sparkled when we, the youth and little children, greeted
them respectfully.

We, who bowed in respect to Uncle Bajo Topulli, Idriz
Guri, Hasan Xhiku, Hysen Hoxha, Hasan Sino, Polo Meksi,
the old priest Papapano, Yeli Hashorva and others, who
were revolted when the murderous Zog had our Avni, the
leader of the youth, killed, and our elder comrades went
to storm Tirana, feel very proud of those patriotic men
who illuminated the way for us with the rifle and the
pen, we feel a special pride because we have had the
great privilege of having known them at first hand, of
having spoken to them, and had our heads patted by those
strong hands that carried and fired the «Mausers» and
«Maulehers».

What a wealth of memories is linked with this historic
hill in the middle of Gjirokastra, brothers and sisters!
There, both rifle and pen have spoken out for Albania;
there, shoulder to shoulder with the fighters of the pa-
triotic detachments, stood teachers and pupils; in centres
like these the first foundations of the schools that, today,
stretch from end to end of Albania, were laid; there, the
first stages of the amateur and professional theatre were
set up; there, for the first time, our mothers and sisters
organized themselves in the «anti-Bastille» (the prison)
Association, in 1919, and proclaimed openly that they
would fight against ignorance, backwardness, and slavery,
into which the occupiers, the anti-popular regimes, the
church and the mosque had plunged them.
GREETING
TO THE PEOPLE OF GJIROKASTRA

The patriotic societies and clubs which were founded on this hill did not arise by chance on unworked ground. They were the result and direct continuation of the outstanding, all-sided activity that the patriotic societies, clubs and detachments of our National Renaissance had carried on for years on end with the rifle and with the pen and they were, at the same time, an enrichment and a further development, both quantitative and qualitative, of all the former activity of our glorious forebears. These patriotic clubs and societies, which were opened all over the country, became the pivot of that powerful movement that had set itself the aim of winning independence and freedom for the Homeland, of fighting for the Albanian language and the Albanian school, for the development and progress of the national culture, music and theatre, of our wonderful folklore, for democracy, development and social progress.

The internal and external enemies pursued and persecuted our honourable patriots, but more than that they were unable to do. The enemies could never prevent the outburst of our people's patriotism, could never break the progressive, freedom-loving, fighting spirit, courage and loyalty of the Albanians, could not destroy their characteristics, because these lofty virtues had age-old roots deeply implanted in the minds and hearts of the entire people.

In the name of this patriotism resounded the Song of the Motherland of Andon Zako Çajupi, for this sacred land of ours the brave men of Selam Meca Salaria poured out rivers of blood in the epic of the Vlora War in 1930, while in Paris, the pistol of the revolutionary democrat Avni Rustemi shot the traitor Esat Pasha Toptani in the heart, for the great national cause.

We were young at that time, dear brothers and sisters of Gjirokastra, but I want to tell you about one heroic incident. I don't remember the year, however it was Flag Day, in the time of the Zog regime. Our school was assembled on that bit of ground in front of the old prefecture, which the older folk will recollect, there where the cinema stands today. The prefect, the commander of the gendarmerie, and other top-ranking officials came out and stood between the pillars of the main gate. The prefect began with a few perfunctory words about Flag Day and then went on to boast Zog and his regime. The crowd stood in absolute silence, without the slightest applause then a powerful voice rang out: «Down with the robbers!» There was an immediate uproar. The gendarmes rushed around, while the prefect and the other authorities disappeared inside the building. We schoolboys, broke ranks and heard our teachers whispering to each other: «Oh, well done!» Suddenly the crowd parted and we saw Captain Idriz Guri march forward, head held high, with his hand on his sword-hilt and his black-and-red scarf slung over his shoulder and breast. It was he, the old fighter and comrade-in-arms of Çezik and others, who had shouted: «Down with the robbers!» Idriz Guri marched down the street, entered the cafe frequented by government officials, sat down at a table and, crossing his legs, ordered a glass of rakia. The men gathered round him. We, youngsters were crowding the street that leads to the Club of the Renaissance, which is being inaugurated today, and, standing on the steps of the gunsmith Aziz Buduk's, in front of Uncle Banush's store, waited to see what would happen.

Soon we heard the tramp of hobnailed boots and a squad of gendarmes, headed by a major, appeared. With difficulty, Zog's major forced his way through the crowd, stood before Uncle Idriz and proclaimed in a loud voice: «Captain Idriz Guri, I have orders to arrest you. Surrender your sword!» Uncle Idriz, with his white moustache curled at the lips, rose to his feet, drew his sword, and shouted: «Idriz Guri does not surrender his sword lightly. Stand back, Major!» We began to shout: «Don't yield, Uncle Idriz!» The people of Gjirokastra, Uncle Idriz's elderly comrades, surrounded the major of the gendarmerie and one of them told him in firm tones: «Go and tell those who have sent you that Idriz Guri is not arrested. We are going to Kuky's cafe to celebrate with a drink. If you like you can come there, but you had better come with a whole battalion of gendarmes.» The major of the gendarmerie was left speechless and afraid. He backed off and cleared out, while the crowd, with Uncle Idriz at the head, moved off down the market street, with us youngsters coming along behind, singing the Song of the Flag. Ahmet Zog stripped Uncle Idriz of his officer's rank, but he continued his patriotic fight with the «walking sticks» you have in the city museum.

Such were those brave men of rifle and the pen, whom we are commemorating and whose work we are immortalizing. The people preserve the memory of their patriotic efforts as a most sacred thing, and our glorious Party of Labour placed them on a pedestal.

It was on this glorious soil, in this inexhaustible stream of patriotism and courage, in this great school of life that those sons and daughters of our people were taught and educated, who, later, in the difficult years of the fascist occupation, united around the Communist Party of Albania and became its flesh and blood, the glorious heroes of the Party and the people.

The beautiful and meaningful monument you are inaugurating today lovers over the whole of Gjirokastra like an everburning beacon of light. The proud castle
The streets and suburbs of the city, the plain and mountainside see it, the schools and the scholars and their teachers see it, the entire people see it, and from the river bank, over the bridge, the monument to the heroes of the National Liberation War seems to be saying: «See, we, too, are here. We fought bravely, with the Party of the Communists at the head, fell on the field of honour, rifle in hand, because that is how you, our mothers, our fathers, our entire people fought us». And now their sons and daughters thank the Party of Labour that brought Albania into the light, that liberated it for ever and built our beautiful socialist Homeland, putting into practice the motto of the heroes of our National Renaissance: «Knowledge, love for one another, and rifle», which in the time of the Party, became, «In one hand the pick, in the other the rifle.»

In the name of the Party, I thank you and congratulate you on having made a reality of its promise that an obelisk would be erected to the eternal memory of those teachers and pedagogues who toiled courageously and valiantly, facing imprisonment, torture and death, in order to open Albanian schools in Gjirokastra, and in many other places in Albania.

On this occasion, with profound respect and gratitude, I want to recall the names of our first teachers, honoured patriots such as Thoma Papapano, Andrea Konomi, Ilia Dilo Sheperi, Asaf Qipi, and later, a whole galaxy, with Iliuz Hoxha, Khafo Poshi, Urauni Rumbi, Resho Mucil and others, who, following in the footsteps of Koto Hoxhi and Pandeli Sotiri, after great efforts, opened the Albanian school «Liria» and, later, «Drita» round about here, on this hill.

From their work and struggle, from the great passion and zeal of the students of those patriotic teachers, our teachers, pupils and students have always learned and should learn even more. They should never forget that in their efforts to spread the Albanian alphabet, the first pioneers of our school had to defend every one of its letters against innumerable difficulties, and often, even with their own blood. Our teachers and all our pupils and students, who are working and being trained and educated in such beautiful buildings equipped with all facilities, must never forget that the teachers and students of the first Albanian schools, such as «Liria» and «Drita», had neither books nor pencils, let alone the other teaching means and equipment with which our present-day schools are filled. They understood the importance of the national school, the importance of the alphabet, the importance of the book, the importance of knowledge. Precisely under those conditions, from among the ranks of those students who attended those schools, that were more like stables, to learn to write and read their mother tongue, such sons of our people as Siri Shapilo, Agif Seifo, Emin Shino, Sokrat Kutra, and many and many others, were educated and later became respected teachers. The armed struggle to liberate ourselves from slavery to imperialists and barbarous invaders is inseparable from the struggle for the Albanian alphabet and the Albanian school.

In step with those efforts marched the people's songs:

On the Pass of Peshkopi
'Gainst the battalions of Turkey
Stands a son of this suffering people,
Ball, fighting gloriously!

. . . . .

Today's the day, Albanian brothers,
To defend our tongue, our alphabet.
Arise, you sons of Albanian mothers,
Our beloved letters in gold to set.

Two songs of the people with a single sacred refrain:

Albania, our beloved Homeland,
We'll not leave you poor and abandoned...

It was not by chance that the clubs of the patriots were clustered around the «Drita» School and Club. It was not by chance that Çerçiz Tapulli, Hysen Hoxha, Thoma Papapano Çuç, Elmaz Boce, Idriz Angoni and their comrades used to dance around the pillar in the middle of the «Drita» Club. It was not by chance that, at that time, we youngsters used to gather to sing the verses I quoted above, and many and many others like them in a similar militant and patriotic spirit.

The liberation of the Homeland from the occupiers was linked with the triumph of knowledge. The men of our National Renaissance considered knowledge as light, because, by means of knowledge, the darkness which had engulfed our people through the centuries would be dispersed, because it would raise high the Albanian's consciousness and patriotism, because, together with the rifle, it would consolidate the independence won, and bring progress and prosperity to the Homeland.

The heroic Party of the Albanian Communists, which knew to implement Marxism-Leninism, this unerring universal science, so well, so correctly, and with such courage and heroism, closely linked with the heroic,
GREETING TO THE PEOPLE OF GJIROKAstra

freedom and progress-loving traditions of the Albanian people, drove forward gloriously on this road with the heroic National Liberation War. Thus we can see the great value of the activity of these patriotic and cultural societies, clubs and leagues. What a commendable thing you have done, brothers and sisters, in setting up this new museum centre, which, along with other things, is the best testimony that our Gjirokastra is a museum city, first of all, on account of its glorious patriotic and revolutionary history, because of the ceaseless struggles and efforts of its sons and daughters for freedom and independence, for the Albanian language and the Albanian school, for democracy, and for our all-round economic and social development and progress!

Along with the other museums and cultural centres, this new centre will be a true school for the education of the present and future generations with courage and patriotism, with love for our national language and culture, with deep respect and gratitude for all the outstanding traditions and patriotic and revolutionary activity of our forebears.

By acquainting themselves with these outstanding traditions of the past, the present and future generations will gain a better understanding of the political and ideological line of the Party, will understand its philosophy better, because they will see concretely that the word and deed of the Party are not divorced from the glorious past of our people; on the contrary, they are its further continuation and all-round enrichment in content and form with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Once again I beg your pardon for the fact that, despite my desire to do so, I was unable to come there today to celebrate this marked event together with you, as I promised in my greeting on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the «Asim Zeno» School, but I shall find the opportunity to come to see our beloved Gjirokastra that I miss so much, and we shall talk about the new museum centre you are inaugurating in connection with which I have so many memories from my childhood and youth, especially about the «Studenti» Association, of which I had the good fortune to be a member myself.

I avail myself of this opportunity, brothers and sisters, to send you my heartfelt congratulations on the lofty title of «Hero of Socialist Labour» awarded to the Gjirokastra District a short time ago. The people of the Gjirokastra District fully deserve this title, and I express the conviction that all of you, united closely around the Party will work with even greater determination, like our entire heroic people and, through your all-round work and efforts, will make our socialist Albania, our glorious Homeland, for which so much blood has been shed through the centuries, ever more beautiful, ever more impregnable.

Glory to the heroes of the people, old and young!
Glory to the heroes of the rifle, of work and the pen!
Glory to our beloved Party!
Glory to our heroic people!
May you always be successful in your life and work, my brothers and sisters of Gjirokastra!

I embrace you

Yours
Enver Hoxha


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1 This refers to the beautiful field on Mt Çajup in front of the town of Gjirokastra.
2 During the 500 year long rule of the Turkish Empire in Albania, the Albanian language was prohibited to be written, and as a result there was no Albanian alphabet. In the second half of the 19th Century, the Albanian patriots outside the country began using various alphabets in order to spread the use of the written Albanian language in Albania. Among the first alphabets were those of Constantinoplie (Istanbul) and Salonice, named after the cities in which the groups of Albanian patriots were striving for the spread of the Albanian alphabet.
3 The brothers Cerciz and Bajo Topulli and Mihal Grameno People's Heroes, outstanding patriots and eminent fighters for the independence of Albania.
4 Anni Rustemi, People's Hero, revolutionary democrat, who did the heroic deed of killing Basi Pasha Topi and in Paris. In April 1924 Ahmet Zogu arranged for his cowardly assassination.
5 Outstanding Albanian poet (1886-1930).
6 This refers to the heroic war of the masses of Albanian insurgents, who drove into the sea the Italian invaders who had occupied the town of Vlora and its hinterland according to the secret 1915 London Treaty. Selam Musa Sataria was one of the leaders of this war. He was killed while attacking the enemy.
7 The 28th November 1912, the day of the proclamation of Albania's independence after 500 years of Turkish rule.
8 When he was stripped of all his official function, Idris Guri lived in poverty but never ceased exposing the existing regime. He began making wooden walking sticks on which he used to carve images and initials of allegoric words ridiculing Zog's government, and in this way, expressed people's hatred for the «King».
9 Picturesque villages around Gjirokastra.
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 RAPPROACHMENT WITH US IMPERIALISM.

These aims of N. Khrushchev's visit became immediately obvious from his endless statements boasting the "successful building of socialism in Yugoslavia," the "correct Marxist-Leninist line and the outstanding merits of the present Yugoslav leaders" headed by "my friend and comrade Tito", about 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-Leninism", about the contribution of the Yugoslav leaders to the "strengthening of the anti-imperialist front", about "the good points of the Yugoslav road to socialism", and particularly about the "workers' self-administrations", which, allegedly, is worthy of special attention and study by other socialist countries, in order to copy it, and about 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 goals. 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 the "communist" 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.

* * *

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, of socialism and...
peace, and plunged even deeper into the mire of betrayal.

In his August 24th 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 development of the principle 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 N. Khrushchev and Tito on matters of foreign policy, but they also demonstrate that N. Khrushchev has made Tito his equal partner in the leadership of world's policy. But what role has N. 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 stated that complete unity has 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 already 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 inspired all the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, and that in their disruptive anti-Marxist practical activity they are guided by the same objectives, which are to extinguish the revolutionary spirit of 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 activities in the fields of politics and ideology, Khrushchev also laid the basis 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 Rakovica 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 exchanges of goods are 50 per cent upon last year."

In Velenja on August 30, Tito, for his part, confirmed that, "It is in the interests of both sides that we should extend and develop our relations still further. And we shall do this. We have, for instance, already reached an agreement about the cooperation of certain branches of the economy, which through our further collaboration will be expanded even more". Yugoslavia has agreed to participate in the "socialist division of labour". Finally it was accorded observer status in the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (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 sojourn 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 of 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 Tazjuk news agency describes Khrushchev's meeting with the managers of the Rakovica 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 has 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 highlights Khrushchev's opinions and remarks at his meeting with the managers of the Rakovica 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 N. 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 discussion. 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 the economic management which have nothing in common with socialism and which they themselves, not very long ago, criticized an reject- ed as anti-Marxist and anti-socialist, and as a variant of the theories of anarcho-syndicalism...

