

**ON THE ANTI-MARXIST AND ANTI-SOCIALIST
VIEWS ONCE MORE EXPRESSED AT THE 7th
CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS
OF YUGOSLAVIA AND IN ITS PROGRAM,
AND ON THE UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE
WHICH MUST BE WAGED TO EXPOSE AND
DESTROY MODERN REVISIONISM
POLITICALLY AND THEORETICALLY**

*Report to the 10th Plenum of the
CC of the PLA*

June 20, 1958

The Central Committee is aware of all the various materials published in our press and in that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Communist Party of China, and of all the other fraternal parties, on the hostile, treacherous activity of the Trotskyite group of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

There is no need to dwell on this and say how thoroughly correct and Marxist-Leninist the line of the Central Committee and of our Party towards these traitors has always been. Our Party has always been vigilant towards them, has never vacillated in its stand towards the Belgrade traitors, and has fought them mercilessly. Our Party is clear about the merciless struggle we should wage for the exposure and total annihilation of modern revisionism led by the Belgrade traitor group.

In the light of the recent events, it is not out of place to speak about the Yugoslav Trotskyites once again, though

we were already one hundred per cent convinced that they were waiting the opportune moment to harm us. It is up to us now to formulate what danger modern revisionism represents, i.e., the hostile work of the LCY, reflected both in its draft-program and in its 7th Congress¹.

As is known, the CC of the CPSU, in conformity with the situation created, in 1954 adopted a decision to improve relations with the Belgrade clique.

But even after these efforts, the Yugoslav Trotskyites demonstrated once again, and more clearly than ever, what they stood for.

The Belgrade Trotskyite leaders invited us to send a delegation to participate in the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the LCY. The Political Bureau did not hurry to reply, because it was well aware of what they were and what they would do. In addition to that, the Political Bureau assessed things correctly in thinking that they would take advantage of the situation our Party had created for improvement of relations with them, to play one of their dirty tricks, as they did in 1956².

While not hurrying to respond to this invitation, the Political Bureau intended to see what the other fraternal parties would do, and then to make a decision. But, at the same time, our Party would not be influenced by the other fraternal parties in taking its decision, for our Party has its own opinions, and our opinion from the very

1 The 7th Congress of the LCY, which was held from the 22nd to the 26th of April 1958 in Ljubljana, approved an out-and-out anti-Marxist revisionist program serving as an ideological basis for international revisionism and directed against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary forces in the world, and opposing the historic documents of the Moscow Meeting in 1957.

2 This refers to the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, and the hostile activity of Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu and others.

first was to reject the invitation to participate in the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the LCY. Later, when the draft-program of the LCY was published, we finally decided that we would certainly not send a delegation to that congress, even if the other parties did so. However, all the other fraternal parties thought and acted as we did in connection with the 7th Congress of the LCY.

Now all the fraternal parties are waging a fierce struggle against the traitorous Belgrade clique. Our Party, too, is fighting to defend the revolutionary purity of Marxism-Leninism against the attacks of the imperialists through the revisionists, and especially through the traitor group of the LCY.

Our Party, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, has been, is, and will be fighting to the end, side by side with all the other parties, for the exposure of revisionism and the preservation of the ideological purity of the Party. Through materials that have been and are being published, and which should be increased, the Party has informed its organizations, its members, and the entire people, about the struggle of the communist and workers' parties against revisionism.

The emergence of present-day revisionism is not accidental. It is dictated by certain objective historical circumstances. As we know, the fundamental contradiction today is that between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, it is the struggle between socialism, which is growing and developing rapidly, and capitalism, which is becoming ever weaker. In this situation, imperialism refuses to give up its arms. On the contrary, it strives to hinder the growth of the forces of socialism, and to prolong its existence at all costs. Historical experience shows that in order to attain this aim, imperialism resorts to two methods: a) the method of violence, of the suppression of the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries by the use of force, the

