

years, namely, the Berlin provocation in 1953,⁷ that of Poznan in 1956 and, especially, the fascist counter-revolution in Hungary.

III. ON OUR RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

Albania's experience in its relations with Yugoslavia shows better than the experience of any other country the real attitude of the Yugoslav leaders towards Marxism-Leninism, for in no other country have they interfered so brutally as in Albania. The Yugoslav leadership has maintained an anti-Marxist and chauvinistic attitude towards our Party, our state, and our people. The aim of the Yugoslav leadership has been to turn our Party from a Marxist-Leninist Party into an opportunist one, and to make Albania a republic of the Yugoslav state. This is verified by historical facts which I am listing here briefly:

a) In 1944, on the eve of the liberation of Albania, the Yugoslav leadership, through Velimir Stoinich, interfered in the affairs of our Party and at Berat organized a dangerous faction in order to turn our Party away from the correct Marxist-Leninist line and to overthrow its leadership. The Yugoslav leadership accused the leadership of our Party of having pursued an incorrect, sectarian line of action. But on the basis of this line our people achieved the historic victory over the occupiers and the local reactionaries. The Yugoslav line which Velimir Stoinich sought to impose on us obscured the leading role of the Soviet Union, the leading role of the Party, negated the class struggle, and opened the way to opportunist trends.

After the Berat Plenum, the positions in the party leadership of the anti-party elements like Koçi Xoxe and

⁷ It was carried out by imperialism on June 17, 1953, in order to jeopardize the achievements of socialism and the cause of peace.

Sejfulla Malëshova, who supported the move to introduce the Yugoslav "experience", were strengthened. The Yugoslav leadership charged our Party with having unjustly condemned Koçi Xoxe, calling him "a patriot" and "a Marxist". But what had Koçi Xoxe done? He had tried to eliminate the Party, by hiding it and dissolving it in the Front. He had trampled on the most elementary Leninist principles of the structure of the Party. He placed the Party under the control of the organs of State Security: fifteen thousand files on the party members were found in the archives of State Security. The network of State Security organs covered every basic party organization. He had collected compromising material and was preparing a plot for the physical elimination of the members of the leadership of the Party and the state. As Minister for Internal Affairs he violated socialist law in the most brutal manner. He was in agreement with the plans of the Yugoslav leaders to turn Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia and worked in this direction. If he were alive, far from being rehabilitated, Koçi Xoxe should have been hanged for all these crimes.

The Yugoslav leadership is responsible for Nako Spiru's suicide. In Berat he was involved with Koçi Xoxe and Co. but later he understood what the Yugoslavs were up to and put himself on the right course. Nako lacked the courage to tell the Party the truth, so he killed himself. You know that Nako's suicide complicated matters, and the intrigues of the Yugoslavs and Koçi Xoxe and Co. led to the 8th Plenum⁸. After this Plenum the doors were flung wide open to the Yugoslav interference.

⁸ This refers to the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA held in February 1948. The Plenum was prepared jointly by the Koçi Xoxe group and the Yugoslav revisionist leaders with the aim of defeating the CPA and preparing the ground for the colonization of Albania.

b) Yugoslavia had established its economic relations with our country on anti-Marxist and colonialist foundations. They were in violation of even the most elementary rules of relations between sovereign countries. In 1946 six Albanian-Yugoslav companies were set up, but the Yugoslav side did not make the investments which they should have done, and simply took the profits from the exploitation of the existing Albanian investments. Establishing the parity of the Albanian currency with the Yugoslav dinar meant a big devaluation of the Albanian franc, which lost at least 3.5 leks for each franc. The customs union paved the way for Yugoslav commercial organizations and private merchants to plunder the stocks of goods in our market. The exchange of goods on the basis of internal prices, and not at international market prices, severely damaged our economy.