Tito once again proclaimed the superiority of the Yugoslav road to socialism and stressed that it was no longer specific to Yugoslavia alone but should 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 Nikola Sergeevich 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 Radio London 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 Titelte 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. That's why N. 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. The mouthpiece of the big US monopolists, the "New York Times," wrote: "The most interesting aspect... is the very friendly attitude of the Soviet Premier, N. 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 imperialism 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 tale 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 out a hunchback. Tito himself has stated repeatedly that he has discarded 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 N. 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 N. 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. This matter will not be taken up in the talks."

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 "Washington Post," which is very close to the US government and especially to the State Department, expressed the idea on August 24 that in the present state of international affairs, 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's clique having changed and corrected its mistakes are intended to prove that Yugoslavia is a real socialist country and that socialism is being built there successfully, in order to justify his full collaboration with the
The Tito clique, its final rehabilitation and the inclusion of Yugoslavia in the family of socialist countries and that of the League of Yugoslav communists in the ranks of the international communist movement. But this is one of the crudest and most blatant violations of the 1969 Moscow Declaration, unani(mously 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 achievement of full unity with the Tito clique shows clearly once again down which road the Khruschev group is rushing. As the popular saying goes, «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-Leninism, 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 Khruschev group united with the treacherous Tito clique but it has launched frenzied attacks on all those communist parties which, standing loyal to the Moscow Declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, carry out their international duty and expose the Yugoslav leaders with their revisionist ideas and anti-socialist activities. This means that the Khruschev group has obliterated any distinction between friends and foe, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between defenders and disruptors 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.

The second main conclusion to be drawn from Khruschev's visit to the Tito clique, from their talks and public statements, is that they have coordinated 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, against modern revisionism and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. This is clearly borne out by a series of incontestable facts.

It is now no secret to anyone that for some time back, Khruschev 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 Khruschev tried to avoid saying anything that might prejudice his «cordial relations» with the re- garded 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 Khruschev 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», Khruschev 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 which 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 the camps. Under these circumstances Khruschev's statement against the so-called «blocs» inevitably gives rise to two conclusions:

On the one hand, it is clear that Khruschev 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 N. Khruschev supports and justifies the demagogic manoeuvres of the Tito clique about the so-called «neutralism» 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 camps? There was a time when Khruschev himself condemned and rejected this absurd pretension of the Tito clique: «The Yugoslav leaders», he declared at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, «claim that they stand outside blocs, above the camps, although in fact they take part in the Balkan bloc, which consists of Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Greece... The leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists 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 no example in which the bourgeoisie has supported its class enemy materially or morally, and assisted it to build socialism.»

Thus Khruschev 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 pru-
Albanian internationalism, Khruschev 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 Khruschev 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 ideas 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 ideological degeneration of the Khruschev group.

Moreover Khruschev 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 exhorted in an one-sided way the flight of the Yugoslav peoples against the fascists invaders, while deliberately denigrating the great contribution of the other Balkan peoples in 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 right of one people and the deliberate ignoring of the contribution and the struggle of other peoples, which Khruschev resorted to, reveals once again his aims of disruption and provocation by inciting the nationalist and chauvinist passions of the friends he supports. Khruschev 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 Khruschev revealed himself nakedly to be the complete Machiavellian, politically and morally.

Khruschev 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 Khruschev'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 Reuters, 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 Khruschev 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 Khruschev wants «to entrust the fate of the Balkans»? And what is the «special role» which Khruschev has assigned to it? Our people, as well as the other peoples of the Balkans, are very well acquainted with the features of this gang of renegades and agents of imperialism, we 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 activity of the Yugoslav revisionist agents, which have been detected 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 Koci 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 hosti-
led "the hot line", through which Khrushchev may talk directly to Kennedy and carry on further discussions at the expense of the peoples. But Khrushchev and Kennedy also have a living telephone "line", Tito, who provides good service in a creative way, to their common purpose.

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 31, "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 the 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 spoken.

In analyzing 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 pointed 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 servile 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. They see and condemn this open betrayal by Khrushchev who, by uniting with Tito, is rolling out the carpet in anticipation of the not so far distant day when the imperialists and the revisionists will celebrate Khrushchev's complete rapprochement with John 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 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 people 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 the 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 the same anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary attacks which the imperialists usually aim against the talks between Tito and Khrushchev.

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 forces of the world revolution, anti-imperialist movement.

The fact that Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia ended with no big rally in Belgrade or final statement or communiqué 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 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 the matter required them to restrain them-
selves to avoid openly disclosing their card and damaging their position.

Tito, of course, was the more interested in holding a rally and having official documents published because he would have liked to see the Moscow Declaration turn up officially, to see the final seal put on his complete rehabilitation. Yugoslav «specific socialism» given the «right of citizenship» and the League of Yugoslav Communists 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 publicity 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 was 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 coordinated 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 the imperialists, Khrushchev is betraying the Soviet people and the other peoples of the socialist countries, the international communist 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! He could «boast» that he is carrying out the aims of the rabid class enemies of socialism and the Soviet Union, he could 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 for the benefit of international reaction and US imperialism.

But the peoples and history will not forget and will never forgive him. The Soviet peoples who have emerged triumphant from many severe trials in their history, their Communist Party, the other peoples, the communists and revolutionaries of the world 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, true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries will fight selflessly and with determination 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.

DEAR COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI,
DEAR COMRADES OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION,

YOUR COMING HERE HAS CAUSED GREAT JOY. OUR PEOPLE AND PARTY ARE CELEBRATING, BECAUSE, FOR THE SECOND TIME, THEY HAVE IN THEIR MIDST COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI, THE CLOSE COMRADE OF MAO TSE-TUNG, FOR WHOM OUR PEOPLE AND PARTY HAVE A SPECIAL LOVE AND RESPECT. ALBANIA AND CHINA ARE CLOSELY LINKED ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM, AND THEY FIGHT, LIVE, TRIUMPH, AND ADVANCE TOGETHER.

DAY BY DAY WE FOLLOW THE VIGOROUS AND SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF YOUR GREAT COUNTRY, THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICY OF YOUR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT, YOUR STRUGGLE AGAINST WORLD IMPERIALISM AND MODERN REVISIONISM.

All our delegations which return from China, speak enthusiastically about everything, above all, especially about the warm and sincere friendship the Chinese people nurture for the Albanian people. All this rejoices and strengthens us, and gives us the possibility to follow the vigorous life and struggle of your people and Party closely.

In the international arena and in the international communist movement, in the national-liberation struggle which the peoples of the world are waging, the weight of People's China, its correct policy, the line which the Communist Party of China, led by comrade Mao Tse-Tung, has followed and is following, have become an important factor for progress, peace, the struggle for liberation and the struggle for socialism.

Important events are taking place in the world today, complicated problems are facing the peoples, struggles of various characters and intensities are being waged, alliances are being formed and dissolved, leaders are overthrown and others take their place, intrigues are being hatched up by the imperialist enemies and their allies, the revisionists and the other reactionaries of the whole world. But above all this, we see that the just cause of the peoples, enlightened by the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, is advancing and like a gigantic weight is mercilessly squeezing the life out of the old world which is dying and giving up the ghost, bringing about the birth and strengthening of the new world. Seeing that this struggle is being waged on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party and people consider it an honour to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Chinese Party and people, consider it an honour and their duty to make their modest contribution to this colossal struggle. The People's Republic of Albania and our Party will remain loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and to all those parties that, in their activity, proceed from the unshakable principles of our triumphant doctrine. Marching consistently on this road, we shall always be unified and will strengthen our common struggle.

Your coming here and the exchange of views we shall have with you will help us to strengthen our many-sided struggle.

Allow me to speak about some of our ideas.

After acquainting the Chinese delegation with the problems of the perspective development of the economy of the People's Republic of Albania, in general, and the draft of the fifth Five-year Plan (1965-1970), comrade Enver Hoxha dwelt especially on the principal problems of the international situation:

HOW WE SEE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, THE LESSONS WE SHOULD DRAW AND THE MEASURES WE SHOULD TAKE WITH REGARD TO THE DEVELOPING SITUATIONS.

We think that the Communist Party of China and the Government of the PR of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have not been taken by surprise by the development of international events, but in general, have foreseen them correctly, and acting in a revolutionary manner, have been able to influence them, to leave a marked revolutionary imprint on these situations, making many gains in strengthening the cause.

*This conversation was held in Tirana with Chou En-lai who visited Albania in March 1965, at the head of a Chinese Party and Government delegation.*
of socialism and communism, strengthening a sound peace, and strengthening the peoples’ liberation struggles. At the same time, the ceaseless, unyielding, consistent, Marxist-Leninist struggle of our Parties has badly exposed the aggressive nature and war-mongering activity of world imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, as well as the great betrayal by the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, in the eyes of the peoples and the communists of the world.

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 Khruzechevite revisionists, US imperialism has found its allies and partners 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’s 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, ideologic, economic and cultural spheres. In many directions, it has been formulated and approved in official documents, in treaties, agreements and contracts, and has been coordinated 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 coordination of plans between these two great powers, which will even go to such lengths as to conclude 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 kind 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 American economically, militarily and politically, by leaving them 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 avoid 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, formed long ago, the other, the Soviet Union, which is rapidly assuming this form, but also among other capitalist states and 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 Soviet Union 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 socialist countries, 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 group, 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 United Nations Organization, the 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 1st Moscow meeting 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 thread, 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 decaying, in decline, is losing ground and becoming utterly exposed in all its activities. Modern revisionism, and especially Khrushchev's revisionism, which caused the crisis in the socialist camp and international communism, greatly harmed our great cause, but while admitting this fact, the expense, the smearing, and the fierce struggle we have waged and will continue to wage against this plague amongst us, 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, this great and chief 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 from the crisis of the Second World War, the imperialist countries required a relatively long time to recover and, willingly, 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, in 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-desimated 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 United States of America 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 revisionism were revived. The idea of creating 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 and activity of US imperialism.

Thus, this capitalist re-grouping, under the absolute direction of the Americans, naturally constituted a dangerous potential threat of war. Even now it is still a threat of a world war of aggression 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 dictates, 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 which our socialist countries are waging 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 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 and now they are being realized just as he envisaged.

We think that US imperialism is being weakened everywhere, and its aggressive actions, coupled 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 re-build 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 doing their utmost to keep the revisionist Erhard's 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 revisionists. If the USA can achieve this, consequently it will have strengthened its positions in Europe, compensated for the weakening which France has caused, 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 Central and Eastern 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 maintaining the balance, but the balance will always lean 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 will always be contradictions between them.

As for the ambitions of the revisionist 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 Democratic Germany, to re-establish the old borders of the Third Reich, to reorganize new alliances in its favour, and to threaten and kill 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 or break its relations 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, 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 prevails 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 still have not 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 Western Europe. 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 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. The Soviet revisionists have great hopes that through the Warsaw Treaty they will have the satellites' armies as cannon fodder, as an empty 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 the 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. But we think that there is no harmony, no unity, in this camp, that there is dissatisfaction and distrust.

In their common aims to reach agreements with the imperialists, and in the first place, with the US imperialists, there are tendenches, 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 influence the national state platforms and the national interests they deal with, in a word they impede, disrupt, 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 his own views. They are all maneuvering at the expense of the German Democratic Republic. The meetings of the Warsaw Treaty disregard Ulbricht's appeals and memoranda, and the communiques from the meetings are demagogy 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 fight of war. Gumulka 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 bor-
Czechoslovakia, likewise, is moving towards the normalization of its old alliances, provided only that the Bombay rebels give up their claims to the Sudeten. 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 demagogy, and in return for this they ask for nothing but some sort of assurance, be it even temporary, that Bombay 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 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 law «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 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 an 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 eroding 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 profit from the other, in the capitalist manner. Thus, everything, all the economic relations between them are regarded and developed only in the capitalist spirit. But the economic crisis in the Soviet Union no longer permits it «to help», and to cope with the ever-growing needs of its revisionist allies, which are also caught in the crisis. In these conditions, 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 so-called countries of 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. 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 the «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 Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union 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, depending on 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 Titoite revisionists are following a well-defined, avowed 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
Our unyielding struggle blunted the acceleration of the treacherous activities of the revisionists, made, or is making, things clear to the communists of the world, told the peoples the truth and exposed 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 fall into line with their proposals and major concessions. Thus, the Soviet revisionists thought that their ideological and political revisionist 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 Khruzhchev, the head of the Soviet revisionists, played the game just like a real fair-ground 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, retreat. 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 a secco 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 monolithically 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," the "threats" were the "factors" of this unity that existed, 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, 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 the treacherous anti-Marxist theses of Khrushchev 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, in order to give the impression that they "are reflecting," that they are "prudent and wise," that "they are not a punctured drum," in the same way the step is being taken and the same drum is being beaten.

They are maintaining and strengthening their ties with the Americans, 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 Khrushchev 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 21st 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, has to be found, rather than hope to deceive us. Naturally, in form, the communique issued after the March 21st meeting reflects the demagogy 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 some new Soviet leadership did not turn the clock back, "from our point of view." 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 invertebrate 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
the Soviet revisionists, together with all the problems which have them by the throat. During this period the Americans, also, made sure that, far from changing their positions, the Soviet revisionists become weaker, so they stepped up the dose of their blackmail in order to tie them to themselves more firmly, and to compromise them more thoroughly. The United States of America sees the Soviet «Da» (yes) to the alleged «anti-imperialist struggle» and the «anti-imperialist front» is mere demagogy, therefore US imperialism is making its aggressiveness more pronounced in order to back Soviet revisionists into a corner, so that they become more exposed and discredited and capitulate more quickly.

The Khruschevite ideas of «peaceful co-existence», of «a world without wars, without weapons» have been shown up in their true colours, and nobody believes them. The fact is that 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 the Soviet leaders to undertake diplomatic actions in favour of imperialist theses about Vietnam and putting down the liberation war. Kossygin’s trip to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had fiendish demagogic aims of diversion, capitulation and deception. But he failed. The alleged aid to supply arms to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is nothing but demagogy and a trap. On the contrary, 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 Khruschev, 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 Soviet leaders 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 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 smoke screen to disguise themselves and to divert attention from Indochina and China, where the struggle against imperialism and revisionism 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, or 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 Africa 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 hatter firmly around 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 polemic against modern revisionism, and make it sharper, and first of all, against the Soviet revisionists. They are weakening and need a respite from the polemics. Our duty is to allow them no time to catch their breath but 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 tactic 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 coordinate our struggle against them better. Even without organizationally coordinated 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 contacts, 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, his stubborn hostility towards our parties and countries 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 PISHINA, you hold such talks with the parties of Asia, and this is a very good thing. We also practice this with you, and this is very good, too, but 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 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 demagogy, many others can only guess, while some are clear, listen to our radio stations, draw conclusions, perhaps even organize themselves, organize the resistance in illegally, 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 natural 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, disguised as revolutionaries, 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 the 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 those moments, when the enemies are attacking us and when we are on the verge of war, such as the American threat in Vietnam, the vague, 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, in 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 very 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 country, 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 preponderance 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. In such situations, we are following the efforts and the correct policy pursued by the People's Republic of China of approaches to, and the consolidation of its friendship and relations with the other countries of Asia and Africa, in particular, where US imperialism is committing open aggression, and we have great confidence in their success. 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.

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 paralyse 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.