method of diversion and of the overt preparation of war against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp; and b) the methods of deception and slander, of the spiritual enslavement of the masses. Imperialism carries out its first method through the police, the courts, and its dictatorship, and its second method through its propagandists, the bourgeois ideologists and various agents in the ranks of the workers' movement, such as the workers' aristocracy, the Right socialists, and the various opportunists and revisionists. At present, when the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have been adopted by the masses and when the peoples are fighting under the banner of these ideas with confidence in their own future, the workers' aristocracy and the Right socialists, who have continually sided with the bourgeoisie, have been exposed. They cannot hoodwink the peoples any longer. Thus, for instance, nobody trusts the socialists in France, or the Labourites in Britain as earlier. For this reason, the imperialists have entrusted the main role in the deception of the working class and the various peoples to present-day revisionism, and in the first place, to the Yugoslav revisionists, who are the centre of present-day revisionism. Therefore, day by day we see the Yugoslav revisionists stepping up their anti-socialist, anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist activity according to the instructions of imperialism, and mainly of US imperialism, and this reached its climax at the 7th Congress of the LCY.

The ideological foundations of present-day revisionism, and therefore also of Yugoslav revisionism, are the old revisionist theories of Bernstein, Kautsky, etc., the anti-Marxist theories of all the opportunists and enemies of socialism, of the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, of the workers' opposition, etc., and the false theories of the social-democracy. This is clearly expressed in the program of the LCY. But the Yugoslav revisionists try to peddle these

"theories" as Marxist theories, they speak as "Marxists", as "fighters for socialism", therefore, they camouflage their real features.

*"The dialectics of history were such," Lenin wrote, "that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists."**

In order to deceive the peoples and the working class even more thoroughly, the Yugoslav revisionists represent their country as "socialist", and their party as "communist", etc. But how does the matter stand in reality? Marxism-Leninism teaches that political parties are not judged from the declarations they make and the titles they assume, but from their concrete actions, from the place they occupy in the class struggle carried out between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. For a long time now, and especially in recent times, the entire world is seeing clearly that objectively, in the struggle between the two camps, the Yugoslav state and the LCY have taken the side of the enemies of socialism, that they are undermining the communist and workers' parties, are trying to destroy the socialist states from within (and the Hungarian events prove this), and to split the socialist camp and the communist parties. Nobody can be so deceived by the fact that there are some socialist forms, which were established immediately after the liberation of Yugoslavia, and claim that the working class is allegedly in power there, that the enterprises are allegedly in the hands of workers, etc. All these forms are deliberately preserved by the Yugoslav revisionist leaders. They do not upset US imperialism, either. This is the best way for Titoism to hide its real features from the world and the Yugoslav people, thus making it easier to carry

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 18, p. 653 (Alb. ed.).

out its hostile activity. The form does not change the substance. Yugoslav reality proves this: the state is called a people's republic, but its policy and activity are against the people, against socialism; they are to the advantage of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Industrial enterprises are allegedly run by the workers themselves, and not by the capitalists, but this does not hinder the action of the capitalist laws of competition on the market and anarchy in production, the impoverishment of the masses, the enrichment of a small section of the population, hence, of the birth of a new capitalist element; the land is not in the hands of the big landowners, but agriculture is run on the basis of private property, the agricultural cooperatives have been disbanded, and everyone knows that small private property gives birth to new elements of capitalism day by day. All these facts prove that Yugoslavia is in the stage of the complete transition to the road of capitalist development, of the definitive repudiation of the aspirations and struggle of the Yugoslav people for socialism. Objectively, the Yugoslav state is being turned into a bourgeois state of "the working class," and the LCY is being transformed into a bourgeois party of "the working class" which, far from building socialism, is actually fighting against it. From all this it is clear that the Yugoslav revisionist leadership is nothing but a gang of shameless renegades who have betrayed socialism, and are working to the detriment of the vital interests of the Yugoslav peoples themselves. Hence the duty of all the communists to wage an irreconcilable struggle for the political and theoretical annihilation of revisionism as the main danger to the international communist and workers' movement, as the most rabid agency of imperialism, and especially of US imperialism.