A joint commission to co-ordinate plans was set up under the chairmanship of Krajger, a commission which was, in fact, a government above the government of the Albanian state. We have in our possession a document signed by Kidrich, former Chairman of the Planning Commission of Yugoslavia, in which Albania figures as the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav leadership raises a hue and cry about the economic aid Yugoslavia has given Albania, but the figures of this aid are inflated by the high prices of imports. The aid for "the industrialization of Albania" were: the worn-out machinery of the "Ali Kelmendi" sugar refinery in Korça which had been discarded in Yugoslavia, the primitive rope plant in Rogozhina of which nothing remains, and the railway which our heroic youth built. If we draw up a balance of how much the Yugoslavs have taken from us, and we from them, no one knows who will be in debt to whom. But why do the Yugoslavs

not utter a single word about the heroic fight of our two divisions which helped liberate Yugoslavia?

c) In 1948 the Yugoslav leadership asked us to allow a number of their divisions to enter Albania, allegedly in order to protect Albania from the aggression of the Greek monarcho-fascists. In reality they wanted to make the occupation of Albania an accomplished fact.

The Yugoslavs' supporters whispered far and wide in favour of the union of Albania with Yugoslavia as its 7th Republic. At the same time, talk began about the Balkan Federation. We wrote to the Yugoslav leadership asking them to explain their stand in connection with this problem but never received a reply.

d) During this period, the Yugoslav leaders tried to isolate our country from the Soviet Union, claiming that Albania should receive Soviet aid and experience only through Yugoslavia, that the Yugoslav experience was valuable in the conditions of Albania while that of the Soviet Union was not suitable, that the Soviet advisers should leave. Especially after the 8th Plenum, the Yugoslav advisers pushed themselves in everywhere and worked against the development of our economy with a view to making it directly dependent on Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav leaders sought to isolate Albania from all the world. In fact, we did not have economic relations with any other country except Yugoslavia — even with the Soviet Union they were limited. Up to 1948 we had diplomatic relations only with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and France.

The letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 1948 Resolution of the Information Bureau helped our Party see through the intentions of the Yugoslav leadership towards our Party and our country.

The principled criticism of the Yugoslav leaders has been correct. Even the present views of the Yugoslav leaders prove this.

During the period from 1948 to 1953 we wrote and acted against each other, both they and we. It is not right to conclude from this that during this period we were in the wrong. They were acting against our Republic in every way. They sent in hundreds of diversionists and armed groups, apart from the 1949 Greek provocations⁹. No enemy state has carried out activity more furiously against our country than that which the Yugoslav leaders undertook after 1948.

As we all know, the leadership of the Soviet Union took the initiative to improve relations¹⁰ with Yugoslavia and made every effort to this end. At that time we proposed that, before they commenced the Belgrade talks, a meeting should be held of the Information Bureau which in 1948 had decided to expel Yugoslavia, and that the Yugoslav issue should be analysed, pointing out the merits and defects, both theirs and those of the Information Bureau. We think that this would have been correct because it would not have allowed the Yugoslav leaders

9 At the time when the Greek armed forces violated the Albanian border (August 2, 1949), the Tito clique started a threatening manoeuvre of troops on the Northern border of Albania in the Struga and Ochrid regions, and undertook the arming of the Albanian reactionary elements who had been trained to take to the mountains for the organization of an "uprising". Their activity failed.

10 This refers to the talks between the government delegation of the USSR and the Yugoslav government, held in Belgrade from the 27th of May to the 2nd of June 1955. These talks resulted in the Belgrade Declaration which served to rehabilitate the Tito clique, rejecting the decision of the Information Bureau and the assessments made by all the communist and workers' parties regarding this clique's betrayal.

to cover up their mistakes and throw all the blame on our countries and emerge as the standard-bearers of the situation.