As for the heroic struggle of South Vietnam, as for the unwavering stand of North Vietnam, as for your resolute and correct stands towards the fraternal Vietnamese people, the aid and support you are giving them, we know these things. Your struggle is our struggle, it is the struggle of all the anti-imperialists, anti-revisionists, it is the struggle of socialism against imperialism and its servants, the modern revisionists and world reaction. 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 death-dealing 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 ensure triumph.

In conclusion, we want to emphasize once again, what you express so correctly and openly in your recent attitudes towards the meeting of spliters 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. We understand and give all-out support to your struggle which is based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. We are fighting and will fight, together with you and with 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, we say this to you, to the fraternal Chinese people, to the Communist Party of China and to our comrades Simo Tëzëtiga.

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1 He visited the PR of Albania for the first time in January 1964.
2 "Outwardly everything seems to be "going well": the United States of America has put Western Europe, Japan and the other capitalist countries on missions; 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, for "all eternity," that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development." (V. Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", Alb. ed., Tirana, 1964, P. 39).
3 At that time Erhardt was chancellor of the German Federal Republic.
4 This refers to the first groups of the weeras 1960-1965.
5 Life has fully confirmed this prediction. In August 1968, the Soviet Union used the forces of Warsaw Treaty to occupy Czechoslovakia, "which was getting out of hand."
The Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA, comrade Hynai Kepo, reading the message of greeting of comrade ENVER HOXHA addressed to the Congress on behalf of the CC of the PLA.
Dear young comrades,

Today, not only the youth, but our entire people, the whole of Albania, are living with your Congress. It is a great joy for me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, to express my great love for the younger generation, the beautiful future of the Homeland, to extend to you my warmest greetings and heartfelt wishes for complete success in the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania.

The Party is fully confident that you, comrade delegates, will be worthy representatives of the wondrous younger generation. You will bring to that tribune the powerful voice and the clear thought of the youth, their unwavering loyalty to the people, who gave them birth and raised them, to the Party which made their life joyful and happy, to Marxism-Leninism and the communist ideals, which mould and temper them as true revolutionaries. Once again you will express their readiness to undertake new and greater tasks in all fields of socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland, for the successful implementation of the decisions of the historic 7th Congress of the Party.

With the lively discussions that will be held and the mature decisions that will be adopted, your 7th Congress will carry forward all the mobilizing and educational work of the Youth Union, this much beloved militant organization of the youth, the loyal auxiliary and fighting reserve of the Party.

You have assembled in the beautiful city of Elbasan, the name of which is linked with the many voluntary actions of the youth, especially the building of railways. But the fact that your Congress is being held precisely in one of the sections of the Metallurgical Complex, this monumental work of the Party and our heroic working class, into which the sweat of our glorious youth is being poured, is of great significance. Comrade delegates, while living these moments in that industrial environment, think of the heights to which the Party has raised our beloved Homeland. Albania has become a flourishing country today, with modern industry, advanced agriculture, with developed education and culture and impregnable defences. The beautiful dreams, for which Qemal Stafa, Vojko Kushli, Mito Mame, Margarita Tufalani, Zonja Çurre, Manush Alimani, Shtypri Ishmi, and thousands upon thousands of other martyrs laid down their young lives, have been realized under the leadership of our beloved Party.

The youth of our country have been and are an active force of the revolution and socialist construction. They have always proved themselves to be ardent patriots, loyal fighters for the cause of the Party and fiery defenders of its Marxist-Leninist line.

The Party, the people, and all us comrades of the generation of the war, have seen the heroic youth of our country clashing with the enemy, defying even death, in the name of the liberation of the Homeland, because, without that war, freedom could not be won or our people's power established, we have seen them go from action to action, building roads and bridges, factories and industrial complexes, erecting the dams of hydro-power stations to give the country light, draining marshes and taking to the hills and mountains to give the people bread, sitting at their desks in school and at university
in order to learn and master knowledge and culture, science and technique, because the new Albania required knowledge. On every front of struggle and work to which the Party has summoned the youth, they have responded with the dynamism of their age, with high enthusiasm, revolutionary drive, complete readiness, and communist determination.

Every important event in the life of the Party and the country immediately enters into the life of the younger generation. Every program of the Party arouses new energies among the youth. The 7th Congress of the Party and its historic decisions have given the youth strong arms and inexhaustible energies, have illuminated their thinking for greater and more heroic deeds in the future, in the interests of the people and the Homeland. There is no doubt that the youth and their militant organization will stand, as always, in the forefront of the battles which await us in the future, in order to carry our victorious revolution through to the end, to make Albania more beautiful, more prosperous and stronger.

In our socialist Homeland, the youth are surrounded by the great care of the Party and the people. The Party has opened brilliant prospects to them, has created all the possibilities for them to work, study and live like revolutionaries. This cannot happen in the capitalist and revisionist countries, where the youth are living in a difficult situation. Imperialism and social-imperialism, the bourgeoisie and revisionism are working to sap the strength of the youth, to throw them into general ideological and moral confusion and disarray, to encourage inclinations amongst them towards an empty life, devoid of ideals, to throw them into anarchic and adventurous actions. Meanwhile, their propaganda does not fail to prattle about the «freedom» and «personality» of man, especially of the younger generation. But what freedom and personality can we speak in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, when masses of youth are roaming the streets, without work and devoid of hope when the doors of the schools are closed to them, while the many churches and religious institutions, with the weight of their mystical domes are squeezing the life from them, when night and day, drug addicts, hooligans, thieves and murderers, who commit crimes of ever growing proportions, are lurking around the streets corners? The miserable situation of that decaying world cannot fail to lead to the justified revolt of the youth, to battles for a better life, for freedom, democracy and socialism.

Today, the Party, the working class and all the working people of our country, are engaged more than ever in the great struggle to solve the problems of the further development of the socialist society by relying on their own efforts, to cope successfully, as always, with the continuous pressures and blockade of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement, to defend Marxism-Leninism from the attacks of the bourgeoisie and reaction, from the attacks and distortions of old and new revisionists and opportunists. By taking part in this struggle, as a shock force and assault detachment, the younger generation is embellishing its socialist present and communist future, it is educated and tempered so that it will always remain a generation of indomitable revolutionaries.

The education of the youth with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, with the ideology and teachings of our Party, is a permanent task for the whole Party and the Youth Union. The communist ideals provide the youth with their aim in life, in the struggle and efforts they are making under the leadership of the Party for the construction of socialist society. These ideals unite them in steel-like unity with the working class and the other masses of the working people around our Party. Imbued with the revolutionary ideology of the working class, the youth can find their bearings correctly in any situation, temper themselves to become determined fighters, loyal to the end to the Party and its line, ready to devote their energies, talents, and lives, to the construction of socialism, the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist Homeland. The active participation of the entire youth in the political and ideological, economic and cultural life of the country, their participation in revolutionary actions and undertakings, their activation in waging the class struggle against external and internal enemies, against manifestations of the bourgeoisie-revisionist ideology and liberal attitudes towards them, and to patriarchal and conservative remnants, must serve this great purpose.

The patriotic traditions of our forefathers, the feelings of freedom and patriotism, the love for culture and work, which they implanted with their innumerable heroic deeds and sacrifices over the centuries, the lofty moral and political virtues, which have been further tempered and enriched in the great epic of the Anti-fascist National-Liberation War and the years of socialism, are a great treasure house, an inexhaustible source of inspiration and education for the younger generation. By acquainting themselves with these outstanding traditions, the present-day youth and the coming generations will
gain a better understanding of the line of the Party, its Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the content of the struggle it has waged and is waging at the head of the masses of the working people, to defend the freedom and independence of Albania and the victories of the people’s revolution and to build the most advanced society in the history of mankind - socialism and communism.

The 7th Congress of the Party adopted the 6th five-year plan, the fulfillment of which will make the people’s economy still stronger, will develop our socialist culture to a higher level and further strengthen the defence of the country. Without the broad involvement of the younger generation, the young workers, cooperativists and the representatives of the new intelligentsia, the objectives the Party has set for this five-year period cannot be successfully attained. As always, the fiery patriotism of the youth will be expressed, their gigantic strength will burst out, their revolutionary consciousness and spirit will be raised higher, in the struggle for the fulfillment of the state plan.

With unwavering confidence in the line of the Party, with boundless love for the people, comrades of the youth, go on the attack on all fronts of the construction of socialism, where the difficulties are greatest, in the countryside or wherever our socialist Homeland needs you!

The construction of socialist society demands work and knowledge, people with profound Marxist-Leninist understanding, with broad horizons and culture. It is up to the younger generation, to the young workers and peasants, pupils and students to equip themselves with education and culture, to assimilate knowledge eagerly through will-power and persistence, to master science, technology and our military art, and always to put all this at the service of the people, the Homeland and socialism.

Comrade delegates,

For the younger generation, as for the entire people, the Party has made life beautiful and happy. Of course, this has not been easy. On the way we have encountered and will encounter many difficulties and obstacles not only those of growth, but also those caused by the class enemy. The youth have never feared difficulties, the enemy, or the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement, and never will. Along with the pick and the book, they keep a firm grip on the rifle, too, ready to give anyone who may try to lay a finger on the freedom and independence of the country and the victories of the revolution and socialism, the reply he deserves.

The situation in the world today is disturbed and fraught with great danger, because of the aggressive, expansionist and warmongering policy of the two superpowers. Our youth must follow the course of international events carefully, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, make a correct assessment of the situation, draw conclusions and tasks, know how to cope intelligently and skillfully with the plots of US imperialism and Soviet socialist imperialism, and always be determined fighters against revisionism and opportunism of every hue. Educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, they must, as always, support the just revolutionary struggle the youth are waging in the world, convinced that no matter how great the forces of reaction may be, the future belongs to the peoples and the youth.

All experience to date has confirmed the decisive importance which leadership by the Party has for the fate of the people and the youth, for the present and the future of the revolution and socialism in our country. The more deeply this understanding is implanted in the minds of the youth, the more conscious they will be of the great role they play in socialist society, and the more they will increase their efforts to gain a thorough knowledge of the line of the Party, to defend it selflessly and apply it resolutely, to the end.

The Central Committee of the Party expresses its conviction that in the future, too, the organization of the Labour Youth Union of Albania will continue to play the great role incumbent on it in the organization, mobilization and education of the broad masses of the youth, will always be the right hand of the Party, and its steel pillar.

Let the lofty figure of our youth, the glorious younger generation of socialist Albania, shine with all its beauty, purity and heroism, under the leadership of the Party! Let the revolutionary vigour of the youth, their sound minds and powerful hands, be felt everywhere, in the factories and the fields, in schools and army units so that our beloved Homeland may always progress and prosper!

- Long live the heroic youth of our country!
- Long live the revolutionary and militant organization, the Labour Youth Union of Albania!
- Long live our glorious Party!
- Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

ENVER HOXHA
Dear comrades,

Before the banners are distributed, I wish to express my heartfelt love and that of the Party and the Central Committee, for the heroic youth of our country. I had a burning desire to be here amongst you. And so I came, to rejoice with you and to congratulate you on this historic Congress. I followed your Congress closely, I saw you and heard you on TV. I saw you come, one after the other, to this tribute of your Congress, to express your progressive opinions and your ardent and boundless love for our glorious Party, the Albanian people and our socialist Homeland. You inspired us all. You made me feel twenty years younger. You, our heroic youth, have displayed great maturity and determination, courage and heroism in following the line of the Party, in understanding and implementing it correctly. Everything about your contributions pleased me. I hope you will excuse me because I cannot repeat all the things you said. But I want to repeat just one idea of a son of the working class, who works here in the Metallurgical Combine, who, in my opinion, has thoroughly understood our theory, Marxism-Leninism, and links it well with practice. He said that the blast furnace could not work and could not produce steel if we do not clean it of the slag. This responds to the main principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the class struggle, which must be carried on sternly against internal enemies as well as against external enemies. We must clean out the slag to the end. We must sweep away the slag with our ideal, with our Marxist-Leninist ideas.

You young comrades have a beautiful life ahead of you, because, both for this beautiful life which we have built and for that of the future, which will be even more beautiful, you have shed your blood, you will pour out your sweat, you have given the strength of your youthful muscles, your creative thinking, your knowledge and the love of your fiery hearts. Here you spoke about only some of those great works which you have given the people. You were modest in what you said, but it is very good to be modest. I congratulate you, because your works are innumerable. The Party acknowledges them, the people acknowledge them, and they are proud of you. You are the most beautiful flowers of the Homeland, but you are also as strong as steel, stronger than any steel that could be poured in the most modern combines in the world. You are of those special steels, just as the communists are of a special steel, you are unbreakable just as the communists. You are such because you are the sons and daughters of a glorious and heroic people. You are such because the Party of Labour nurtures you every day with the immortal ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which tempers you in work and life, which teaches you to link theory well with practice. And see what you have achieved with your deeds. Our whole people see them, our friends and enemies see them.

The Party has entrusted you, young men and women, to manage the affairs of the state, the economy, the army, culture and science. The Party has great confidence in you, and the fact is that hundreds of thousands of young men and women are managing the construction of socialism marvellously and with their work and high vigilance, are defending the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As the Central Committee stressed in the message of greeting it sent you, the Party and the people have great confidence in you, and we, the older generation, will pour out our sweat, shoulder to shoulder with you, and will pour out our blood, too, if need be, and will always help you to forge ahead, to take up the torch and carry it further forward. You must see to it that the younger generations, that will come after you, that they, too, should be raised like you, in struggle and work, and be tempered on the glorious anvil of the Party, of the Party of the proletariat, that they fill its ranks with new blood, so that our Party, right up to communism, will always be young, strong, indomitable and triumphant. And this is what it certainly will be. We don't say this just to boast, but up till now we have battled through great storms and tempests and we have weathered them successfully. And in the future too, we shall have to do battle with enemies, but we are not afraid. Those who think that we are isolated, are grossly mistaken. At no time have we been, are we, or will we be isolated, because our Party advances under its banner of the trium-
phant scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism which has captured the hearts and minds of the world proletariat and guides the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. This is a solid, steel-like force, against which the imperialist, social-imperialist, revisionist, opportunist, charlatan enemies will break their heads. Therefore, dear young comrades, we must love and temper our heroic Party, to which we owe all our successes. The people are indebted to it for this beautiful new socialist life we have built, which we are going to make even more beautiful. This love must be tempered, not as something sentimental, but in the Marxist-Leninist way. We must strengthen the unity within the Party, we must protect the Party from precisely what that worker from the metallurgical combine said, from the slag. And we must also protect the youth, who are so pure, so heroic, so courageous, so daring, so mature and happy, from the slag. There is no force on earth which can break the Party and the youth, united as one with the people. This unity exists and it will be made even stronger.

Following the historic 7th Congress of the Party, your Congress will impart an unprecedented impetus to the social and economic development of our country. Here you took courageous pledges. The Party thanks you and is convinced that you will carry them out. It will give you every assistance so that you can fulfill them successfully. In the name of the Central Committee of the Party and in my own name, I say to you, work, think, create, achieve, and be vigilant. A young girl here, from Shishtavec, if I am not mistaken, said that we have keen eyes on the rifle sights, and that's how it should be. While carrying out all these great works, we must be armed and always on guard to protect the Homeland and the victories of socialism. We must be strategists in the construction of hydro-power plants and combines, and military strategists as well. Our people have been valiant fighters. As the Party teaches, the sons and daughters of the people, who inherited the lofty patriotic virtues of their forefathers, who raised them even higher in the glorious National-liberation War and reinforced them with the Albanian people's military art, will smash any enemy, any coalition of enemies, be they the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, or their lackeys. Therefore, we must strengthen our country internally, and must assist in strengthening international Marxist-Leninist unity.

