YOU HAVE A GREAT FIGHT AHEAD, BUT THE GREATER THE FIGHT THE BRAVER AND THE MORE INDOMITABLE THE COMMUNISTS

From the conversation with a delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil headed by comrade Pedro Pomar

May 31, 1963

After exchanging greetings the conversation is taken up by,

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Comrades, we are very happy that you have come to our country. For this we thank the Central Committee of your Party and you personally. We thank you, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, also,

1 Comrade Pedro Pomar, leader of the Communist Party of Brazil. In December 1976, together with Angelo Arrojo, another member of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, and Juan Battista Drummond,
for the warm message you brought. This is a great help to us.

We are extremely appreciative of the fact that you undertook this long journey to our small country, in order to become acquainted with it and to exchange opinions. Geographically, our countries are far from each other, but we, the communists of the two countries, feel very close, because we have a common aim, because we are waging the same fight, making the same efforts and sacrifices, and shall achieve a common victory.

What do you think of Albania?

COMRADE PEDRO POMAR: It was a great joy for us when we were told that we were to go to Albania. This has been a valuable assistance to us, because the reactionaries and the revisionists in Brazil condemn us, carry on a propaganda of slanders against us.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: And when have the enemies not vilified the Marxist-Leninists?

COMRADE PEDRO POMAR: It is truly a rare friendship, that which you have reserved for us. To become acquainted at first hand with the experience of the Party of Labour of Albania and with comrade Enver personally, is a very important and significant occasion for us. We have known of the activity of comrade Enver since your National Liberation War, and have always followed

the revolutionary efforts of the Albanian Party and people with attention and respect. In these very special circumstances of the international communist movement, it is clear that the merit of Albania is constantly increasing. This has assumed particular importance for us today, therefore we were very eager to come here, to get to know as much as possible about Albania and the Albanian people at first hand.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Thank you for your kind words about the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people.

We say that the experience of our Party and people is relatively small. But as Marxist-Leninists, we must also say, that the communists, whether of a big or a small party, should gain from each other as much as possible. For our Party it has always been clear that the experience of sister parties, of the Party of Lenin and Stalin first of all, of the Communist Party of China, of the great revolutionary movement, of the struggle of the communist parties of Latin America and the Marxist-Leninist parties of all continents, has been of extraordinary assistance. Of course, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, our Party has always tried to take this experience, study and analyze it, and implement it in conformity with the conditions of our country.

We have achieved these successes not because we were knowledgeable and had learned a great deal of theory right from the start. When our Party began the war, our people knew very little theory. But we knew one important thing — in
order to win the Party had be created, so we created a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party. We organized the Party on the basis of the great experience of the Party of Lenin, we applied and kept to its principles, tempered the revolutionary spirit of the communists having as our great objective: the liberation of the people from the fascist occupiers and the reactionary feudal-bourgeoisie of the country. Without such a Marxist-Leninist Party, it would have been impossible to win freedom and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, our people's democracy, which is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our experience shows that, from a small nucleus of communists which we were at first, the Marxist-Leninist Party of Albania, which embodied in its line the desires and aspirations of the people, was founded. At the start we were 200 people all told, while your party today is much bigger.

Our victory stems from our consistent defence of the ideological, organizational and political principles of the Party and the very close ties we created with the masses of the people. From the very beginning we had a stern struggle against the Trotskyites and opportunists, who tried, from inside and outside, to liquidate the Party. But a resolute struggle was carried out against them. We exposed their opportunist views, within and outside the Party, and expelled them from the Party. During the time of the war they linked up with reaction and the occupier. And the war liquidated them.

Our Party has gained a wealth of experience from the consistent and uncompromising struggle it has waged against the Tito traitor clique, and now against the revisionist traitor, Khrushchev. Our Party has exposed these renegades and will expose them even further.

To maintain such a stand was difficult for our Party in many directions, because we came out against the leadership of the Soviet Union, against the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and we knew that this treacherous leadership would put up a furious struggle against our Marxist-Leninist activity in order to distort the truth and put us down. But the Central Committee of our Party decided that Marxism-Leninism had to be defended, the Party had to be defended, the international communist movement had to be defended, and the Soviet Union, itself, had to be defended from these enemies who had come to the head of it. And so the struggle began. We were aware of all the anti-Marxist and slanderous methods which N. Khrushchev would use to force us to our knees, but we were convinced that we would win, because we were on the correct road.