As a matter of fact they abused the initiative of the Soviet Union. They made no self-criticism at all, because allegedly they were Marxists. They should have made self-criticism, and this should have been demanded of them. They took advantage of the new situation in order to undertake divisive and undermining activities against the parties and states of people's democracy. The Yugoslav legations in the people's democracies became centres of espionage; they began to gather up anti-party, opportunist, and wavering elements, and under the banner of "de-Stalinization" turned them loose against the parties to overthrow the Marxist-Leninist leaders of our parties and replace them with their supporters, to replace the correct line with the Titoite line. They also collaborated with enemy elements, as for instance, in Bulgaria, with the former Minister of Interior of the pre-liberation Bulgarian bourgeois government. After the Hungarian events, the features of the Yugoslav leaders emerged much more clearly.

Our Party maintained a correct stand. We declared we were ready to improve our relations on a Marxist-Leninist basis, not on the old anti-Marxist basis (let bygones be bygones). But our attitude was not to the liking of the Yugoslav leaders because they sought to repeat the 1948 situation; they demanded that we make concessions in principles: 1) that we should say that the Yugoslavs had made no mistakes; 2) that we should rehabilitate Koçi Xoxe, and so on. We could never do this. This would not have been Marxist, this would have been betrayal of our Party and our homeland.

Meanwhile, the Yugoslav leaders have carried on their feverish efforts against our Party and our state. They

can never reconcile themselves to the leadership of our Party and our state. They want to replace this leadership, which courageously defends Marxism-Leninism, the Party, and the independence of our country, with some clique of opportunist adventurers, to force on our Party "the Yugoslav line" and to turn Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia.

They are continuing their campaign of wild propaganda in the press and on the radio against our country, describing the situation in Albania as a hell in which terror and poverty reign.

The Yugoslav legation in Tirana has tried and continues to try to recruit agents, to rake up anti-Party elements and to organize the struggle against our Party. In the spring of 1956, through its legation in Tirana, the Yugoslav leadership gathered up the enemies of the Party, Dali Ndreu, Liri Gega, and others, and prepared a plot aimed at overthrowing the leadership of our Party and of our state and replacing them with the enemies of the Party. They organized the hostile work at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, but the Party detected this hostile activity and immediately took the necessary measures.

The Yugoslav Minister in Tirana himself, Arso Milatovich, conducts propaganda and speaks against the policy and the situation of the People's Republic of Albania and our state, against the leadership of our Party, incites weak elements into hostile anti-state and anti-party activity, and engages in activities of espionage. For this purpose he has tried, through pressure or other means, to use the Yugoslav citizens who have long been settled in Albania, with whom he maintains active contact, elements hostile to the Party and the people's power, various individuals who go to the Yugoslav legation on official business, or whom he picks up in his car while travelling

through Albania. Contrary to the official regulations governing the circulation of foreign diplomats in our country, he has gone to Vlora without the corresponding permit, where, abusing the hospitality of a patriot family, he tried to extract information of a political and military character on the naval base on Sazan island. Likewise, he has gone to Berat and photographed prohibited military installations and has asked to meet Tuk Jakova.

A serious matter is the fact that more than 3,000 Albanian fugitives, including many fascist criminals, have found refuge in Yugoslavia. Taking into account the development of events in Hungary, we have the right to think that by means of them provocations may be organized for the purpose of finding a pretext to attack Albania. During the most tragic moments in Hungary, Vidich, Under-secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, said to the press attaches of Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and others, "Wait a little. What happened in Hungary will certainly happen to you, too". Therefore, our Party is obliged to be very vigilant towards the Yugoslav leadership.

The Yugoslav leaders maintain a chauvinist and inhuman attitude towards the population of Kosova. The situation in that province is deplorable; the Yugoslav leaders are pursuing a policy of extermination there. Tens of thousands of Kosova people are compelled to leave their land and homes and emigrate to Turkey. Not even the Kings of Serbia pursued such a policy. They are doing their utmost to turn Kosova into a base against Albania, into a base to unite Albania with Yugoslavia through Kosova.