We see here how proletarian internationalism, which Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is developing and growing stronger. Friends and comrades from many countries have come to this Congress. I heard them as they spoke from this tribune with fire and love for the Albanian people, for the Party of Labour, for our youth, and we love them wholeheartedly and will always help them wholeheartedly and will collaborate with them in our common struggle for the cause of the revolution. We assure our Marxist-Leninist friends and comrades that we will perform our duties to the end. In the name of the Central Committee of the Party, I thank them for the great and unlimited assistance they give us in the international arena, assistance which we prize and greatly appreciate. They are fighting under difficult conditions and they are advancing, spreading the Marxist-Leninist ideas, fighting for socialism and the triumph of the revolution. I express my heartfelt thanks to all these delegates.

Once again I greet you, comrade delegates, and through you all the young people of our country. I greet the heroic working class and especially the workers of the Metallurgical Combine, where this Congress has been held, which will strengthen our economy, our country, and the working class itself. I greet the Albanian technicians and engineers, and the Chinese technicians and engineers who are working together, and congratulate the Chinese specialists on the occasion of their National Day, the first of October. I greet the heroic women of our country. I greet the cooperativist peasantry. I greet our glorious People's Army, the defender of the victories of our Homeland. I greet the militant, progressive, and education-loving citizens of Elbasan.

Long live the Party!
Long live the youth!
On the 35th anniversary of the Albanian National-liberation Conference, held in Peza, the editorial board of the newspaper «Bashkimi» requested comrade Enver Hoxha to send it something of his own reminiscences of this marked event. This is a reprint of comrade Enver Hoxha’s notes supplied to the newspaper «Bashkimi» from the Central Archives of the Party.

On the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania, the Albanian National-Liberation Conference gathered in Peza on September 16, 1943.

The idea of such a meeting did not occur to the leadership of the party fortuitously, but was a logical deduction. It was a transition from a situation achieved in the war against the Italian occupiers, to a more developed situation with a broader horizon.

The Communist Party, the ideological, political, organizational and military orientations and the tasks it defined in its first resolution, provided the source of strength and the guidelines for the national-liberation war.

It was essential to find one’s bearing correctly in those difficult situations of bondage, terror, intrigues, physical and spiritual sufferings and misery which had overwhelmed our people. To this end, the Communists and their Party had to follow the teachings of Lenin and Stalin faithfully.

It should by no means be thought that all the communists of the first hours knew and understood our triumphant theory, Marxism-Leninism, to the same extent as the communists and the masses know and understand it today. The existence and the sterile, even dangerous struggle of the communist groups prior to the founding of the Party is a fact. Evidence of this is the factional that emerged later in the Party and that were purged one after the other. However, the basis of the Party was sound and continued to grow stronger, equiping itself with the indispensable fundamental principles that a Marxist-Leninist party needed. The correct organization, appropriate to waging a ruthless, legal and illegal struggle and the correct political analyses of the internal and external situation which the Party made at every meeting of its cells and of its activists, the political work it carried out every day, house by house, among comrades and friends, made the unity inside the Party and its unity with the people steel-like. The Marxist ideology, which was crystallizing, served as a guide to action, in order to develop and strengthen the revolution, in order to attack the invading enemy and its collaborators, physically and politically, to isolate them from the people and win the masses to the side of the Party, the side of the revolution.

Lenin taught us that the revolution is one of the most serious ques-
tions for the fate of a people, there-fore, once you enter into it there is no stopping half way, but it must be carried through to the end.

The revolution develops step by step, suffers set-backs, but when care-fully prepared, it is crowned with victory. In the revolution, the set-backs also must be taken into account, but they must be overcome at all costs regardless of the sacrifices re-quired. The setbacks cannot hold back the revolution for long nor can they stop it. For the revolutionaries they must serve as lessons, which show that in order to carry out the revo-lution successfully it is necessary to abandon that course, that tactic, that idea or action which has been responsible for the setback.

If the people are not aroused in struggle against the occupiers, or against the bourgeois capitalist rulers; if the people are not prepared polit-ically against those whom they have to fight and overthrow, if, in the course of this preparatory work, the relationships of forces in action are not studied and analysed, there can-not be revolution; in these cases there may be battles, may be resis-tance, which would be chaotic and tem-porary, but no revolution and no achievement of the objectives that a revolution seeks, be it a peasant up-rising, a bourgeois-democratic revolu-tion, or proletarian revolution.

All these uprisings and revolutions must have a programmatic platform, which should show the masses the goals that must be attained, the rea-sons why one situation has to be changed into another situation. It must be explained to them dialectically why it is necessary to go over from one stage to another, why the con-ditions have matured for such a qua-liative transition; it must be made clear to the masses, on the basis of a real economic, political and na-tional analysis, what are the reasons that the cup is filled to overflowing, as well as the ways in which they will proceed and the means that will be used in order to bring about this qualitative transition. And finally, in analysing all these things, it must be made clear that it is only through armed uprising, through the revolu-tion, that this decisive transition, this change can be brought about.

Of course, the revolution, that must be carried out by the people, will be led by the most advanced elements of the people. However, it is known that classes exist regardless of the existence or nonexistence of the organi-zation of these elements in par-ties or other organizations. It is know also that in capitalist society these classes and strata are in strug-gle against one another, have oppos-ing political and economic interests, and that these turn into permanent antagonistic conflicts. There are con-tinual clashes. Sometimes the conflicts be-come acute, at other times they are supressed, but they never die out. Thus, there is the class of exploiters, the beys and agas, the merchants and industrial bourgeoisie, and also the classes of the exploited, the workers, apprentices and the urban poor, as well as the class of the poor peo-ple with no land, the peasants with little land, and the middle peasants.

These were the conflicts and cir-cumstances which existed in our country before the occupation and before Liberation. The feudal regime of Zog, with its oppression, misery, star-vation, imprisonment and robbery of the people, had worn out their pa-tience; had aroused them to fury and filled them with savage hatred for that regime.

The occupation of the country, pre pared by Zog and the feudal-bourgeoisie, filled the cup to overflowing. The indignation of the people and the antagonistic struggle between oppres-sors and oppressed reached its cli-max. The occupation of Albania by Italian fascism marked the begin-ning of a turning point of national im-
portance. This situation had to be understood and handled correctly, because it contained all the elements for revolution. The communists and their Party understood this. The Communist Party of Albania, inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, became the leadership of the revolution. To it fell the heavy, difficult, but glorious historic task of raising the people in revolution, of leading them in the fight for the liberation of the Homeland and of guiding them together with the working class, of which it was the vanguard, to victory.

Those who lived through that period know what difficult moments they were for the people and the Party. Fascist Italy, which invaded our Homeland, had long been working from within the country. First of all, it had its hands free from the bourgeois-imperialist states; the contradictions which might have existed and which did exist over the question of Albania between Italy and Yugoslavia, as well as between Italy and Greece, had been eliminated, not because the two other neighbours, apart from Italy, did not, as always, wish to partition Albania among the three of them, but because the «strength and aggressiveness» of Mussolini and his fascist Italy had cooled the ardour of the other two. Even before the occupation, Albania was considered by all foreign bourgeois-capitalist opinion as a colony of Italy. The «independence and sovereignty» of Albania was something formal. The monarchy of Zog was a vassal of the monarchy of Savoy. Zog himself was an «ally» and minion of Mussolini, who granted him some loans, although not for the country, but for the king and the hangers-on of his musical comedy court. From this aspect, fascist Italy had in Zog’s Albania not merely a few agents, but an entire state: the government, the Parliament, the king and his court, the gendarmerie and the overwhelming majority of the Zogite parade of officers. Therefore, fascist Italy had its hands free and the doors open in Albania. Amidst this great government corruption, the military advisers of the SIM and the economic advisers organized and directed everything. In Albania there were two governments: one formal, which was run by Zog, and the other, which was run by the Italian Embassy. The latter was all-powerful and had paralyzed the strength of the former, which had become its blind tool. Even before the occupation, the seys, the big landowners, the big merchants and the top hierarchy of the state apparatus, had lined up on the Italian-Zogite side, while the workers, the peasants, the poor and middle strata of the town and the patriotic intelligentsia had lined up against them.

The intentions of fascist Italy were: to flood Albania with Italian colonists, to prepare for their permanent settlement on the fertile land of our country, to plunder our underground wealth as raw materials to supply the Italian economy, to create a sort of a market in Albania in order to absorb from Italy the surplus stocks of unsaleable goods, to create unemployment in our country in order to force the Albanian population to accept conscription as cannon fodder for the realization of the expansionist Italian plans. Of course, these Mussolini-Ciano colonialist plans concerning Albania were implemented on the basis of the Hitler-Mussolini alliance for the occupation of the world. The two nazi-fascist dictators, both the more powerful and the weaker, were about to make their fatal move in connection with the international situations created at their instigation.

Mussolini made his move against Albania in April 1939. He attacked and occupied our country and no doubt he hoped and believed that everything would go smoothly. But the opposite occurred: a fire broke out under his feet. None of all his preliminary preparations succeeded in deceiving or subjugating the Albanian people. History had never known Albania and its people to accept bondage to foreigners. It knew only the ceaseless struggles of the Albanian people against them.

There was no doubt that this is what would occur on this occasion, too, but this had to be turned into a reality, the struggle had to be organized. It was not easy, but neither was it impossible. However, it would be a savage fight. This war would resemble the liberation wars of our people in the past on account of its determination, patriotism, and the great goal of the liberation, but would not be like them in its strategy, tactics, proportions and organization. The times in which we were going to organize our war were no longer those of our fathers and grandfathers; facing us were the selfish savage, barbarous, criminal enemies, refined in ideology, in politics, in methods and in actions, but also armed to the teeth with the most modern, destructive and devastating weapons which were unknown in earlier times.

With their high-pressure propaganda about such a devastating striking force, the nazi-fascists aimed to arouse fear and intimidation, even before their forces undertook the attack. The psychology of terror and the «fifth column» were two of the main weapons that preceded the legions of Rome and Berlin.

United and rallied around clear ideals and goals, led correctly and with courage, the peoples would triumph in this terrible, gigantic war which had befallen them. The peoples and the nations who were determined to live free, would triumph over the modern weapons of the enemy and its armies, because the former were waging a just war in their own countries, whereas the latter were waging an unjust, predatory war, in a foreign land.

From the day of its founding, our Party was clear about the general outlines of these situations and neither the Party nor the people went into the war entirely unprepared, because from the 7th of April of the year 1939 up to the 8th of November of the year 1941, when the Party
Comrade Enver Hoxha and the People’s Hero Muslim Feza during the days of the Conference of Peza.
was founded, had been about two years of passive and active resistance against the invaders and the Albanian quislings.

With the occupation of the country, the resistance of the people against the Zog regime was further crystallized and assumed more advanced forms. The gulf between classes and strata had become even deeper. Now the hostility and resistance of the people to the regime of Zog was combined with the sentiment for national liberation.

The Party and its leadership relied on this in order to mobilize the will of the nation, the strength, thoughts, aspirations and desires of the people, in a fighting unity for the liberation of the Homeland and the people.

It is easy to say in words, but the Party had to go through suffering and sacrifices, needed courage and heroism, wisdom and patience in thought and deed in order to carry out this programme.

In the first place, the confidence of the people in their own strength had to be built up. The idea that “it is impossible to cope with such a great power as fascist Italy” had to be cleared from the minds of many people. This idea was propagated and encouraged by the “fifth column”, the collaborators and quislings of the invader and by the divisions and tanks that it had deployed in every corner of the country.

The people had to be convinced with facts, with actions, with politics and with propaganda, that neither the courage, valour, love for the homeland, nor the clear political thinking of the Albanian, of our forefathers, had been extinguished, but that they were more fiery than ever. And the Communist Party of Albania, which was the bearer of all these outstanding qualities of our people, hurled thunderbolts upon the invading enemies. This was the decisive and most important action in the many centuries of the history of the Albanian people, because the first and only party, which represented the working class, around which, with its revolutionary ideology as a guide, the rallying of the people for the war would be realized, had placed itself at the head of the people.

The people felt the birth of the Party as a powerful current which stimulated their energies. Its creation aroused the hopes of the people and terrified the enemies.

Organizing it in profound secrecy, the Party struck the enemy with an iron fist. Its legal activity ran parallel. The actions and attacks were accompanied with agitation and propaganda. The enemy and the quislings no longer cherished illusions about the Albanians being “lambs”. They gathered their forces, increased the terror and demagogy, changed the “guard” and the hierarchy, filled the prisons and concentration camps on the islands of Italy with communists and patriots, hanged and shot people. But the struggle of the people, led by the communists, did not stop, on the contrary, it increased in severity and breadth.

The National-liberation War, which was led by the Party, had to have clear objectives, a programme acceptable to our people, and this programme had to be mobilizing, and arouse sound energies. The people had to know and understand why they were fighting and what victory would bring them. The bitter past, when the wars and uprisings of the peoples were bloodily suppressed by the feudal lords, agas, and usurers, was fresh in their memory. The people could not be aroused to fight and shed their blood for their permanent exploiters. The Communist Party of Albania was a guarantee that the past would never be repeated, but this had to be proved in practice with a programme, with action, with war, with policy.

In its programme, the Party had to make clear to the people that it would be a great, bitter, complicated and difficult fight, therefore, a great political and military organization was necessary. All these things the Party made clear to the people and told them that the communists would be in the forefront of the fighting, would be first in the firing line and the last to withdraw, if it was necessary to withdraw from a position. They would give their lives fighting to defend the position, but they could not be alone in the fight, they could not fight and win without the people. The people make the revolution.

In this activity, the question of alliances and the enlightenment of allies would be decisive. The leading role of the working class on the basis of our main principles and its alliance with peasantry, especially with the poor peasants with no land or little land, is well known. This alliance was the pivot on, and the key to, victory in the National-liberation War.

But it is known that this great principle and this alliance of the working class with the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, on which the unity of the other patriotic and progressive strata would hinge, was not something that had been achieved. The Party had to make analyses not only of the economic-political situation of the classes and strata, but also of the particular specific links among groups, families, and clans, of the positive and negative influences, both old and new, within Albanian society. The past had left blemishes on our society that were obstacles to unity and made the creation of alliances difficult. Religion had done its work and continued to poison people in spirit and mind. The clergy, the boys and chieftains did what they wanted with our people, whom the regimes of the past had kept in cultural and political darkness.

It is true that when our country was occupied there were no organized parties, but all the factors enumerated above, from the backward customs to the canons which blighted the energies of the people and kept them divided in order to oppress and exploit them more thoroughly, acted like innumerable, unorganized parties.
Another danger posing a threat to the people's war and fighting alliance were the political emigrants, who had left with Zog's advent to power and returned together with the Italians. They had been abroad for 15 years and had become politically degenerate. Most of them became trusted allies and agents of that foreign power which fed them and paid their wages. They posed as anti-Zogites, but were rabid anti-communists. Their pretensions were to take over the running of the country absolutely. They were entirely divorced from the life, thoughts and aspirations of the people. They believed that the obsolete ideas of hastened bourgeois democracy which they nurtured were applicable in our country at that time, that is, even after the world had undergone such great changes. They returned to Albania as the cream of Albanian nationalism, and, regardless of the fact that they received fat salaries from the occupying power and were completely in its service, they maintained contacts with those anti-fascist and anti-Zogite elements, who thought that those elements who had returned from abroad were politically just as they had been 15 years before (1). This, also, was a danger to the National-Liberation War which developed later, when these elements created the traitor organization «Balli Kombëtar», which supported the fascist and nazi occupiers to the end, with demagogy and arms, against the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front and its leadership, the Communist Party of Albania.