Before we started our open struggle against the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union we were patient, very patient. Not just now, in these last three years, but right from the time N. Khrushchev emerged at the head, we saw that the Soviet leadership was taking an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist road. On the basis of the Leninist norms, we told the Soviet leaders of our opinion on the questions over which we disagreed with them, right
from the start. Thus, we did not conceal from the
Khrushchev group our opinion concerning the
question of Stalin, the question of the Yugoslavia
and many other problems, but Khrushchev preva-
ricated.

As the anti-Marxist he was, he thought we
would be forced by his actions to capitulate and
would yield to the «aid» he promised us. But
our ever more resolute stand made Khrushchev
realize that he would never succeed in forcing us
to our knees, so he pinned all his hopes in the
plans he was weaving to eventually liquidate the
leadership of our Party. But he was unable to do
this either.

In their work against Marxism-Leninism, the
revisionists are linked with imperialism. Hence the
struggle against revisionism is a struggle which
will not be over quickly. We, on our part, must
make great efforts, because the revisionist trend
has struck root in many leaderships of communist
and workers' parties and their demagogic line is
causing other parties great harm, both in the so-
called socialist countries of Europe and in the ca-
pitalist countries. Of course, this is expressed in
various forms, but, in our opinion, their aim is the
same: to liquidate the Marxist-Leninist parties
under the formula of «applying Marxism-Leninism
in a creative way». Thus, the Communist Party of
Italy for instance, is preaching the taking of power
in a peaceful way, through structural reforms.
This revisionist theory is being elaborated in all
the communist and workers' parties of Western
Europe, where the revisionists are at the head.

There is a great danger that this revisionist theory
may spread to the countries of Latin America,
too. Not only are the Prestes group, and others
like it, taking the positions of Khrushchev, but
they also have the encouragement of US imperial-
ism and the local bourgeoisie, in these traitorous
stands.

Your Party is among the first which took
the Marxist-Leninist courage (after many years of
efforts to correct the revisionist Prestes and others,
and to purge the party of enemy and traitor ele-
ments) to break away from the revisionist party
of Prestes and found the new revolutionary party.
We understand what great importance this step
has for your party and the international communist
movement.

You see this for yourselves in your work and
struggle. We have great admiration for the struggle
of your people and the peoples of Latin America
in general. Yours is a new party, but we think
that your party is the genuine heir to the Com-
munist Party of Brazil. We have been following
your struggle as far as we have been able, but now,
with your arrival here, we are even better infor-
med about it. We have a high opinion of your
struggle and consider it as an aid to our Party.
We tell you in all sincerity that we think your
struggle and stand are correct and Marxist-Le-
ninist.

Of course you face a great and very stern

1. L.C. Prestes — general secretary of the revi-
sionist CP of Brazil.
struggle, which will require all-round efforts and many sacrifices. But the greater and the more consistent the struggle, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the braver and the more indomitable the communists become. Therefore the entire international communist movement should make great efforts to assist your struggle. The Central Committee of our Party is of the opinion that those who are fighting in Brazil are resolute Marxist-Leninists, who have emerged from the bosom of their people. We do not know the history of Brazil in detail, but we do know that the Brazilian people, like the Albanian people, have suffered through the centuries at the hands of the foreign colonialists and the local reactionary bourgeoisie and landowners. The whole struggle of your people has been a consistent struggle of the working class and the peasantry against foreign interference and internal reaction.

Our Party thinks that the question of the peasantry has great importance now, just as in the past. How correctly your party sees this question and how anti-Marxist is the viewpoint of Prestes! The alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which you uphold, is a Marxist-Leninist truth. If this alliance is not implemented correctly, there is no revolution.

But how was the situation in our country at the time of the war? We did not have a developed working class. It was very small in number, and in towns it had not engaged in strike struggles of an economic and political character to the extent the party and the working class are now involved in Brazil. But we had a revolutionary peasantry of unflinching fighters. Had we made the mistake our Trotskyites wanted to lead us into, saying that we could not build the party and start the war, because, first, the working class had to be created, that we had to engage it in strikes and demonstrations, and only then could we found the party and start the war, we could not have won. They preached that the fascist Italian occupation was allegedly a blessing which would help to create the proletariat and the party!