It is common knowledge that the Yugoslav leaders had abandoned the fundamental principles of Marxism-

Leninism and fallen into the position of bourgeois nationalism long before the year 1948. At that time our country and our Party of Labour proved on their own backs the anti-Marxist line and intentions of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership. In 1948 the anti-Marxist and revisionist views of the Yugoslav leadership were criticized in a principled manner in the well-known letters of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Resolution of the Information Bureau of the communist and workers' parties "On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia". All the communist parties, including our Party, supported this resolution. This principled criticism and its theses have been and remain absolutely correct, and life has proven that they are still valid today. Following 1948, the communist and workers' parties waged a stern struggle against the revisionist and hostile views of the Yugoslav leadership.

In 1954, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with comrade Khrushchev at the head, took the initiative of normalizing their relations with the Yugoslav state and the LCY.

However, not only did the Yugoslav leadership not abandon its previous course, but it continued to go further down the revisionist and anti-Marxist path. It continued its undermining activity against the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties, it continued to activate its agents against the camp of socialism. Our country and our Party are well acquainted with this activity of the Yugoslav revisionists against our Party and our people. The Central Committee of the Party has more than once informed the party organizations about this. In this connection, we may refer to the hostile role the Yugoslavs played in hatching up the anti-party plot at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana in 1956, to their efforts to organize disturbances against the Party and against the

people's state power by means of elements hostile to the Party and people, such as Liri Gega, Dali Ndreu, and others, and the active incitement and support they gave Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu and others, enemies of the Party and the people. Our Party of Labour, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the vital interests of our people, vigilant towards the hostile activity organized against it and the people, crushed these plots with determination, and did not allow the slightest infringement of the line and the interests of the Party and the people. The Yugoslav revisionists found no room for their ideas in our country. They found it, and made the most of it, in Hungary, where they played a very active role in the organization of the counter-revolution. There the divisive and hostile anti-socialist role of the leading group of the LCY began to emerge even more blatantly. Tito's speech in Pula and Kardelj's speech in the Skupshtina of Yugoslavia at the end of 1956, their attacks on the Soviet Union, on the communist and workers' parties, and the socialist camp, showed that they are sworn enemies of socialism, who are acting on behalf and under the orders of imperialism, under the guise of "Marxism" and of the "Yugoslav road to socialism". At that time the communist and workers' parties responded to this hostile activity of the leading group of the LCY in the way they deserved.

In 1957 a meeting of the delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was arranged in Rumania, with the aim of giving the Yugoslavs one more chance to change their course. But after this meeting the Yugoslavs went even further. They refused to sign the Moscow Declaration of the communist and workers' parties of November 1957, and in April 1958, at the 7th Congress of the LCY, after tidying up their revisionist and anti-Marxist views, they adopted the program of their future activity which aims

at splitting the international communist and workers' movement, at undermining the communist and workers' parties, at strangling the revolutionary drive of the working class, at opening the way for US imperialism to enslave the various peoples. At their congress, the leaders of the LCY came out openly before their people and before the peoples of the whole world, before the eyes of all the communists, as renegades from socialism, as agents and defenders of imperialism, and especially of US imperialism, as sworn enemies of socialism, of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. The efforts of the communist and workers' parties to bring Yugoslavia back on to the correct path failed to give any result, but they made Titoism expose itself before the whole world. Now, the international communist and workers' movement faces the task of exposing and fighting Yugoslav revisionism to the finish, until it is destroyed politically and theoretically as the trend of a gang of shameless renegades, as an agency in the service of imperialism. The different parties are now fighting to accomplish this task, and it is the duty of our Party, too, which is loyal to Marxism-Leninism. It is the duty of all communists, who are members of the Party of Labour of Albania, while denouncing the revisionist group of the Yugoslav leaders as sworn enemies of our Party and people, as enemies of the socialist camp and the Soviet Union, as a dirty espionage agency in the service of US imperialism, to sharpen the revolutionary vigilance in the ranks of the Party and of the people against any hostile propaganda and activity the Yugoslav revisionists may try to carry out against us.