These pseudo-democrats were of the most varied right-wing political opinions. The opinions of these chicken-hearted politicians were nothing but disjointed ideas, which were not consolidated with any political education formed on a social basis and linked with the people, because they had little political connection with the life of their people. Indeed, they did not know their own people, their social situation, or the evolution it had undergone. Their political education was heterogenous, eclectic, inspired by superficial reading of newspapers and by following from afar the events taking place in the world, and in the main fostered by the propaganda and ideology of bourgeois and fascist parties. Nothing linked them with the fate of the people and the Homeland. That was the last thing they worried about. In their opinion, what happened to Albania depended on others, while they were going to be the «elite politicians», who would be used by that foreign power which had paid their wages in emigration and which would take Albania by the hand and under its wing. These anti-popular, cosmopolitan, pseudo-politicians with a hundred flags in their pockets, were the successors of the old ones who could not imagine Albania independent and sovereign, the successors to those politicians of no Homeland, according to whom Albania could not survive without relying on a foreign power. The difference between them is only one of form. While posing as anti-Zogites, the pseudo-democrats held the same views as their forerunners, but disguised in «more liberal, more democratic» forms.

These same elements, who posed as anti-Zogites, maintained contact with people of the Zogite regime abroad, with those who had held positions in that regime, maintained contact with big merchants, landowners and agas, not to conspire against the regime, but to obtain some economic aid from it and so that it could not be said that they had severed all links with Albania. Even at the time of Pan Noli's government, when these elements were participants in it or were elected as deputies, their links were not with the masses of the people, but especially with the well-to-do liberals of the cities and also with the aristocracy of the countryside. They were not linked with the latter by the ideal of the progress of Albania, but by the blood relations, connections by marriage and casual friendship, which found wide application in the social life of that time.

We know the fate of the Noli government, we know the political work and activity, not in the least in favour of political and economic reforms, of the «democratic» elements of that time, with the exception of some distinguished revolutionary patriots such as Bajram Curri and Luigj Gurakuqi, Avni Rustemi, Halim Xheko, and others. The consistent revolutionary struggle of the latter, the assassination of Avni by the hirings of Zog, the outbreak of the 1924 revolution, gave these nonentities, these antipopular elements, their «glory».

When the «battalion» of political emigrants of this type came back to Albania, fascism used some of them, such as Mustafa Krupa and others, directly for the governing of «its colony», while it compromised the others but kept them in reserve. The remnants from the Zog regime did not wait one minute before entering the service of the invader, whereas the Northern chieftains, the big boys and agas of Central and Southern Albania, if they did not receive official posts, preserved their privileges and high salaries in the form of pensions. Thus, in order to suppress the people and their struggle, the fascist occupiers worked with the two groups: with the hierarchy of Albanian government officials, publicized and placed in positions from which they exercised the oppression and exploitation of the people, and with the pseudo-patriots, pseudo-democrats, the Zogites, who had allegedly fallen on hard times. The latter were the «politicians» of the «Kursal» cafe, of the gambling clubs such as the «Savoy», and of other infamous haunts.

The fascist spy network, which was everywhere and recorded everything, turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to instances when one of these «politicians» made some criticism against persons in power and against the fascist regime in the country. All these comprised a filthy scum, among which it was difficult to find even the smallest «fish» uninfected.
What was the ideology that guided them? They had nothing crystallized. They were "wigs" feeding from the trough of fascism and bearing the label of "democratic nationalism". But in their ranks there were neither nationalists nor democrats. They were obsessed by the idea that "they were the ablest, were tested politicians, who were loved and respected by the people and, therefore, were destined to take power at a propitious moment and to govern the country".

For them, fascism was an evil and a blessing at the same time; an evil because the diplomatic and parliamentary game, with them as the epicentre, was not going well, but it was also a blessing because they were "saving themselves for later", that "do what it may, Italy would bring about a certain economic and cultural development, would develop industry and agriculture, trade and transport".

For them, the occupation of the country by fascist Italy was a passing phenomenon for Albania, and they thought that, when it departed, "we will still have it as a support, if we don’t harass it, as these children are doing". Their ideas extended even further: "If nazi Germany replaces Italy, better still, it will help us, too. On the other hand, if both Italy and Germany are defeated, then Britain and the United States of America will win, and they in turn, will make the law, and in that case we shall be on the winning side".

They expounded their views openly and did not conceal them in their talks with people, including some of us, communists, whom the Party had charged to talk with them, in order to explain things to them, if possible, to convince them of the wrong course they had taken. It was because of these dangerous views that the war of the Albanian people against the occupiers was regarded with horror by these elements. They did not want any fight at all against the fascist invader, therefore, they did their uttermost and used every means to strangle the revolution.

Being rabid anti-communists, they in no way welcomed the founding of the Communist Party of Albania and the programme adopted in its resolution. They did not welcome and fought to prevent the emergence of the Communist Party of Albania at the head of the people's war, at the head of the organization of the new state power of the councils, at the head of a broad anti-fascist policy and armed actions.

These elements, together with fascism, labelled the Communist Party of Albania "a party of foreigners and not of Albanians", "a party of Slavs and not of Albanians", and called the National-Liberation War "a crazy, hopeless war detrimental to Albania". According to them, the leaders of the Communist Party of Albania and of this anti-fascist war were "reckless children, who don't know how to make politics", and a thousand other slanders.

This was the situation at that time with this bunch of individuals, a situation which the Communist Party of Albania and its leadership examined many times before the Conference of Peza was held, as well as afterwards.

The Party had undertaken a similar study before and after the Conference of Peza in regard to religious beliefs in Albania, also. We analysed the religious beliefs in two directions: the concrete impact of religious among the broad masses of the people and danger of the religious hierarchy. I shall not deal at length with these analyses, but it is necessary, to define some main features which guided us when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania drafted the report delivered at the Conference of Peza and the resolution that emerged from that meeting.

It is known that in our country there were three religious faiths: the Muslim faith, most widespread, the orthodox christian faith, which was the second, and the Roman Catholic faith, less widespread, with its centre in Shkodra which extended over the Highlands of Shkodra to Lezha and as far as Durrës where there was a bishorip. There were also some muslims belonging to unimportant sects which, except for the Bektashi sect, had no influence among the people.

With regard to the religious hierarchies, their influence was as follows: the Catholic clergy were people with no homeland. They depended entirely on the Vatican, even for most trifling things, regardless of the various orders such as Jesuits, Franciscans, etc. In Albania, as in the other countries of the Catholic world, the Catholic Church had the same pyramidal organization, the same organization of churches, cells, monasteries, religious or even state schools, the same rites and liturgy, the same method and style of work in general. Their subsidies, stipends and everything else came from their plundering of their believers in the form of donations including forcing the faithful to leave their portable and fixed assets to the church.

The entire hierarchy of the Catholic Church, ranging from the highest ranking clergy down to the student in the seminary and the parish priest, were people of learning, gained in theological schools, with iron discipline, with the methods and tricks of suppressing peoples' will through the fear of God, Christ and the apostles. The catholic must be in the hands of the church "perinde ac cadaver". The faithful were entangled in the spiders' web of the laws of the church, the canons and laws of the reactionary bourgeoisie, all of them were chains that shackled and oppressed the believers. The Catholic Church and its clergy were obscurantist, conservative, adaptable, and resilient to the highest degree, and always in alliance with the reactionary regimes such as that of Frize Wied, and Ahmed Zog, and indeed did not fail to have a finger in the democratic-bourgeois regime of Pan Noli, as well as bowing to every foreign invader that
occupied Albania, whether Austrian-Hungarian, Italian fascists, or German nazis.

Only our regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat cut off the hand and, later, the head, of the Catholic Church.

But we must not be diverted from the period under analysis. That was the situation among the hierarchy of the Catholic religion and the Catholic believers prior to the Conference of Peza. The top priests were double agents of the Vatican and of the Italian invaders. But for us, for the National-liberation War, there existed the broad field of the people of the North, of those who believed in religion. There were also some poor, rank and file priests who might, to some extent, listen to our word, because they lived closer to the sufferings and worries of the people. In these directions we would work and make headway.

The Muslim religion, its adherents and its clergy, were not a serious obstacle to our war against the Italian invader like the Catholic religion. Even before the occupation of the country, but more so afterwards, the hierarchy of the Muslim faith was weak, without the least experience to give us trouble. The mosques existed. They each had a hoda, but very few, if any, practising adherents. The rites had been abandoned. No marriage was performed according to the Sheriat, and everything else, such as the observation of Ramadan, the feast of Bajram, had become routine customs, which were practised only because they existed. The hodjas were all ignorant, none of them was in a position to propagate the philosophy, ethics or the morality of the Koran, nobody understood the Koran because it was recited by heart in a foreign tongue (Arabic). Though conservative in customs, the hodjas were not politicians and incapable of exercising influence by means of the Islamic thought. The broad masses of the people were almost liberated from the bonds of religion, the intellectual development of the Muslim believers was more extensive and there was very great liberalism and tolerance. Hence the work of the Party in raising the people in struggle faced no serious obstacle in this direction.

In the Bektashi sect, too, most of the Muhibs displayed patriotism and fought for the liberation of Albania.

The same situation existed, also, in the orthodox Christian faith, both in the hierarchy of the church as well as among the believers.

Thus, we had the question of religious beliefs in the centre of our attention during the period of the National-liberation War and also after the war, because the people's feelings must not be hurt if their participation in the war for the liberation of the Homeland and for the construction of a new Albania was to be achieved.

With regard to the intelligentsia, naturally this required extensive, more qualified and differentiated work at various levels. In general, work among the intellectuals, was on favourable ground. An exception to this were the highly placed officials, who not only adopted fascism, but also secured great material gains from it. In general «cultured officials» of this category were corrupted by all the regimes. They were among the first who willingly joined the «Albanian» fascist Party created by the occupiers.

However, in general, the intelligentsia of our country was patriotic, anti-fascist, against the invasion of the country, and manifested this spirit of patriotism as early as the first days of the invasion, when it burst into demonstrations and protests against the traitorous regime of Zog and against the Italian occupiers. Town and village teachers stood at the head of the resistance of their pupils and students, kept their patriotic morale high, and instructed them to resist fascism and the Italianization of the Albanian schools. All our university intelligentsia had been through various foreign universities, where they had been sent by the state on scholarships, or at their own expense. Despite this, with the exception of a few who embraced the ideas of Italian fascism and the nazi doctrine, our university intelligentsia, in general, did not come back from abroad corrupted and lacking the sense of the mission they had to carry out in their own Homeland for the spread of education and culture and for the democratic awakening of the masses of the people. Therefore, this strata of the people had great importance for the work of the Party, because through them, too, the patriotic feelings among the school youth would continue to be tempered and aroused more and more.

But above all, the steel base of the war and the revolution would be the working class, the peasantry, and, as a constituent part of them, the youth of the town workshops and of the villages. Without the persistent, daily, special care of the Party to make things clear to them, the war could not be waged successfully and victory could not be achieved. In all the sectors where it worked, in the small factories, in the mines, in such concessions as were now in the hands of foreigners, especially of Italians, in the construction sites and military barracks that the occupying power was building for its army, in the new roads it was opening for the needs of its military expansion, everywhere, the working class of our country was the main striking force against fascism. It was the class which would lead the great revolution, the steel base of the Communist Party of Albania, the class which, with its Party at the head, would take in hand the leadership of the National-liberation War. From its founding, the Party told the working class of its decisive role, told and taught it, and would continue to teach it every day, through leaflets, legal meetings and fighting actions, that the ideology of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin would lead the working class and all the Albanian people in the liberation war.

The Party demonstrated to the working class with facts from life that its most loyal ally in this life and death struggle was the poor and
middle peasantry and that this class had always been oppressed, that the
eyes and feudal-owners had sucked its
blood, that the landed boys this class
took from the peasants and which was used and sold like
a market commodity. Through its leaflets, the Party told the working
class and the poverty-stricken pea-
santry that the victory depended on
their alliance, under the leadership
of the working class, that without this all.
nance, without this fighting unity,
it was impossible to bring about the
unity of the whole people for the
liberation war.

The Party made it clear to these
two classes that without war the li-
beration of the Homeland could not be
achieved, that the land could not be
won, that they could not ensure
their daily bread and eat it themselves,
that the things most sacred to the Albanians, their language, the great
feeling of love for the Homeland and
national unity could not be safeguard-
ed, that the finest characteristics of
this small but heroic nation of indom-
table fighters could not be preserved
and develop.

War against the occupiers, war, mer-
ciless war, against them and the trait-
ors, was the call of the Communist
Party of Albania in its leaflets every-
day. The patriotic union of the entire
people in war against the enemy and
the traitors was the main motto of the
Party, which was repeated again and
again, day and night, in legal and
illegal meetings. Through this inten-
sive activity, the Party achieved great
results and, when it saw that the sit-
uation was ripe, it called the historic
Conference of Peza, which was held
on September 16, 1942 in the village
of Peza e Madhe, in the region of
Tirana.

This great event of historic impor-
tance, which is one of the embeds
of the Marxist-Leninist line of the
Communist Party of Albania, was
to have incalculable repercussions for
the outcome of the National-Libera-
tion War, for the unity of the people,
for the destruction of the old op-
pressive, feudal-bourgeois-fascist state
power to its foundations and for the
creation of a new, most democratic
state power of the people with the
Communist Party of Albania, the va-
guard of the working class, which ex-
pressed the will of the people, at its
head.

Every step forward that the Party
took and every action that it engaged in at these very delicate moments,
were rational and thoroughly studied.
The leadership of the Party did not
undertake anything without prior study
and analyses. Just as the activity of
the communist groups was analysed
and this Marxist-Leninist analysis was
crowned with the creation and the
founding of the Communist Party of
Albania, just as various analyses were
made, in which the holding of activ-
ists' meetings and consultations were
found indispensable, in which impor-
tant decisions were made about the
course of our Party, so too analyses
were made about the holding of the
Conference of Peza.

How did this great action result?
Despite the differing views and mis-
takes of line, the communist groups
began the war and the resistance
against the invaders from the 7th of
April, 1939. With various ways and
methods in the resistance against
the enemy, their members learned
how to create and broaden their
groups, as well as how to think and
act in various elementary forms; they
carefully observed the propaganda and
tactics of the enemy, assessed the ene-
my strength to the best of their
ability and, above all, they lived
among the people and with the people
and had a more or less correct idea
of the spiritual state of the masses,
in general, and of various groups and
elements, in particular.

With the founding of the Party, the
organization of cells and committees,
the strengthening and unification of
its political line, propaganda activities
and actions, all this accumulated
knowledge, the knowledge of the sit-
uation among the people, of the stra-
 tegy and the tactics of the enemy and
the traitors, were channelled to, and
concentrated in, the leadership of the
Party. Through the various meetings
of the committees, organizations, and
cells, which continually weighed in the
work, the situation and developments,
through reports sent us from the zones,
from the meetings of activists and
consultations, from the contacts with
various persons, communists or
non-communists, we drew very valua-
ble conclusions indispensable for issuing
precise fighting instructions in the base.
In the basic documents of the Party
and in resolutions and leaflets, the
main line, the main objective, was the
strengthening and tempering of the
Party politically, ideologically, organi-
sationally and militarily. In them it
was stressed that the people must
unite in the war against the occupiers,
that the unity of the people around
the Party in this National-Liberation
War would be decisive, the key to victory.