But our Party liquidated those Trotskyites together with their theories and began the war. While strengthening the Party organizationally and politically, basing ourselves on the Marxist-Leninist views, on the ideology of the working class, and in close alliance with the peasantry, we aroused the broad masses of the people against the occupier. The peasantry played a major role in this war. The Party educated it in the spirit of the working class, with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, aims, and views of the working class.

Of course, the concrete conditions of your country are not the same as ours, but the teachings which guide us, — the principles of Marxism-Leninism, are the same. In Brazil you have a developed working class, but you also have a large peasantry, which, is less developed than the working class, but is not inferior in its revolutionary spirit, provided it is well led. Had our Party not led the peasantry well, the aghas, the beys and kulaks would have drawn it on to their side. But the correct policy of the Party, closely linking
the question of the liberation of the country with
the solution of the vital problems of the peasantry,
brought about that it joined the struggle of the
working class and the entire people.

Your line with regard to the peasantry, comra-
des, is correct and will triumph. But we know
that this will not be achieved easily or in one
day. Apart from the Yankee imperialists you have
the local reactionary bourgeoisie, as well as the
revisionist party, Prestes and Co as sworn enemies.
But can they be defeated? They can and will be
defeated. There are many examples which prove
that the peasantry plays a great role for the
triumph of the revolution, when it is educated
and led correctly. In Algeria, for example, the
peasantry took an active part in the struggle for
national liberation. But the Communist Party of
Algeria stayed in the towns, busied itself with the
trade unions, like the Communist Party of Fran-
ce, because it thought that it would seize power
by staying in the towns. Instead of the Communist
Party arousing and leading the working class, the
peasantry and all the masses of the people in the
struggle towards victory, it was others who called
on the peasantry, raised them in struggle, and
came to power. But is this stand of the leadership
of the Communist Party of Algeria Marxist-Lenin-
ist? No. As I said above, we did not have a large
working class in the years of our National-Liberation
War. but that small working class there was, called
on the peasantry to become its powerful ally; the
peasantry was the weakest point of the local bour-
geoisie and the occupiers, because our peasantry,
which has always been outstanding for its lofty
patriotism, was the class that suffered most, had
no food to eat, and suffered under the foreign do-
mination and the feudal oppression.

We see that the tactics of Prestes and Co, of
Togliatti and Thorez, is to focus all their activity
on the work centres and develop their revisionist
views there. Hence, you are right in your present
differences with Prestes over the question of the
attitude to be taken towards the peasantry, as
over many other problems.

You know your own business, but we think
that your struggle to raise the working class in
revolution, to unite it with the Communist Party
of Brazil, to throw it into struggle for economic
and political demands, to educate it in the spirit of
Marxism-Leninism, to purge it of revisionism and
to link it with the peasantry, is correct.

We think that, with your stand, with your
program and struggle, you will defeat the line of
the revisionist Communist Party of Brazil and
will win over to your side most of the good com-
munists it has. It is a fundamental task of every
Marxist-Leninist party to win over to its side the
broad working masses, especially the working
class and the peasantry, to convince them of the
correctness of its line, to protect them from the
deception which reaction might concoct, to organize
and lead them skilfully on the difficult but glorious
road of the revolution. At the time of its founding,
our Party was, and it remained, the only political
party in Albania and it organized the National Li-
beration Front. But reaction also hastened to create
an organization of its own, with “democratic” slogans. Our Party carried out a correct policy to prevent the masses from being deceived by those slogans and falling into the lap of reaction. On the basis of our correct line, and taking up certain demagogical pronouncements of the chiefs of this reactionary organization, we said to them, “Since you claim that you, too, are for war against the occupier, come along and fight!” In reality, however, they did not want to fight. Thus, the masses did not follow them, and only the traitors of our people, the beys, aghas, big merchants and a few misled individuals, who had linked themselves closely with the enemy, remained in this traitor organization. So, the working class of Brazil, too, through the struggle you will wage, will see who is right: the revisionist party of Prestes, or the Communist Party of Brazil. In fact, the revisionist line he follows, is throwing Prestes more and more into the lap of the bourgeoisie.