* * *

It is common knowledge that up to now the imperialists have given Yugoslavia 3,000 million dollars worth of aid. The capitalists have not given this money without

a purpose. They want something in return. The revisionist leading group of the LCY is repaying imperialism by carrying on a propaganda campaign against socialism, and by striving to undermine the socialist countries and the communist parties. As we said earlier, the Yugoslav revisionists are playing their role also, by propagating their anti-Marxist theses formulated chiefly in the program of the LCY and adopted by its 7th Congress. The members of our Party have been informed of these theses through our press, and they now know how to combat them. We keep them well in mind and are always ready to combat them. In this report we shall briefly analyse some of them:

1. — The Yugoslav revisionists deny the existence of two opposing camps, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. They purposely call them "military blocs", and in a base and slanderous way, they claim that the division of the world into military blocs and, as a consequence, into economic blocs, has been caused by the Soviet Union which has allegedly pursued a policy "from positions of strength", and that the creation of the Atlantic Alliance was a result of this policy of the Soviet Union. The aim of the Yugoslav revisionists is to confuse the peoples, to divert their attention from the real enemy of peace, from the real inciter and organizer of war, which, as the whole world knows and as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is imperialism and, first and foremost, US imperialism.

2. — The Yugoslav revisionists claim that they follow an independent, neutral policy, that they do not take part in any camp, that they "stand above the blocs". In point of fact, the attitude adopted by Yugoslavia expresses in the clearest way the reactionary bourgeois nationalism of the leading group of the LCY, and as time and the steps taken by Yugoslavia itself have proven, the "neutral" position of the Yugoslav state is nothing but a disguise.

In reality, the whole policy pursued, and the activity carried out by the leaders of the LCY demonstrate that they are day by day adapting themselves to the policy of the imperialist camp, that their "neutral position" and "standing above the blocs" are simply the best way, from the viewpoint of imperialism, to defend the imperialist camp and oppose and slander the socialist camp.

3. — With their slanders against the Soviet Union, the revisionist Yugoslav leaders aim at decreasing the influence and the great love the first socialist state enjoy among all the peoples of the world, and they strive to arouse nationalist and chauvinistic feelings in, and divide, the socialist camp. At the same time, they try to advertize the relations existing in the capitalist world, praising to the skies the US "aid" through the Marshall Plan; accepting this "aid" themselves without reserve, they recommend it to the other countries as well.

4. — The Yugoslav revisionists have shown themselves up as sworn enemies of all the communist and workers' parties. Acting as an agency of the bourgeoisie inside the workers' movement, they attack the communist parties and slander the tested Marxist-Leninist leaders of the working class. In the opinion of the Titoite group, "the workers' movement has not advanced during the last decades", and the communist and workers' parties are not pursuing an "independent" policy, etc., etc. In this way, the leading group of the LCY strives to conceal and belittle the great achievements of the international communist movement from the October Revolution onwards, the people's revolutions in the countries of people's democracy in Europe, Asia, the revolution of the great Chinese people, and the transformation of socialism into a world system embracing over 950 million people. The Yugoslav revisionists assume an intolerably overbearing stand towards the communist parties in the capitalist countries which,

under conditions of great terror, are fighting heroically, are resisting the forces of reaction and fascism with great self-sacrifice and resolutely defending the cause of peace and socialism.

Implementing the instructions of the imperialist bourgeoisie, as a splitter of the communist and workers' movement, the leading group of the LCY seeks to alienate the communist parties from each other, from their internationalist solidarity, seeks to detach them from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But, led by the triumphant Marxist-Leninist science, the communist parties of the world are strengthening their unity, which is also the guarantee of the future triumphs of socialism, and are fighting with determination against any deviation from the principles of proletarian internationalism.

5. — The "theories" of the Yugoslav revisionists about present-day capitalism, the state and revolution, the class struggle and the party, socialism and communism, are nothing but a conglomeration of all the old and new revisionist "theories", a revival of the theses of the fathers of opportunism, Bernstein and Kautsky, of the opportunists of the 2nd International and the present-day Right socialists, of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, that were buried by Marxism-Leninism long ago.