Thus, during all this period, the
leadership of the Party became clear
about the general situation in the
country, measured the strength and
means of the opponent, created clear
ideas about where the war must be
based, where our forces must be con-
centrated and how we must manou-
vre in various situations, either fore-
seen or unknown and unexpected; it
studied and envisaged the possible alliances among classes and strata,
as well as among individuals; it ana-
lysed thoroughly and explained clearly
how every means to this unity must be
used such as personal acquaintance,
links of friendship, marriage, region-
alism, patriarchalism, and up to the
manner in which to draw in the
class groupings and involve them in
the war, dividing them from the ruling
chieftains, who had placed themselves
in the service of the occupiers. Noth-
ing, not even the slightest opportu-
nity, not even the tiniest measure,
not even a word in its support,
however unimportant it might be, con-
cerning the unity of the patriots and
the entire people in the war, must
escape the consideration of the Party.
We had to be very patient and cool-
headed in the talks we had, especially
with the "megalomania" elements of
the categories I mentioned above, who posed as ‘great politicians’. In our talks with them we insisted, explained, proposed and sought their approval, but in vain; they had divorced themselves from the nation, from the Homeland, they were alien to the people and collaborators with foreigners. They were like those poisonous toadstools that appear on the healthy trunk of the tree. History was to condemn them severely and the people would give them the punishment they deserved. They were parasites, but the new society, which was in the making, would purge itself of them. This is the result of the revolutionary application of historical materialism.

At a series of meetings of the leadership we analysed all these data and definitely decided to call a broad meeting, headed by the Communist Party of Albania, in which elements known as fighters and patriots and nationalists of various political convictions, but who were anti-fascists, with or without religious beliefs, and representatives of an important number of regions, were to take part, as well as elements of other characteristics, whom we considered ought to take part in this meeting together with us. On the other hand, we took into account, as far as possible under the circumstances, that the conference, which was, of course, held under severe conditions of illegality, should be in Central Albania, and if possible in the vicinity of Tirana, in order to show the enemy occupants and the traitors the political, organizational and military strength of the Communist Party of Albania.

Peza e Madhe, the birthplace and battleground of Muslim Peza, the distinguished patriot and fighter, and friend, loyal to the end to the Communist Party of Albania, was chosen as the place for the conference. There, at the Peza e Madhe, the fighting forces of Dad Muslim, made up of communists and patriotic peasants as well as the entire Peza region, which had entered the armed struggle against the occupiers, would ensure the calm necessary to enable the meeting to proceed and take the historic decisions.

The selection of the theses and directives, which the Central Committee had to present the Conference by means of a report, was important. I proposed to the comrades the main orientations on the role of the Front and the councils and the decisions that were to be fixed in a resolution, which the Conference would adopt after it had discussed them.

. What were these basic and mobilizing principles which the Party would present to the Conference, and which, after adoption, were to become known to the entire people? These principles have now become historic. The National-Liberation War and life fully confirmed their correctness.

The main basic idea which was put forth by the CC of the Communist Party of Albania at the Conference of Peza was the unity of the entire Albanian people and their organization in war against the invaders. These were the cardinal points which I charged by the Central Committees, elaborated in the main report on the councils delivered at the Conference. I explained that these were tragic moments for the fate of the Homeland and the people. Faced with the cruelty of the fascist occupiers, the people had to unite to a man, putting aside the things which might divide us, and we must mobilize and link ourselves with one another for one great cause: the liberation of the Homeland. Its salvation as a formed nation and to smash the predatory aims of enemies, who in every age, have acted to partition our country and deny our existence as a nation. He who really wanted the people and the Homeland to be free, independent and sovereign, must prove this now, at this juncture, regardless of his political convictions, religious beliefs, or of the region from which he came. In the report I stressed: War against the Italian fascist occupiers and their collaborators is the only alternative, there in no other way; any other road leads to bondage, to enslavement, to national and individual disaster. The Italian enemy and the quislings want to divide us, to split us, and their chief objective is to isolate the Communist Party of Albania from the people and the way. For the enemy occupier this objective is decisive. However, for the liberation of the people and the Homeland, the existence of the Communist Party of Albania and its struggle at the head of the people, who are fighting and resisting, is decisive.

The occupiers and their lackeys possess powerful means of propaganda to slander the communists, claiming that «they have sold themselves to foreigners», «they are destroying the family», and so on, but this propaganda is falling on deaf ears, and the unity, the political struggle and armed struggle of the people will not only neutralize this vile anti-national propaganda but will also isolate the enemy and defeat it on the battle field.

In the report I stressed also: Ours is a national-liberation war. It will be a political war and a military war.

To achieve these two major objectives it is necessary to organize the National-Liberation Front and the partisan units, which will fight under the national flag of Scanderbeg and Vlora; on their caps the partisan fighters will have a star, which symbolizes a new, brilliant period, which is being opened to our Homeland and people through the war.

The National-Liberation Front will be organized everywhere in our country, in the liberated and non-liberated zones, and this organization will consist of the national-liberation councils, which will carry out the political and propaganda work, and mobilize the people for the war and resistance, will see to the material supplies of all kinds for the fighting units, and in the liberated zones, where the old oppressive state power is liquidated to its foundations, these councils will be and will affirm themselves as the new people’s democratic state power, which will be like neither the feudal-bourgeois state administration nor the old councils of elders, either in form or in content, said the report. These would be councils of a new content and spirit, because
they would be composed of men of the people fighters from all strata and religious or political beliefs, but who were anti-fascists and fought the occupiers.

The partisan units, the report said, will be led by communist commanders or non-party patriots, and at the same time, by political commissars who must be communists. The decisions must be taken by the commander and the commissar jointly and in full harmony, in the relations between them and in the stand towards them there must be no discrimination at all.

It stressed the main thing, that the National-liberation Front is led by the Communist Party of Albania, the only party in the country, and that the Front will have its doors open to anybody who is willing to fight the enemy, who, as an individual, must consider the Front as his own organization in which he can freely express his thoughts and suggestions in favour of the National-liberation War. The admission of other parties into the Front was not even mentioned because such parties did not exist. No class, no stratum, or political grouping whatever had emerged with a party of its own and a programme for the national liberation. And any organization that was created after the Conference of Peza, such as the «Balli Kombëtar», was nothing else but a creation of the fascist occupiers and other foreigners to impede the liberation of the Homeland.

Apart from the report I delivered, comrade Nako Spiru delivered a special report, «The Youth in War against the Occupiers». Likewise, comrade Nexhmije Xhumili (Hoxha) discussed the miserable situation and the patriotic-revolutionary activity of women and girls. These two comrades raised and argued the great importance of the worker, peasant and school youth, and of women, workers, peasants, and housewives in this great war. They showed that without awakening and uniting around the great goal of the liberation, without involving them in the war and active resistance, everything would turn out poorly, the healthy, vital forces of the Homeland would not be tempered, and would become weaker. They stressed that the enemy must not be allowed to corrupt even one woman, one girl or boy, politically.

Muslim strongly supported the thesis of the Party. So did Baba Faja Marianeshi, Haxhi Llesh, and others. Some other comrades of the Party spoke on the international situation and its repercussion on the internal situation, or stressed the participation of the nationalists in this meeting and in the war.

One nationalist democrat participant, who later became a Balli, expressed his support for the «Front», but owing to his narrow, distorted concepts, he wanted to limit the role of the Conference of Peza, comparing it with the Congress of Lushnjë, which was convened to oppose the Durrës government. This person displayed tendencies more towards a «democratic government» to overthrow that of Mustafa Krustaj, and he «forgot» to stress the necessity of the war against the occupier.

A non-communist youth, who later became one of the exponents of the youth of the «Balli Kombëtar», also spoke at the meeting. His theses, too, appeared to be for the war, for the Front, but he stressed that there must not be a leading party in the Front and, in the course of the war, whoever wins recognition, must take the leadership. If communism won, there was no force which could stop it; and the same would be the case with nationalism. Striving to prevent the participation of our youth in the war, this «youth leader», who abandoned the Homeland and took to his heels together with the invaders, said also: «We are of the opinion, and insist, that the youth must be withdrawn from the fighting actions, because those of tender age are not in a position to control their acts or thinking». Everything was explained cooly and with arguments, with the intention that the participants in the Conference could be more than clear about everything.

The overwhelming majority of the participants in the Conference, in their contributions, enthusiastically approved the proposals of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania. There was unanimity at the Conference, but there were also some who approved it in silence.

Even Abaz Kupi, the representative of the Zogile trend, and some others approved the platform of Peza, not because they wanted it, but because they intended to disarm themselves in order to act as they did, in opposition to the Front and the National-liberation War. We had fathomed out their spiritual mood and were not surprised when they took the first step against us. Bazi was linked with the bajraktars of the country and collaborated with the German invaders. He did not accept the star, the partisan symbol, and this was not a mere matter of formality, because it allegedly violated something symbolic of the nation, but for him, this was a question of principle: what would the post-war Albania be, a new, genuine democracy, or the old regime of Zog and of the feudal lords and bajraktars? Of course, Abaz Kupi thought and worked for the return of Zog; we were clear about this person, Zog’s man and an agent, illegally introduced in Albania by the British Intelligence Service, financed by it and under its orders. He had received instructions to accept our invitation, to take part in the Front, to pose as a fighter, but not to fire a single shot against occupiers and to wait for the time when he would be ordered how to act. Our aim and that of the Front was to find the easiest way into the Northern regions, and especially in the Mat, Krushe, Peshkopula zones, where the people were still being oppressed by Zog’s men, the local commanders, the bajraktars, and their lackeys, and all sorts of scum.

The name of the Anti-fascist National-liberation Front was not without a profound political and military meaning. On the contrary, these three words summarized the idea of
the union of the people. But why? In order to create a fighting front. The idea and the action dominated in the word «front». This word expressed the meaning of the lining up of the living forces of the people organized in a fighting front in which courage, heroism, politics, strategy and various tactics were necessary, in which sacrifices were to be made, because it was a fight for life and death against a savage enemy. But for what war was this Front being created? The answer came immediately: for the liberation of the nation. Hence, it was a national-liberation front, which would mobilize and gather in its ranks all the anti-fascist forces, which were going to fight for the liberation of the Homeland. Our Homeland would assume a new form, would have a new regime, which would be determined by the armed people themselves, by the very people, who by fighting arms in hand and making great sacrifices, had liberated the country. No one else, no internal or external enemy, would be able any longer to impose his will upon the Albanian people. This situation, that was being created was the glorious deed of the Communist Party of Albania.

Through stern, continuous, principle-ed struggle, the way was opened through colossal obstacles. The implementation of the great principles proclaimed by the Conference of Peza shook the invaders and the quislings. I shall not dwell at length on the heroic battles and efforts, but shall speak a little about the reactions which the holding of the Conference of Peza and the resolution adopted there created.

Among the people the Conference had a colossal effect, aroused hopes and belief in the Communist Party of Albania, belief in the war and in victory. Among the enemies it aroused anger, fear, terror. For them it was a heavy political, ideological, and military slap in the face. Their positions in Albania were being demolished. Then, they resorted to terror, killings, imprisonment of the communists, patriots, the people, they burned villages and whole regions. On the other hand, they also made use of the heads of the Albanian reaction, the pseudo-patriots, and pseudo-democrats.

After the Conference, the enemy occupiers unleashed this «reserve» in open war against the Communist Party of Albania, against the Anti-fascist National-liberation Front, against the partisan National-liberation War. We had talked with many of the pseudo-nationalists and pseudo-democrat heads prior to the Conference of Peza, in which we invited them, too, to take part. They were eating the bread of Italy, posed as «patriots» and lay low «like smouldering embers», but their demagogy never took us in.

Immediately after the Resolution of the Conference of Peza was published, this «reserve» of the Italian occupiers formed the «Balli Kombëtar» and proclaimed its «decadence». At the head of this gathering of traitors was placed an arch-traitor, called Mihthat Frashëri, alias Lume Skëndar. The other main heads of this grouping were from those «political emigrees» of the time of Zog, who, after the invasion of the country, placed themselves completely in the service of the Italian, such as Ali bey Këlçyra, Kol Tromara, and others. In fact, the «Balli Kombëtar» was led by Jackomoni, the viceroy of king Victor Emmanuel, and the commander of the Italian army in Albania, General Dalmazzo.

The very name, «Balli Kombëtar», explains the whole scheme of the feudal-bourgeois reaction of the country and the intentions of the occupiers. «Balli» is not simply a literal translation of the word «Front», similarly, «Kombëtar» is not simply the translation of the word «national». No, the term does not have a «patriotic» or linguistic character, but it has a profound ideological significance. For reaction «Balli» does not mean «war», as the word «Front» does for us. To them «Balli» means «the head», «the predestined national leadership», it stands for the old and «immortal», unchanging world, the conservative world with oppressors and oppressed, the «Albanian national» world which rejects and fights progress, communism. This was the meaning of the «Balli Kombëtar», created by Jackomoni and Dalmazzo. The heads of the Albanian reaction dreamed of how tomorrow’s Albania would be organized and run. The word «war» did not exist in the nomenclature of this organization or in its content because it represented a dying world in its death agony. The «Balli» waged war both with propaganda as well as with arms, but against the Communist Party of Albania, against the National-liberation Army, against the new state power of the national-liberation councils.

The Party did not underrate this war and manoeuvred to defeat it. It was sure that the criminal chiefs at the head and at the base, in the Ballist units that were created, would not lay down their arms, but the aim and the tactic of the Communist Party of Albania was to save those who had been deceived.

The Party made a series of proposals for the good of the Homeland and the liberation war. It did its utmost to avoid the fratricide that the heads of the «Balli», and the Italian and German occupiers wanted. Their cause lost, the glorious Marxist–Leninist line of the Party, triumphed and everything was overcome through great sacrifices: Albania was liberated once and for all from the occupiers and the exploiting classes. The people, with the working class at the head, led by the Communist Party of Albania, took power, reconstructed the country, established the republic, regime, the people’s democracy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are building socialism successfully.

In all this struggle, in all these historic events, the Conference of Peza, the deed of the Communist Party of Albania, occupies an important place and has taken its place along with the other great events of the National-liberation War of the Albanian people.

1) From Latin: even as a corpse. In the text it means: even after death.
DEAR COMRADES, SOLDIERS AND CADESES OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY,


The more the days, the months and the years which separate us from the day of the founding of our Army, the more magnificent this great deed of the Party, which, will be mentioned in history forever, seems and the more it is appreciated. The organized war for the final liberation of the Albanian people from two-fold oppression, from the foreigners and the internal enemies, in order to see this happy day, was crowned with success.

Today we remember with great respect our heroic comrades who fought with courage and selflessness for the liberation of the Homeland and with their blood cemented the foundations of this strong fortress, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, we remember with great respect and profound love the glorious heroes of the National Liberation War, those who fell in the field of honour, in the trenches, in the mountains, in the valleys, and everywhere in our country, who fought arms in hand and with any other means available in order to conclude this war with the complete liberation of the Homeland.

Today our entire people and Party are bowing with boundless gratitude before their sons and daughters who fell in the field of honour. They loved the Party with all their heart, because it represented the wishes, the will and the great interests of their people, because it knew how to lead them on the correct road on the basis of the infallible Marxist-Leninist principles, because it was able to revive and temper in them the qualities of patriotism, courage and resolve of the Albanian people through the centuries.

The Communist Party of Albania (today the FLA) knew how to draw correct conclusions from both the glorious events and the bitter events of the history of our people till then, and bore them in mind in the very difficult moments when it had to struggle through the storm of the Great World War, which in its savagery and barbarity has no parallel in the history of mankind.