Our Party has always adopted a correct and patient stand: it has not been afraid of hostile elements, it has mercilessly exposed them, and the people have understood; whereas it has carried out a patient policy towards the true patriots and the honest nationalists. There were also progressive-minded people with influence among our patriotic peasants, but who at first, were not very clear about the program of our Party. We worked with them with great care, without making concessions affecting the program of the Party. For example, we have collaborated with them in a friendly way over those questions on which they agreed with us, because they were not for communism, but for a minimum program. While collaborating with them, we carefully and patiently explained the program and the aims of the Party and its struggle to them, and they joined the National Liberation Front. In the course of the war and through the concrete actions undertaken against the occupiers and the traitors to the country, they became even more convinced of the correctness of the line of the Party, fought bravely, embraced the ideology of the Party, and many of them were admitted to the ranks of the Party and became its dedicated fighters. We have a respected comrade, who was one of the first partisans, who had great influence with the peasantry of the Tirana region on account of his patriotic feelings, his hatred for the local reactionaries and the foreign occupiers, and his defence of the common people. At that time he was not a communist and used to say, “I am and will be with those fighting the occupiers”. When our comrades went to him and told him about the program of the Party, he said to them, “It is true I am not a communist, but I agree with the line of the Communist Party,” — and thus he fought bravely and consistently for the cause of the Homeland, the Party and the people. Many traps were laid, great pressure was exerted and plots were hatched up against him by the bourgeoisie, the clergy, and the various traitors to the country, but he never wavered, because he saw the correct line of the Party for national liberation and social

1 Comrade Myslit Peza.
emancipation. Now, about 65 years old, he is one of the best communists, and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

After speaking about a series of problems concerning the international communist movement, and the sharp contradictions developing in the revisionist camp, and about the great tasks facing the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction, comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

Our Party is of the opinion that when any party and any communist have a clear grasp of the main principles of Marxism-Leninism, of the question of the creation of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and its vanguard role, of the alliance with the peasantry and that the progressive forces must be united around this alliance, if they have a clear idea of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the revolutionary struggle, then all the manoeuvres of imperialism and the enemies of socialism will be clear to them, and thus the communist parties will know how to define their tactics correctly, to carry it out, and to triumph. While giving us his advice, comrade Stalin used to say that there were no ready-made prescriptions on how to behave in this or that situation, how to solve this or that problem...

This is important, because the communists of each country know the situation in their country better than anyone else, so that, on the basis of this thorough knowledge and basing themselves on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, they are able to find the remedy or the solution for every problem. The matter is not that we should not talk and exchange experience among comrades, because we are Marxists and should take experience from one another, but when it comes to deciding, each must decide on the basis of the concrete situation of his own country.

Now, comrades, since lunch time has arrived, I propose that we should go and eat together and we can continue our talk there........

ON THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SITUATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE MEASURES FOR ITS FURTHER IMPROVEMENT

From the report delivered at the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA

June 6, 1963

Comrades,

Our Party, always guided by triumphant Marxism-Leninism, has fought continuously for the realization of the noblest and most humane aims in the world, to build socialism and communism, to make the life of man, the life of the people, as happy and prosperous as possible. And in this struggle it has scored colossal victories. But in the struggle for socialism and communism, for the good of the people, which is a protracted struggle, after each citadel is taken we must move on to take new ones. This is the aim of today’s meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, too, in which, besides its members, a great number of other interested cadres are participating.

This meeting of the plenum is being held to examine the further improvement of the economic, social and cultural situation in the countryside on the basis of the utilization of the many reserves which emerge from a more rational management of the material values created by the working people of our country.

Appreciating the great importance of this problem for the complete construction of socialist society, the Central Committee of the Party, carried out a detailed and all-round study. As always, over this question, too, the Party organized a broad people’s consultation, in which the party organizations, the organs of the state power, the mass organizations, the leaderships of agricultural cooperatives, the working peasantry and many different specialists took an active part. The creative collective opinion of the working people and the many proposals made by them during the consultation served not only as a basis on which this report was compiled, but also as a very valuable asset, which will greatly assist our Party in its future work in the countryside.

In undertaking this study, the Party proceeds
from the well-known Marxist-Leninist thesis that the complete construction of the socialist society requires that measures should be taken to narrow the essential differences between city and countryside, proceeds from the place the countryside occupies and the role it plays in the overall development of the people’s economy, as well as from the need for further improvement in socialist relations in the countryside.

The main purpose of this study is to define, on the basis of the results achieved in the socialist construction in the countryside and the new premises and conditions that have been created, how we can accelerate the rate of increase of the wellbeing and the rise in the cultural level of the peasantry, by utilizing the many possibilities which our social system creates in a more rational and effective manner.

The teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle waged up to date by the Party to put them into practice give us the right to affirm that the socialist construction in the countryside is a protracted process, which includes a series of revolutionary transformations of a social, economic, technical, cultural and ideological character. Following a correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist general line, the Party has worked to ensure that the task of the complete construction of socialism in the countryside is carried out hand in hand with the creation of the premises which this revolutionary process requires.

In the past, Albania was an extremely backward agrarian country. This is why the Party, right from its founding and especially following the establishment of the people’s state power, paid special attention to the correct and rapid solution of the agrarian question. The correctness of Lenin’s thesis on the need to transform the peasantry into a faithful ally of the working class, both in the seizure of state power and during the construction of socialism, has been fully confirmed in the activity of our Party, too, in all the stages of the solution of the agrarian question and in its whole economic policy in the countryside, which has always been crowned with success.

In the process of the solution of economic problems, the agrarian reform marked the first revolution in the social-economic relationships in the countryside. The principal feature of this revolution was the democratic transformation of the relations on land ownership, the final sweeping from the face of the earth of the remnants of feudalism in the economy, the liquidation of the big landowners as a class, the distribution of the land to the peasantry free of charge, according to the principle, «the land belongs to him who tills it». As a result of the implementation of the agrarian reform, the great majority of poor peasant economies, were raised to the level of those of middle peasants, from the point of view of landownership, thus starting the process of the transformation of the middle peasant into a central figure in the countryside. With the prohibition of the buying and selling, renting out, or transferring of ownership of land, as well as with the other measures the Party and the state have taken, the pola-
rization of the peasantry into rich and poor has been greatly restricted. The nationalization of industry and banks, the establishment of the state monopoly in foreign trade, and other measures of this kind put an end to the exploitation of the countryside by the town, and freed the peasantry from its heavy burden of debt and the interest it was obliged to pay. As a result, for the first time, the labouring peasantry became the masters of the land and started to work and produce for themselves, to feed themselves and live better, to improve their economic, social and cultural situation.

But the Party has always seen clearly that the only road for the construction of socialism in the countryside was the creation of new socialist relations of production through turning the small-scale individual property of the peasantry into large-scale collective property. For this reason, relying on the revolutionary spirit of the peasantry and the conditions created following the establishment of the people's power, the Party called on the peasantry to set out voluntarily on the road of cooperation in agriculture, the road of socialism.

And our peasantry responded to this call with enthusiasm. Now socialist relations of production have been established in the countryside, too. The collectivization of agriculture was the second revolution, the most radical revolutionary change in the social-economic relations in the countryside. The replacement of small-scale peasant production with large-scale socialist production, which is able to ensure extended reproduction, has opened the way for the rapid development of the countryside.

The triumph of socialism also brought about profound social changes. The exploiting class of kulaks was liquidated. The nature of the working peasantry itself changed: instead of the individual peasantry, a new class, the cooperativist peasantry, emerged and is growing stronger. As a result of the establishment of social ownership in city and countryside, the centuries-old antagonist contradiction between town and countryside which, as K. Marx wrote, can exist «only in the context of private ownership», and which constituted one of the most deeply entrenched causes of the economic and cultural backwardness of the countryside in the past, was liquidated.

On the basis of the increase in production, the incomes of the peasantry have steadily increased and its material situation has been improved. The cultural revolution continues to develop and extend deeper and deeper in the countryside. The number of schools, houses and centres of culture, health institutions and qualified cadres is incessantly increasing.

The concealed agrarian unemployment, which, before the establishment of the people's power, was a major social ulcer of our country, has been eliminated once and for all. In the past, each year, thousands of peasants, driven by poverty and hunger, were forced to take the road of emigration seeking work far from their homeland, their families and relations, subjecting themselves to savage, merciless exploitation by foreign capitalists. Today, however, in the new socialist countryside not only is there work for everybody and life is becoming more and
more beautiful and happier, but the further development of the productive forces is accompanied by an ever increasing need for new labour forces.