Marxism-Leninism has shown that imperialism is the final stage of capitalism. This has been verified, both by the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution and by the socialist revolutions in the countries of people's democracy. Nevertheless, with the aim of defending capitalism, the Yugoslav revisionists are trying to grossly distort the nature and reality of present-day capitalism. They claim that "socialism" has emerged within the capitalist system, because the state sector in the capitalist economy is allegedly "socialism". Therefore, present-day capitalism is allegedly being integrated into socialism in

a spontaneous manner. According to the Yugoslav revisionists, not only the working class, but all classes, both those that understand what socialism means and those who do not understand it, those who want it and those who hate it, are for "socialism". Therefore, the problem of the socialist revolution no longer exists. The Leninist theory on proletarian revolution, they claim, is "outdated". These theses are not new. They have been borrowed from Kautsky who says that an epoch of ultra-imperialism will come when capitalism will be spontaneously and automatically transformed into socialism. This is the thesis of the "theoreticians" of the present-day Right socialists, and others.

By identifying state monopoly capitalism with "socialism", the Yugoslav revisionists distort the essence of the present-day capitalist state and try to present it, not as a weapon in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, but as if it stands above the classes. They do this to negate the necessity of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the destruction of the old bourgeois state apparatus.

According to all these views, it emerges that the working class in capitalist countries should not organize itself and fight for its liberation, for socialism. Likewise, it emerges that there is no need for the working class to have its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, for, as the Yugoslav revisionists claim, even bourgeois parties and organizations, such as the trade unions, and here they include the reactionary US trade unions, would lead to socialism. This is what the Yugoslav revisionists have come to!

Everyone understands the substance and the aim of these anti-Marxist and anti-socialist views of the Yugoslav revisionists, which are utterly hostile to the working class. As all the other agents in the workers' movement, they

strive to enslave the working class spiritually, to alienate it from the real struggle for socialism, to defend and prolong the existence of capitalism. But the working class and the other labouring masses in the capitalist countries who feel the imperialist yoke and exploitation, the oppression and violence of the capitalist state machine on their backs every day, who experience unemployment and starvation, persecution and terror, cannot easily be deceived by the fables of the opportunists, revisionists, and other agents of imperialism. They embrace Marxism-Leninism and follow the communist parties, because only these parties express their fundamental interests, lead them correctly along the revolutionary road of their emancipation from capitalist enslavement.

6. — Since the Yugoslav revisionist leaders have assumed the role of the champions of capitalism, it is self-evident that they cannot fail to slander and attack the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system of our countries. According to the Yugoslav leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat leads without fail to bureaucracy, "it curtails democracy" and so it should be abandoned, the more so as the class enemies have ceased to exist, and the transition to "direct democracy" should be made. It is evident that the Yugoslav leaders give such "advice" for the socialist countries only, because in their own country they are strengthening the dictatorship and all its organs, of course, not in struggle against imperialism and the enemies of socialism, but in order to preserve their domination, to suppress their opponents. The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries are always on their guard, they always keep in mind the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which crushed the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, who, likewise, demanded the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to open the way for the restoration of

capitalism. They remember the teachings of the great Lenin that socialism cannot be built without a strong and stern dictatorship of the proletariat. They have fresh in their minds the experience of Hungary where the relaxation of the dictatorship of the working class endangered the cause of socialism in Hungary. Therefore, the communist parties of the socialist countries strengthen the socialist state and all its weapons in every way. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist state, ensures genuine democracy for the broad labouring masses, for the people, and it ruthlessly suppresses any resistance by the enemies of the people and socialism. The truly democratic character of our state is borne out also by all our achievements in the field of development of the economy and culture, by the constant improvement of our life, by the broad participation of the workers and peasants themselves in the administration of the country. Therefore, the people's state power is deeply rooted among the people, and enjoys their complete support. The results of the elections to the People's Assembly in our country were another brilliant demonstration of this fact.