Today, after 35 years, when we assess the victories achieved during and after the National Liberation War, the great deed of the Party, such as was the creation of the People's Army, though small at that time, seems even more magnificent. Hence, dear comrades, our heart swell with great joy today. In this jubilee celebration all the hearts of our soldier people are beating with great love for the Party and of the Army, this Army which was formed in the mountains, and which comprises all the people, old and young, in its ranks.

Times are such that people's freedom and independence and national sovereignty, which are won through struggle, can be preserved and defended only by maintaining a disciplined army, imbued with proletarian feelings and with boundless loyalty to the people, the Party and the socialist Homeland.

The Central Committee of the Party, and I personally have constantly followed your progress and successes, as well as your shortcomings, the obstacles and difficulties you have come across in the course of your work. You know that our Party, taking the greatest care of the defense of the country, has adopted all the measures and made many sacrifices so that the People's Army is equal to its high task, so that at any time it meets the needs of the Homeland, and is capable of defending Albania from any eventual enemy and whatever the quarter it may attack it from, from any danger which may threaten it.

Just as we notice great progress in every aspect and in every sector of state activity, such as industry, agr
culture, education, culture and science, we notice the same in our People's Army, too.

Proceeding from Marxism-Leninism and its philosophical base, dialectical and historical materialism, our Party has guided the progress in all the sectors of the work and life of our country, which have developed in successive stages. In this process, it has overcome difficulties and obstacles, it has created ever new possibilities for everything to go towards further improvement and perfection. Actually, we are seeing with satisfaction that, parallel with the great progressive transformations which have been carried out in our country, in the first place in the education of the new man, in industry, agriculture, education and culture, the same uninterrupted successes have been scored in our People's Army as well.

Since its founding, the Party and its Central Committee loved and appreciated the People's Army very much, hence their greatest solicitude in the process of its growth from an "infant" to a "man", with all the Marxist-Leninist political and ideological merits and qualities, their efforts to equip it with the victorious strategy and tactic of people's war, to make it capable of carrying out its glorious tasks.

The development of our Army in these directions has followed the rates of development of all the other sectors of activity of our socialist country, a development which could not have been realized separately and one-sidedly.

In our country progress in all sectors has been frontal, because we have been aware that weaknesses or delays in one of them, would entail weaknesses and delays in the other sectors, as well.

All our socialist development, hence, not only industry, agriculture, but also education and culture, as well as the army, had to advance on the correct line of the Party and in a balanced and planned manner; it called for great material and moral efforts to realize this plan with success in all the sectors without exception.

From the very first days after Liberation, the Party has taught us that we must build the new and happy life for the people, i.e., socialism, never for a moment neglecting the defence of the people, of their victories attained through blood and sacrifices. The Party has implanted in our minds and conscience the great idea that in no case should the construction of the socialist economy be divorced from the strengthening of a powerful people's army. This is why in our country, parallel with the whole process of socialist construction, from the small army it was in the beginning, the army which had just emerged from the National Liberation partisan War, our People's Army developed into an advanced modern army, loyal to the dictatorship of the proletariat, armed with the triumphant military science and our People's Military Art.

In the situations created after the war, the Central Committee of the Party followed with the greatest attention the development of events in the world and around our country and observed that, though victory was achieved, our Homeland, now Albania, had to be rebuilt from its foundations materially, but at the same time it had to be raised to a higher political, ideological and educational level.

In all these stages of development, the Party with its Central Committee at the head, carried our radical positive transformations in the tempering and education of our Army, it worked out the theoretical bases and fundamental principles of the building and training of the People's Army as the armed support of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Military tempering and education is continuing and it will go on also in the future. This work will go on also for the reason that ever new generations, which must master the theory of the Party, People's Military Art and the rich experience of the old cadres, are coming to the army. Along with what they take from the Army, the youth will bring into our People's Army a fresh will, fresh knowledge and fresh experience. From the great experience of the every day training, work, struggle and life of our Army, the Party and its Central Committee constantly draw conclusions and make analyses, perfect military art, raise the sound political level ever higher and see to it that Marxism-Leninism is implanted in the minds and consciousness of our men.

Comrades,

You the soldiers and officers of our great People's Army are the loyal sons and daughters of this people, who gave you birth and brought you up, therefore you must live close to them and together with them, you must share joys and sorrows with them, you must judge the successes, as well as the shortcomings of the moments we are going through with coolheadedness and with a sense of responsibility.

The Party gives the great People's Army the sort of education which a profoundly revolutionary people's army of a new type needs. And a profoundly revolutionary people's army like ours, is not an army of barracks, it is not a conventional bourgeois army. Our Army has an
entirely different nature, it is an army which defends the dictatorship of the proletariat, which defends socialism, and not the bourgeoisie and its wealth.

Inspired by the revolutionary ideas of the proletariat, our army defends the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the people, it stands guard on the genuine democracy of our working people, and not the "democracy" of a handful of capitalists.

Our People's Army is implementing with success the task set by the Party for its own political and ideological education and, in this direction, it has achieved satisfactory results. Our people must never for a moment overlook the task of their own ideological education. From the time when they go to school, when they are in active military service, as well as when they go over to the reserve service and all along their life, our people should keep on with their allround education. Comrades, wherever you work and lead, you must work for your continuous ideological and political uplift. You must consider education as one of the most important duties.

In our Army, as a political army, which is imbued with and steered by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, is implemented the principle of putting proletarian policies in command, this means that the ideological factor has priority over the military one.

This principle will help our Army in its advance provided all the people see politics, at all moments and in all its manifestations, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. If understood otherwise, the policy pursued in the army will be erroneous.

A policy viewed from a clear Marxist-Leninist standpoint, which expresses the reality with truthfulness and reflects the interests of the working masses, is the only unerring and just policy which benefits the people and the construction of socialist society. Our policy is closely linked with the materialist Marxist world-outlook, hence, it is correct. We have achieved these results because in general, the people understand our ideology, otherwise our country would not be advancing towards socialism, but would long since have been transformed into a capitalist country, and our small nation would have been put under the heel of imperialism or revisionism. For all these reasons, the fact that socialist Albania stands firmly on its own feet is due to the Party, its correct line, the Marxist-Leninist ideology and its heroic people. We must master our ideology, which is a powerful, active and revolutionary weapon for the revolution transformation of society. Everyone must strive to master this ideology, so as to be able to understand correctly the events, phenomena and processes we have gone, are actually and shall be going through in the future. Marxism-Leninism is the only revolutionary theory which illuminates the road of the preparation of the socialist revolution and its successful carrying out.

This means that we must apply Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of our country, in a creative manner, and never look upon it as a dogma, because dogma leads to subjective, divorces theory from practice.

The aim of the socialist revolution, which is an objective law, is to overthrow capitalist and pass over to socialism. The final objective of the socialist revolution is the construction of the classless society in which the division of society into classes is no more, the present contrasts between town and countryside, between mental and physical labour, are liquidated, etc. every member of the society takes from material blessings according to his needs, and a new world-outlook is created among the people, who lead a rich material and cultural life, quite different from the present. If we consider Marxism-Leninism as the leading ideology of the proletarian revolution, then we have properly understood the teaching of our Party, namely, that Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma. When our Party says that we should adapt the great theory of the proletarian revolution to our concrete conditions, this should not be understood as a regression, as denial of the revolutionary world-outlook of the working class, or as contraposition of these conditions to the proletarian revolution, as the modern revisionists do, but it should be understood as a progress which serves the faithful and creative implementation of our theory in the concrete terrain, in the concrete conditions.

Our theory teaches us that every event, process or social phenomenon should be viewed and interpreted from the angle of historical materialism, in irreconcilable struggle against idealistic viewpoints which are only a philosophical cloak draped around religious dogmas and conservative mentality. Idealistic viewpoints, as expressions of the anti-scientific philosophical world-outlook of religion and of reactionary classes, have a host of manifestations, which have existed in centuries and, which no matter how they have evolved, in essence are preserved by capitalist society, which strives by all manner of means to keep alive these regressive viewpoints, this reactionary and conservative ideology, because in this way that society prolongs its life and temporarily hinders the proletarian revolution, for a certain time hinders the implementation of the theory of the proletarian revolution, Marxism-Leninism.

You comrades soldiers and officers in active or reserve service, must live with the preoccupations of the country, must feel yourselves members of the armed
people, organized in the armed forces for the defence of the Homeland and the victories of socialism. Never imagine yourselves as separated and isolated from the problems Albania has. Just as the engineer lives with the problems of production of his factory or plant, or the agronomist with the problems of his agricultural farm or cooperative, so must you be interested in them to the same degree and never separate yourselves from the work and concern for the economy. As for the viewing of problems from the political and ideological angle, there cannot be two stands: one for the army and another for the broad masses of the people. The strengthening of the economy, the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland cannot be separated from each other. Any stand at variance with this correct stand of our Party would be metaphysics. After the reform we carried out in the army, the broad masses of working people of our country have become all builders, as well as defenders of socialism, they are workers, peasants and intellectuals, as well as soldiers of our People's Army.

You, soldiers and officers of the active and reserve service or those incorporated in the volunteer forces of popular self-defence, must understand well the need for the raising of your ideological and military level and make systematic efforts to enrich your political and ideological knowledge, and link it ever more closely with people's military art. Without this knowledge, or having only a smattering of it, you will never be good soldiers or good cadres of the Army. You will never be good workers, good engineers, you will never be good farmers or good agronomists, or good veterinary doctors. Therefore, once again, I emphasize the correct thesis of the Party that in our country everyone must make constant efforts to master the policy and ideology of the Party in order to become a worthy fighter for our new society. This will enable everyone to do well or very well the special profession he has learned in life or at school, or the job the Party has entrusted him with, or his duties as a leader. If he sees his special job in the context of the general tasks the Homeland is faced with then he will feel more the need to delve more deeply and continuously into the special science he has learned and he fights to put into practice.

Let us come now to the other task of the Army, its military education. I can say that the education of our Army is proceeding on an ascending course towards perfection in all directions. This is the outcome of the careful work of the Party and our political and military cadres, old and young, who have been able to properly implement the orientations of the Party with regard to the army. Our military cadres have made efforts, they have performed feats of heroism, have displayed determination and maturity in taking the decisions of the Party on the best possible mastering of military science to the soldiers and, together with them, putting them into practice.

I want to stress that military education of the effective of our People's Army is indispensable. Like any other science, military science, too, is in constant development. The technical-scientific revolution cannot be excluded from the Army, on the contrary, it is necessary and recommendable in order to reach perfection in every speciality of the army. As anywhere else, in the army, too, there can be no progress without technical-scientific revolution. Everything must advance, means must be perfected, thinking developed, it is important to pass from the summing up of experience to theoretical thinking and the formulation of new, more advanced, more efficient, more profitable laws.

If we follow the continuous development and the metamorphosis of our Army towards progress, towards the perfection of every one of its branches, we will notice that many things have changed and, actually, we have managed to work out our own people's military art. This people's military art is based on the experience of all our past years, from the founding of our army up to day, and it is the synthesis of this experience which is being studied and implemented by our armymen with success. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that everything is in progress, therefore, we must not regard our people's military art either as a dogma or something dead because there may be people who think that we must learn it by heart, that we must not change a single comma in its application in the concrete situations created; there have also been such people as the traitors: Beqir Balliku with the other traitors Petrit Dušme and Hito Çako, who planned the total destruction of our people's military art and its substitution for a capitulationist art.

We must always be able to transform things in such a way as to make our Army stronger every day, and constantly work to improve our people's military art in full compliance with the orientations of the Central Committee of the Party.

We are preparing ourselves militarily for the defence of the Homeland, of our freedom and independence, the victories of socialism, for the defence of our Party. This is the loftiest task of our Army. We must understand that all I mentioned must be defended from somebody, precisely from the enemies who do not wish us well, who seek to occupy, enslave us, to wipe out socialism, to liquidate the Party. Seeing the problem from this angle, we must always think and understand clearly that our people's military art, the education of our people with this art, their political and ideological education are not an aim in itself, they are intended for a sound vital goal, that is, to enable us to cope with our eventual enemies successfully. They are not inst...
INARY enemies, they are alive, in flesh and blood, active and aggressive. They may attack us with arms, they may resort to diversion, they may also try to rot us from within. Then, on us falls the task of coping with them in the case of an armed attack, or in the case of attempts at diversion, or at eroding us from within.

But how shall we cope with them? We shall cope with them with the means I referred to, and to this end, we must raise our political and ideological level, we must also make ourselves strong militarily, we must always be on our feet and vigilant.

In our efforts to educate ourselves in these directions, we never lose sight of the enemy, which we must not underestimate, for it does not sleep, it is in pursuit of definite aims, and is making various efforts and organizing itself in an all-round manner to liquidate us, but we, too, are making efforts on our part, but in the opposite direction, to defend ourselves from it, to defeat it in case it attacks us and to win over it. We must make efforts to see through the policy of the enemies from the political aspect. Our policy, in this respect must be wise, cutting and exposing. We must understand that the ideology of the enemies is an enslaving, idealistic, conservative, rapacious ideology, therefore we must oppose our Marxist-Leninist ideology to it, the science which fights their idealistic and enslaving ideology thoroughly, we must oppose the ideology of the proletariat to it. The other question is to resist any armed attack of the enemies and defeat them in war.

In the first two fields of preparation and objectives we can say that we are superior to our enemies, because our policy is correct, while theirs is wrong, unjust, it is an aggressive policy. The ideology of the enemies is condemned by history to failure, whereas ours is the ideology of the present and the future. We represent the proletarian revolution, socialism, communism, a new society, while our enemies represent capitalism and imperialism, an old society in decay, which as our classics teach us, is the last stage of society with antagonistic classes. The enemies are doomed to extinction and destruction through war, nevertheless we must not underestimate the armies and armaments of the enemies, but we must not overrate them, either. Our Army must understand these two questions well. In the view of our Party, underestimation or overestimation is always wrong and causes damage, leads to one-sided stands, whereas viewing and assessing the weapons of the enemy as they are, in all the danger they pose, enables us to take the necessary measures at the proper time in order to render them ineffective or to reduce their effect on our people. Our objective stand in assessing the enemy's weapons will enable us to use our weapons more effectively, to blunt and smash the attacks of the enemy.

The local wars the imperialists and the capitalists have fought against the peoples and countries which they have sought to enslave, have confirmed these assessments of our Party. It is common knowledge that in all these wars of enslavement, the enemies have resorted to most modern means of war against the peoples. It is true that the peoples have suffered great damage in them, but difficulties have taught them to create such possibilities of defence and counter-attack as to fight off the apolitical, mercenary forces of the imperialist aggressors who have attacked them and defeat them successfully. This is what will certainly happen again if they attack our country.

Therefore, our Party always tells you soldiers and cadres of the army, as well as the entire soldier people that military questions should be always taken account of in everyday life, that no one should absent himself or withdraw, in any case and for whatever reason, from military training, from the discharge of military duties.

You, the military cadres, have a very important task: to teach the soldiers of the people our people's military art. But do not think it is an easy question, do not think it can be done without efforts, without toil, without sacrifices and without steel-like discipline.

Our people's military art is a living, dynamic art, an art in development. Our art is the contrary of sluggishness, stereotypes, indifferentism, inactivity, passivity and lack of coordination of all weapons in action. Our peoples military art preserves and constantly develops revolutionary dynamism and swiftness of partisan war, but it cannot be identified with partisan war. Our cadres and Army, our entire soldier people must understand this difference well.