Day by day the Yugoslav press in Kosova and Metohia carry on vile, slanderous propaganda against our Party and our People's Republic, which even "the Voice of America" might envy. We pose the question:

Why this vicious propaganda, especially in Kosova and Metohia, against the people's power in Albania? How long will such filth continue to flow in the sewers of the Yugoslav press? It is clear to us what the Yugoslav leaders are after. They think they can deceive the Albanians in Kosova about the reality of our country, but even if there are such deceived people, our press has the internationalist duty to enlighten those who have been deceived by filthy nationalist, chauvinist, and fascist propaganda.

Our Party has always maintained a correct attitude to the question of Kosova, a Marxist, internationalist attitude. But we cannot fail to point out the chauvinist attitude of the Yugoslav leadership in Kosova in order to confirm once again that it is in an anti-Marxist and inhuman position towards the Albanians of Kosova.

Comrades, in conclusion, we can say that the attitude of the Yugoslav leaders towards our country is blatantly anti-Marxist and chauvinist, that during these 13 years they have systematically interfered in the internal affairs of our Party and our state for the purpose of carrying out their colonialist schemes towards our country. These schemes have failed, thanks to the determined stand of our Party. This is what makes the Yugoslav leaders attack Albania more furiously than they do the other countries. One other reason why the Yugoslav leaders fight our Party so fiercely is because Albania is the proof of their anti-Marxist and chauvinistic stand, which confirms that all their theses on non-intervention, equality, and so on, are sheer demagogy. And they want to eliminate witnesses which bear this out, just as the murderer tries to wipe out the traces of his crime.

The report showed what the present Yugoslav leaders represent. They are in an anti-Marxist position, trying to revise Marxism-Leninism, playing a splitting

role within the ranks of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, interfering in the internal affairs of the parties to do away with their leaders, in order to undermine the communist and workers' parties and to impose the so-called Yugoslav line. Just how dangerous the dissemination of their poisonous "theories" and their hostile activity have become is attested by the many facts we have mentioned, including their hostile activity towards our country and their role in the development of events in Hungary. They are trying to incite the revisionist elements in Poland, to activate the opportunist elements of the Italian Communist Party, and to penetrate wherever they find a loophole. They are very active.

The anti-Marxist, disruptive, and hostile activity, which the Yugoslav leaders are pursuing, parallel with the aggressive activity of the imperialists against the socialist camp, constitutes a major peril for the whole workers' movement. Objectively, this activity serves the schemes of imperialism. It is a known fact that the US imperialists have given Yugoslavia 1,200 million US dollars, not prompted by their desire to help the construction of socialism, but because they hope to use Yugoslavia against the socialist camp. The ideological degeneration of the Yugoslav leadership has been going on ever since 1948, and a generation of cadres has grown up there with an attitude hostile towards the Soviet Union and our socialist camp.

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the damage the divisive work of the Yugoslav leaders can cause, thinking that they are not very strong. Their strength lies in the fact that they are anti-Marxists, therefore, their "theories" and "activities" are supported by all the opportunist and wavering elements, by all the enemies of socialism. In a way they have achieved some

results which, although temporary, have done a lot of damage to the cause of socialism, as in Hungary.

What stand should we maintain towards them? We think they will not return to the Marxist-Leninist course. We say this with full conviction because the lessons we have drawn these last thirteen years have taught us not to believe their lies and demagoguery which have aimed at destroying our Marxist Party and our people's power. Marxists may make mistakes, but when they recognize their mistakes they turn about and follow the right course. The present Yugoslav leaders are not Marxists, because, far from making any turn, they are intensifying their anti-Marxist activity. You only have to read in the "Borba" the article on their coming Congress to draw the conclusion that this congress will sum up the anti-Marxist and revisionist theory of a party in power to lay down a line which, according to them, should be followed by all parties and all countries. Time and the activities of the Yugoslav leaders so far have not proven that we have been mistaken in our opinions. Let time and their future activities prove that these views have been wrong, and as Marxists we shall be ready, as always, to admit that our judgment on the Yugoslavs has not been correct.