7. — As for "direct democracy", about which the Yugoslav revisionists raise such a hue and cry, the thing is that they want to negate the economic role which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat should play in the construction of socialism. In the opinion of the leading group of the LCY, the socialist state should not run the economy, plan its development, concern itself about investments, procuring machinery, or raw materials, should not carry on distribution, or exercise control over production and consumption. According to them, this should be done by each enterprise individually, by the workers of each work centre who have to draw up the plan, fix work quotas, wages, prices, etc. This is their "direct democracy". The aim of such "advice" from the Yugoslav revi-

sionists is to cause confusion in people's minds, to encourage disorganization in the economy, competition and anarchy in production, which are characteristic of capitalism. Yugoslavia, itself, has taken this road, and the results show it is the road of the restoration of capitalism.

In spite of the huge sums of dollars the Yugoslav revisionists have received from the countries of the imperialist camp, in a whole series of branches the Yugoslav economy has stagnated. Even that growth of industrial production which has been achieved in comparison with the prewar period, is not the result of increased labour productivity, but of the increase of the number of workers engaged in production. Agriculture is in a very bad state. In 1956 it produced about four million tons of grain less than in 1939. An exporter of cereals before the war, now Yugoslavia is obliged to import over a million tons of grain a year. The areas of land worked are diminishing from year to year. In 1952, 358 thousand ha of land remained uncultivated, whereas in 1956 this figure reached 575 thousand ha. Over 55 per cent of the peasant holdings lack agricultural implements. The number of poor and rich peasants is constantly increasing, which is characteristic for the capitalist development of agriculture. Hired labour is used on a wide scale in the Yugoslav village, the landless and land-poor peasants are exploited to the marrow. The standard of living of the people is low. Prices for consumer goods fluctuate according to the whim of trade enterprises, which, by means of various speculations, strive to draw maximum profits at the expense of the consumers. These are the fruits of the betrayal of the Yugoslav leaders. This is the "Yugoslav way" for the construction of socialism.

* * *

Remaining loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party of Labour has waged a determined

and principled struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. The principled and correct stand of our Party, the realistic assessment of the danger which the leading group of the LCY represented to our country and our Party, the revolutionary vigilance of our communists and of the Central Committee, have made it impossible for the hostile views and plans of the Yugoslav revisionists to find a breeding ground and field of action among our people and in the ranks of our heroic Party. This fact has rejoiced our friends whose sympathy and love for the Party of Labour have increased, and has infuriated our enemies, the Yugoslav revisionists, who have always considered our people and our Party as a thorn in their flesh. In the future, too, we shall go on exposing Yugoslav revisionism and will fight to the end for its political and theoretical annihilation, while preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism as the apple of our eye. This struggle is an internationalist duty that serves the strengthening of the unity of our socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the cause of peace and socialism, and the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves.

In the context of the struggle against revisionism, our party organizations are faced with important tasks. The Central Committee draws the attention of the party organizations to the following tasks:

1. — The party organizations should do systematic work to raise the ideological level of the communists, to arm them as thoroughly as possible with the Marxist-Leninist science. It is only in this way that the party members will be completely able to combat the revisionist activity of the Yugoslavs not only in the field of practice, but also in that of ideology, to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to strengthen and further steel the ideological unity of our Party.

2. — Experience to date shows that the struggle waged against our country and our Party constitutes one of the main objectives of the Yugoslav revisionists in their plans to undermine the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties. This is reflected in the attempts of the Yugoslavs to undermine our Party during the period of the National Liberation War, in their brutal interference in our internal affairs until 1948, which, as the communists and our people have been informed, aimed at enslaving our country, at turning Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia, at liquidating our country's political and economic independence. This is reflected in their encouragement and support for the traitor and enemy of our Party and people, Koçi Xoxe, and his henchmen, as well as, later, in the acts of diversion and espionage, in the incitement of the anti-party elements against the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, as the hostile work carried out at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana in 1956 demonstrated, in their espionage activities through the enemies to our Party and people, Liri Gega, Dali Ndreu, Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu, Panajot Plaku, and others, who, carrying out the directives of the Yugoslav revisionists, strove to stab our Party and our people's state power in the back, in their continuous pressure and their propaganda by press and radio against our Party and our people's government, etc., etc. But all these attempts of the Yugoslav revisionists to subdue our Party and people have ended in failure and disgrace. The heroic and consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of our glorious Party, the correct orientation given by the congresses and the Central Committee of the Party, its unshakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the great Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — all these factors have foiled the hostile plans of the Yugoslav revisionists against our Party and people.