It is essential to understand that we shall have to stand up to a large army acting according to tactics quite different from ours. The tactics and strategy of the enemy armies are barbarous in their essence and their objective is to invade our country, whereas our tactic educates the effectiveness of our army to be on the keen lookout and vigilant, and imbues them with the spirit of counter-attack to wipe out the enemies.

Therefore, as in everything else, but more so in the teaching of military matters, special wisdom is required in the activity of army officers and cadres, who must broaden their horizon of knowledge on the problem they will take up, they must first put it into practice, themselves, a practice in conditions different from those of the enemy confronting our army; a practice different from the strategy and tactics of the enemy, from the terrain in which it acts and the weapons which it uses. If the training and briefing of the army is done like this then we shall be far from applying a stereotyped method of teaching.

The defence of our territories against enemy attacks has very great importance. It is know that for the assailant to win the war, his soldiers must set foot on land, therefore the enemy will try by all manner of
means to set foot on our territory. On the contrary, the objective of our strategy and tactics is to stop the enemy from getting a foothold, that is, to wipe it out before it penetrates our territory, either on our seascape, in our air space, or in our border area. However, for this to be done, the Party, the Central Committee and the General Command have given instructions and taken decisions to prepare the whole territory for war, preparation to which you must devote exceptional importance.

Further, stopping to consider the tasks emerging for the further strengthening of the defence of the Homeland and our People's Army, Comrade Enver Hoxha, stressed that these tasks should be borne in mind by all the people and, especially, the effective of the Army, who are continually trained to acquire the abilities needed to cope with success with the difficult moments which the Homeland may have to face to.

Therefore, you must apply yourselves zealously to the study of military art of people's war in all its aspects. All the cadres of the army, old and young, must collaborate closely, master it and bring their daily rich experience into it, enrich it and advance it to ever higher peaks.

With this I imply that our army cadres must not shut themselves up inside the shell of superficial study, or become slaves to a mechanical application of the great teachings which are placed at the disposal of our army. They must take into consideration that the enemy shall impose a modern war on us, that we shall oppose it to the end.

I have emphasized before that our cadres should get themselves acquainted with the strategy and tactics the enemy will resort to in a future war, they should know the weapons they will bring into use as well as their effective army, because it they know these, they will be able to take on time the expedient measures needed to confront the enemy. Therefore, we must follow the situations developing in the world most attentively. As our Party has taught and teaches us every day, situations are revolutionary; in these conditions the existence of Imperialism is in danger, therefore it prepares for war. The revolution will destroy world capitalism, but it tries to defend itself by all means, and its last resort is war, local wars, and, after them, a general world war. One war prepares the other, one creates new contradictions and deepens the existing ones, which is in the very blood of the capitalists and imperialists, while a redivision of the world deepens and sharpens the existing contradictions until it leads them to world war.

Therefore, we must follow the teachings of the Party politically, which explain these various developments of international situations. Never must we cherish illusions about changing situations. This does not mean that we should not avail ourselves of these situations in order to profit from them, because the capitalist and revisionist states are riddled with contradictions, which we must make deeper, but always in favour of the world revolution, in favour of socialism, in favour of our socialist state. In the capitalist world the exploited classes exist and are at war with capital. The proletariat is at the head of these exploited revolutionary classes, side by side with it stand the poor peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie of the city.

Then Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the international situation today, the struggle of our Party and people against American imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction.

The positions of our Party on current international affairs, as well as on all the other problems of the struggle against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and world capitalism, have been and are clear, they are unchanged. Therefore, it is our urgent, constant, indispensable and vital task to strengthen these positions, and we will strengthen them, because we have a strong Marxist-Leninist Party, with steel-like unity of its ranks, we have a strong people in unbreakable unity around the Party, we have now a developed economy, which provides us the possibility to further develop our productive forces and improve the wellbeing of the people with our own forces, because we have a heroic People's Army, educated and tempered by our glorious Party of Labour in class battles.

In conclusion Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Comrade soldiers and officers,

I congratulate you once again from my heart on the great celebration of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the glorious People's Army of Albania, I congratulate you on the successes you have achieved, and call on you to love the army, to train yourselves intensively and intelligently in order to make our army invincible. I recommend you to observe regulations, to carry out instructions, to master our theory of people's military art properly, and to show vigour in practice, to be revolutionary, to carry out tactical exercises with intelligence and determination and not in a mechanical manner.

You must love each other, consider each other friends in the full sense of the world, and respect each other. You must also respect your commanders, the cadres whom the Party has promoted to these posts in order to make of you soldiers capable of fighting for a great cause. On their part, the cadres must also work with the honesty and selflessness which characterize our people, in order to capture the hearts of their soldiers. Our army must be solid, it must have steel-like and conscious discipline. At any time the need arises it must be at its fixed posts and be courageous.

We have been preparing our people to look forward with great confidence to the construction of socialism.
to see the present realities and the possible developments right into the face. When we have succeeded in inoculating such a revolutionary spirit into people's minds and, hence, also, into our People's Army, then, no dangerous moment will catch us by surprise or frighten us; on the contrary, it will find us armed not only with weapons, but also with the undaunted spirit which is required to achieve victory over any enemy which will dare to attack our socialist Homeland, it will find us militarily, politically, ideologically and materially prepared. Never have the Albanian people lost their bearings in difficult moments, less so can they now, when our glorious Party is leading us, is educating us, is teaching us, and is preparing us for the wonderful situations which await us and which we are building ourselves; it prepares us also for the dangers which might threaten us, it prepares us for victory.

Therefore, dear comrade soldiers, students and officers, forward with great confidence in the Party, in its line; love it wholeheartedly and defend it unyieldingly in front of all enemies, internal or external. Love for the Party is shown by properly implementing its directives, and the implementation of these directives is realized in full by making a profound study of them and by making them the blood and flesh of everyone who must live with them and fight for them. This is what it means to love the Party will all the forces of one's soul. Such a situation should be created and continuously tempered in the hearts of our soldier people, in your hearts, comrade soldiers and officers.

A HAPPY CELEBRATION TO YOU!
I wind up this conversation bailing:
LONG LIVE THE PARTY!
LONG LIVE OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY!

A detachment of military school students parading.
MESSAGE OF GREETING OF
ENVER HOXHA TO THE 8th
WOMEN’S UNION OF ALBANIA
OF THE CC OF THE PARTY

To the 8th Congress of the Women’s Union of Albania

Dear comrade delegates,

The whole of Albania is following the 8th Congress of the Women’s Union of Albania, this important event in the life of the country, with great interest and joy. The banners of the victories which you come to your Congress are the fruit of the efforts of all the women of Albania, of all our people, to realize the program of the Party for the complete emancipation of the women and our whole socialist society.

It is a special pleasure for me, on behalf of the Central Committee, the whole Party and on my own behalf, to greet your comrades, all the heroic women of socialist Albania, and to wish you success in work and the proceedings of the Congress. Let the voice of our woman and girl fighters burst forth at your Congress, let their opinion and their determination to carry forward the cause of our socialist revolution and socialist construction be expressed with full force.

Your Congress is a vivid testimonio to the thorough-going and wide-ranging revolution which has taken place in the life of the Albanian woman. You, yourselves, who have come from the construction sites of new projects, from the flourishing plains, from the mountain areas or from the cities, reflect the magnificent reality of our country, the new woman liberated from oppression and exploitation, the woman worker and fighter, educated and cultured, who takes part not only in production, but also in running the state and the Party, you reflect that complete equality and lofty dignity which socialism has given the woman.

The Party feels a special joy when it sees that the women of Albania have achieved that high level of emancipation for which it has worked and fought since the very first days of its founding. In the woman, the Party found that indomitable spirit of our people which, for centuries on end, resisted oppression and exploitation. It found those lofty virtues which would make them unflinching fighters in the war; in the woman the Party found that force which the Homeland needed for the construction of new Albania. In countless deeds the woman of our country has always displayed her great love of and boundless devotion to the Party, because in the Party she saw the genuine leader which would make her great dream come true, which would make her free and equal, honoured and respected in society. Therefore, when the Party issued the call, the Albanian woman rose courageously in the National Liberation War, in the struggle to destroy the old state power, to smash its laws and canons, to wage the class struggle consistently, to build socialist society and establish new norms and customs of proletarian morality.

The victories achieved in these struggles were cemented with the pure blood of the finest daughters of our people. To the Party, to the people and our Homeland, the glorious heroines Mine Peza and Qeriba Derri, Bule Naiqi and Perëndi Kukëshima, Marta and Prena Tarazhi, and all the women and girls whom our history has ranked alongside the outstanding fighters of this country, will always remain beloved and unforgettable.

From the heights we have attained, the glorious road that the Albanian woman has traversed, can be seen clearly. It is the road of the struggle for the socialist revolution, without which there would have been no genuine liberation and emancipation of society, hence, of the woman, in our country. This road has been and remains a school of incalculable value for the woman of socialist Albania today and for all generations to come. It shows what the proletarian revolution is capable of doing for the woman and the woman herself is capable of doing for the revolution, when she is led by the Marxist-Leninist Party.
The emancipation of the Albanian woman, one of the greatest victories of the socialist revolution and one of the most important achievements of our Party, assumes ever greater proportions when we see the situation of the woman in the capitalist and revisionist world. There, too, there is talk about the emancipation of the woman, but this is only a propaganda slogan, because in reality, in that unjust and inhuman society, the woman, more than any one else, is used as a commodity and is subjected to merciless exploitation. The women are among the first victims of the serious consequences of the economic-financial crisis, they are thrown out on the street, they are the most oppressed and disregarded section of society.

The Party appreciates the great role which the militant Organization of the Women's Union of Albania has played in the successes achieved. During the 35 years of its existence it has loyally carried out the tasks entrusted to it by the Party for the education and mobilization of the masses of women. Therefore, dear comrades, strengthen your broad organization even further, increase its role in order to defend and advance the victories already achieved, in order to consolidate and raise the emancipation of woman to a higher level.

Comrade delegates,

The 7th Congress of the Party laid down a great program of work and struggle for the allround development of the country on the road of socialism, relying as always on our own forces. This program cannot be realized successfully without the active participation of women, without their revolutionary struggle. The Party calls on the woman to work, because without her production will be unable to advance, it calls on her to keep a firm hold of the rifle, because without her the Homeland cannot be defended, it calls on her to raise her Marxist-Leninist educational, cultural and technical-professional level because without this the personality of the woman cannot be raised, it calls on her to participate in the running of the country because without this there can be no development of socialist democracy. The Party is firmly convinced that as always, the Albanian woman will fulfill her tasks, will be, as always, in the front ranks of the struggle for socialism.

Our whole society, the worker and cooperative farmer, the engineer and technician, the officer and soldier, are interested in the problems you will discuss at your Congress and tasks you will undertake, because shoulder to shoulder with their women comrades, they are building their country and making it prosper, breaking the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, overcoming the economic blockades and ideological pressure, carrying forward the socialist revolution.

Our society is also greatly interested in the noble mission of the woman as a mother, in the great role she plays in the raising and education of children. Our country has a wonderful younger generation, loyal to the Party and the people. This is also the great merit of the Albanian mothers, who bring up and educate their children to be like them as regards bravery, courage and patriotism, so that they outdo them as regards knowledge and the ever greater strides they will take on the brilliant road of socialism. The women of our country have implanted love for the Party and the Socialist Homeland in the hearts of the youth, they fight to make the families nests where eagles are reared, where boys and girls are inspired to serve socialism in the lowlands and the mountains, in the factories and on the construction sites, at
school and in laboratories, wherever the Homeland needs them most. This is a vital question for the present and the future of the socialist Albania.

The people and the Party are conscious that the whole society must make even greater efforts for the ceaseless emancipation of the woman, so that she is placed completely in the role which belongs to her as a great revolutionary force for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, so that both in men and in women, all the old remnants, mentalities and prejudices are eradicated, so that the expressions of liberalism and conservatism and the bourgeoisie-revisionist influences, which sometimes hinder the woman from displaying all her values and abilities, are combated. The Party is certain that the Party organizations and the organizations of the masses, the state and economic organs, the educational and cultural institutions, the entire working people will all fight together to carry the emancipation of the woman from victory to victory.

Dear comrade delegates,

The situation in the world today is turbulent and fraught with great dangers and threats to the freedom and independence of the peoples. The bourgeoisie, imperialism, especially US and Soviet imperialism, the revisionists and opportunists of all hues, are striving in every way to suppress the revolt of the masses and strangle the revolution, to undermine the liberation struggle and enslave all countries. The superpowers and their followers are involved in a headlong armaments race and are preparing to hurl mankind into a new war. They are inciting conflicts between different peoples and nations, brutally interfering in their internal affairs, hatching up plots against the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples.

These situations, which are developing in the world and which are changing continuously, must be followed with the greatest attention by all, so that we are always ready and prepared to cope with any danger that may threaten our Homeland. They make it essential that we raise our revolutionary vigilance higher, steel the unity of the people around the Party more and more, and ceaselessly strengthen the defence of the Homeland. All of us, men and women, must work tirelessly to develop and strengthen our socialist economy, to fulfil all the tasks of the 6th five-year plan to the letter, to make the life of our people and our children more beautiful and more prosperous.

By fighting and working for the construction of socialism, the women of new Albania will uphold and develop the spirit of proletarian internationalism that characterizes them, will be beside the progressive women who are fighting for their emancipation and rights, and beside the peoples who are fighting for their national and social emancipation.

The beautiful city of Durrës, where your Congress is being held, is a city renowned for its patriotic and revolutionary traditions. It has a talented working class, an ancient and developed culture. May these traditions and the enthusiastic atmosphere of the people of Durrës be another source of inspiration for the successful proceedings of your Congress.

Under the leadership of the Party, with its ideals in mind and heart, throw yourselves, comrades, with fresh vigour into the battles to realize the tasks of the 7th Congress of the Party, fight like resolute revolutionaries to raise the glory of the socialist Homeland even higher.

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC WOMEN OF ALBANIA!
LONG LIVE THE MILITANT ORGANIZATION OF THE WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA!
LONG LIVE OUR GLORIOUS PARTY!
GLORY TO TRIUMPHANT MARXISM-LENINISM!

ON BEHALF OF THE CC
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA
ENVER HOXHA

Tirana, June 1, 1978
MESSAGE

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Santiago

Dear comrades,

The untimely death of the beloved Comrade David Benquis, one of the main founders, organizers and leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, caused us immense grief. In these moments of deep sorrow for you, as well as for all the Chilean Marxist-Leninist comrades, we express our sincere condolences.

Comrade David Benquis, as a Marxist-Leninist leader, dedicated all his revolutionary energy and capabilities to the construction and tempering of your Revolutionary Communist Party as a Marxist-Leninist Party, as the vanguard of the Chilean proletarian and people in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship and capitalist exploitation, for national and social liberation and the triumph of socialism in their Homeland. Our Party recalls with respect Comrade Benquis, as an unflinching fighter against U.S. imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, which jointly exploit the peoples, as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary against modern revisionism and opportunism of all hues.

Comrade David Benquis has been not only an ardent fighter for freedom, independence and socialism in his Homeland, but also a proletarian internationalist, supporter of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and of the unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement. We will always preserve alive the memory of our respected Comrade David Benquis, who also nurtured a sincere love for our Party of Labour and the Albanian people.

We express our conviction that at these moments of grievance for the loss of its leader, Comrade David Benquis, the sister Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile will further strengthen its ranks and will always carry forward the revolutionary struggle for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in Chile, for which he fought with determination and courage during all his life.

First Secretary
of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

ENVER HOXHA

Tirana, June 2, 1978.