While taking all these things into account in our stand towards the Yugoslav leadership, we should always be guided by Marxist-Leninist principles, making no concessions, and not allowing any violation of them, while always having in mind the general interests of the international communist movement and of our country.

We do not wish to have party relations with them on these terms, but we shall strive to guard and strengthen the sentiments of sincere friendship with the Yugoslav peoples; we shall continue our course of normalizing and improving state relations between our country and Yugo-

slavia, on the principles of equality and non-interference in our internal affairs.

We should be on our guard against the Yugoslav leaders and all their attempts. Far from toning down our ideological struggle against their revisionist views, we shall further intensify it, with a view to tearing off the mask of demagogy and stopping the destructive work of the anti-Marxist elements who are trying to poison our parties and countries with alien theories, to turn us away from the correct Marxist-Leninist course, to split the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Therefore, the stand against them should be firm, principled, unwavering, without any illusions, because concessions and liberalism can bring nothing but damage to our cause.

On the other hand, we should always be coolheaded in our relations with Yugoslavia, not descend to provocations, but we must criticize the Yugoslav leadership in a principled way, wage an ideological and political campaign against them and inform our Party and our people about the real situation in Yugoslavia and the disastrous consequence of the so-called Yugoslav line.

Comrades,

The campaign which imperialism launched in order to change the way events are developing and improve its position has failed.

This has been a difficult period for the international workers' movement. Lenin said that the revolutionary movement is not the Nevski Prospect. The aim of the combined assault of the imperialists, the fascist reactionary forces, and the revisionists, was to split the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

We have been going through critical moments, with rapid and unexpected developments. This period has been a hard test for every party, for every communist. Our Party passed this test with success; it maintained a completely correct, unwavering Marxist-Leninist stand. The Political Bureau and the government have measured up to the situation. The necessary political, military, security, and economic measures were taken to consolidate the internal situation, the defence potential, and to further improve the wellbeing of the people. The Political Bureau took the necessary steps to explain to the Party and to combat the revisionist views of the Yugoslav leaders and others. The whole Party and the people firmly denounced the enemy activities and views, and backed the policy of the Party with unprecedented enthusiasm. The unity of the Party, its bonds with the masses, the readiness, enthusiasm and mobilization of the communists, of the people, and of youth have never been so strong. At those moments when the imperialists were threatening the independence of new Albania, even wavering intellectual or middle class elements came closer to the Party, because they saw it as the resolute and loyal defender of the most vital interests of our people. The great enthusiasm with which the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania was celebrated and the brilliant results of the elections of the people's councils, are undeniable proof of the love and unwavering confidence of the masses for the Party and the people's power.

The correct stand maintained by our Party, the unwavering correct stand of our people at these moments, are a major victory for us and certainly are a source of rejoicing for us and all our friends. Our Party is relatively young and of not a very high cultural and theoretical level. The Party has made real mistakes, as for instance, in economic and other problems, and there may be

mistakes of this nature in the future. But the various deviationists have not been able to turn our Party off its tracks. They have been discovered in time and have been fought with determination. On the main questions, on the questions of the defence of Marxism-Leninism, of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the interests of the working masses and the independence of our country, and in the struggle against our enemies, we have not made mistakes and we will not do so. And this is due to our Party's unbounded loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its steel-like unity.

From the development of these events, comrades, our Party should draw great lessons. What are our tasks?

In the first place, we should strive to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp under the banner of proletarian internationalism, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. We should fight with determination against any attempt to divide the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

In our attitude towards capitalist states, we should bear in mind, first, that the states of the socialist camp should enhance their vigilance and preparedness, their economic and military strength in the struggle against the aggressive plans of imperialism. This does not mean that we shall give up the policy of easing international tension. If need be we shall also respond to the imperialists with weapons (we should always be strong and ready for this), but we should resolutely press on with the easing of international tension, and must try to defend the peace. The objective situation of the ratio of forces in the world makes this possible. The vital interests of our peoples who have taken upon themselves to build socialism, the interests of all the peoples of the world demand this. But we shall succeed in carrying out this policy only if we are strong and united to a man. The strength and unity of

the socialist camp is the principal factor defending the peace, the freedom of peoples, and the progress of mankind. It is our duty to sharpen our vigilance against the class enemy who is working in every way against the order of people's democracy and awaiting the chance to strike at it. Increasing the Party's vigilance, strengthening its links with the masses, are powerful means of combating the enemies, of preventing them from harming the people's democratic order in the least. Any weakening of our democratic order is a concession made to the enemy. Therefore, the consolidation of our people's power, which plays the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the present main task.