But this should not lull our vigilance to sleep in the future. The example of Hungary shows clearly that the enemy is crafty and dangerous. Therefore, it is the duty of each communist, all the party organizations, to strengthen their revolutionary vigilance, and to educate the people in the same spirit. In future, too, the Yugoslav revisionists will try to harm our Party and state power. They will seek to incite our internal enemies, the kulaks, the former diversionists and the fugitives, or their bases and families, the anti-party elements, and those expelled from the ranks of the Party for political reasons, etc. The task of the party basic organizations is to increase their vigilance and be well informed of the activity carried out by these elements. If signs of hostile work are noticed, the communists should be ready to expose it and root it out. The communists should be vigilant, also, to protect the steel-like unity of the Party, which is the most precious thing to us, the guarantee of present and future victories.

3. — The party basic organizations should improve their work to clarify the masses politically, and utterly expose Yugoslav revisionism. The Yugoslav revisionists will strive to poison people's minds through their propaganda. The reactionary broadcasts, whether those of the West or those of Yugoslavia, continually peddle the ideas of revisionism in various ways, calling on the peoples to follow the Yugoslav example, and so on. The communists should always be ready and active to expose the slogans and the hostile propaganda of the enemy.

4. — In particular, the Central Committee of the Party draws the attention of the party organizations to the need for the further strengthening of their educational work, showing special concern for the education of our heroic youth and our intellectuals. It is common knowledge that the enemy seeks to disorientate the youth, encouraging alien manifestations and bourgeois views among them.

Likewise, the enemy also tries to stir up discontent in the ranks of intellectuals and lead them astray, to create ideological confusion. It must be said that, like our youth, the intellectuals, too, have always shown themselves to be worthy patriots, loyal to the cause of the people and the Party, resolute fighters against the enemies and revisionism. However, the party organizations should still improve their work, they should be as close as possible to the masses, never underrating the harm that the enemy's work may cause in these directions.

5. — The Yugoslav revisionists aim at splitting the camp of socialism and at discrediting the Soviet Union. As up to now, the task of the Party for the future is to strengthen our love for, and our great friendship with, the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp and the glorious Soviet Union, in the first place. The party organizations should publicize among the masses the achievements of the countries of the socialist camp, which are also an expression of the fraternal relations and the mutual aid they render each other, the achievements of the Soviet Union and its aid to the socialist countries. For this purpose, the Association of Friendship with the Soviet Union should be more active. The party organizations should take measures to celebrate the month of friendship with the Soviet Union this year better than in any previous year.

6. — In working to carry out the above-mentioned tasks the party organizations should mobilize all the communists and the broad masses of the working people to solve economic problems, to fulfil and overfulfil the state plan in all sectors. Our economic successes in all fields not only make our country stronger from every point of view, but are also the best expression of the unity of our people, of their close attachment to the Party, a clear triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism over bour-

geois and revisionist ideology. They constitute a heavy blow against the Yugoslav revisionists who want our Republic to be weakened economically.

These are the views which the Political Bureau thinks should be presented to the Central Committee. The ideas of socialism have great force. They are spreading more and more widely with every passing day throughout the world, and millions upon millions of people are embracing them every year. Thus our victory in the struggle against the enemies of socialism and communism is certain.

*First published, in
"Principal Documents of
the PLA", vol. 3, Tirana 1970.*

Works, vol. 16