The principal task of the Party is to strengthen its ideological, organizational, and political unity, to strengthen and raise to a higher level its leading role in the struggle to build the new socialist society. The unity of our Party should be strengthened and guarded like the apple of our eye, because that is the foundation of its power. Unity in the leadership of the Party, unity in the whole Party, has always been steel-like. All the deviationists and enemies of the Party who have attempted to weaken this steel-like unity have been immediately and unanimously eliminated like mangy goats. The strength of this unity has constantly increased. During the turbulent and perilous moments of recent times, the unity of the whole Party round the Central Committee and its Political Bureau has been brilliant, steel-like and invincible. We must preserve and strengthen this steel-like unity, the genuine guarantee of the victories of the Party and of the people in a Marxist way.

In the present circumstances, the stepping-up of the ideological struggle against revisionist and anti-Marxist views, the intensification of the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, are of primary importance. In the

struggle against socialism the anti-Marxist, opportunist and revisionist elements play a major role. It is a known fact that, under given conditions and at different moments, priority is given to one form of the class struggle or another. Under the present conditions, it is the ideological struggle that must take precedence. Therefore, the work of the Party for the political and ideological education of the members of the Party and of all the masses assumes primary importance, of course, without neglecting its work in other directions. In our days, the enemies of Marxism usually work under false colours; they dress up their revisionist and opportunist activity with Left phraseology, with "Marxist" slogans. Therefore our vigilance, too, must be even more keen. Let us always keep in mind the immortal words of Lenin:

"... put no faith in phrase-mongering, it is better to see who stands to gain".*

The defence of Marxism-Leninism today demands, first of all, that the anti-Marxist and revisionist propaganda of the Yugoslav leaders must be exposed and combated. The ideological struggle should in no way be underestimated, because the poison of alien ideology is employed by the enemies of socialism to disarm the working class. Recent events confirm what great damage the working class can suffer when the ideological battle is slackened in the slightest, what great advantage the enemy takes from the impermissible negligence in this field.

All the forces of the Party and the masses should be mobilized to accomplish the state plan, for in this way we are also consolidating the internal political situation and increasing the strength of our country. Our people's

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 19, p. 37 (Alb. ed.).

economy is developing from day to day. Last year saw important successes. Total industrial production was realized 102.2 per cent, and the construction sector realized its plan 105 per cent. In state and cooperative trade, as well as in the transport sector which did not realize the plan, the results must be considered unsatisfactory. Agriculture, which occupies an important place in our economy, marked a significant turning point as regards collectivization, but it must be admitted that production, in spite of the increase over that of the previous agricultural year, did not achieve the planned level. This creates serious difficulties for our economy. Thus, this year we are obliged to import more grain, cotton and fats than ever before. Last year was not a good one for agriculture, but the pronounced weaknesses in this sector are also due to the fact that this important branch of our economy is still managed in a superficial and bureaucratic way. Our tasks for the realization of the 1957 plan are great and important. We should resolutely reject the method of management in general and tackle the cardinal problems of our economy, strengthen our state apparatus, fight bureaucracy and all other shortcomings. The political-organizational work of the Party and mass organizations must be strengthened as well as that of all the organs of propaganda in order to ensure the effective mobilization of all the working masses for the realization of the plan.

Our Party will fight with all its strength to fulfil these major tasks. Loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism, it will continue to march ahead along the road to socialism.

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