In conformity with the new economic, social and cultural conditions, our cooperativist peasantry has begun, gradually, to transform its old way of life, too, adopting a new, more cultured life. It has started to build new, beautiful and comfortable houses, to strive for cleanliness and the maintenance of hygiene, to improve its eating habits and the structure of its diet, to change the old ways of dressing, etc. In the new cooperativist countryside creches and kindergartens have been built, and these are of a great help for the sound and cultured upbringing of the new generation in a collective spirit, and, at the same time, facilitate the participation of the women in production.

Obvious changes have taken place also in the ideology and mentality of the peasant. Today an unceasing struggle, using methods of conviction, is being carried out against religious prejudices and backward customs, and many of them are being eliminated. In the consciousness of the cooperativist peasant the new socialist world outlook is becoming implanted, new customs and attitudes towards social and family problems are being formed.

These are some of the most important successes in the socialist transformation of the countryside, and this is the general situation. These successes are the result of the policy of the Party and the great work carried out by the labouring peasantry. In the course of carrying out this policy the Party has had to wage a determined and uncompromising struggle against all opportunist, revisionist and sectarian manifestations within and outside its ranks to defend its political, ideological and economic general line. Therefore, we have every reason to say that the policy followed by the Party in regard to the countryside during the process of its socialist transformation has been a correct Marxist-Leninist one, carefully weighed up and applied in a creative manner, in conformity with the real situation in the countryside and in the country as a whole. However much the imperialists, the modern revisionists, Nikita Khrushchev, Tito and their lackeys, and all the other enemies to our Party and people may slander, the results of this policy are more brilliant than ever, and can never be obscured by anyone.

But the study of the present situation in the countryside also raises some important questions and problems, to the solution of which the organs of the Party and state, all the masses of our working people, most devote more thought and effort. These problems are closely linked with the new situation and conditions created in our country, with the possibilities and wealth which the peasantry has today, with a better and more appropriate utilization of this wealth for the further improvement of the wellbeing in the countryside.

The question arises: Why are we putting forward this problem today in all its entirety and so forcefully?

First, as we pointed out above, with us socialist relations in production have been established in both town and country. Their establishment
eliminated any basis for antagonistic contradictions between countryside and town. Nevertheless, big and essential differences still exist between town and countryside which have to do with the level of development of the productive forces, with the degree of socialization of the means of work and of work itself, with the conditions and mode of living, the development of culture, education, the health service, etc. Of course the elimination of all these differences will take a long time, but the complete construction of the socialist society demands that they should be steadily reduced. In this case we proceed from Lenin’s thesis that for the construction of communism “the difference between countryside and town must be eliminated...”.

Second, the complete construction of socialism in the countryside is closely linked with the further improvement of the relations of production. The creation of the material-technical base of socialism implies a great development of the productive forces in the countryside. That is why, besides this development, we must be careful to take measures to improve the relations of production in all their various aspects so that they play their true historic role in driving the productive forces forward.

Third, the great tasks laid down for the complete construction of the socialist society, for the development and intensification of agriculture, cannot be carried out successfully if we do not take

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* V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 29, p. 388 (Alb. ed.).
In conclusion, we can say that the Party is raising this great problem so forcefully because its solution is an objective necessity, dictated by the new stage of the historical development of our country — the complete construction of socialist society.

Of course, we believe and are aware that the growth of production will play the decisive role in the successful solution of the problems which present themselves today concerning the improvement of the wellbeing of the peasantry. However, the uninterrupted growth of production cannot be achieved without, at the same time, assuring a correct distribution of the social product, without uplifting the way of life, education, culture, communal and health services to a higher level. Between production, on one hand, and distribution and material and cultural needs, on the other, there exists organic connection and permanent reciprocal interaction. The establishment of a correct distribution of the product increases consumption, which is an essential prerequisite for the uninterrupted development of production. The introduction of modern equipment and the application of advanced agrotechnical science in agriculture, without which there can be no rapid development of agricultural production, depends to a great degree on the educational and cultural level of the peasant masses.

We also believe and are aware that the subjective factor, the leading role of the Party and state, all their political, economic, cultural and organizational activity, is of great importance in raising the level of production and wellbeing in the countryside.

In putting forward this problem at this time and in such a manner, our Party is implementing Marxism-Leninism creatively, scientifically combining the general truth of our triumphant doctrine with the concrete conditions of our country.

In this plenum we shall not dwell on the agrotechnical problems, which have to do with the rapid development of agricultural production, for they were studied in detail at the meeting of the October 1962 Plenum on the intensification of agriculture, but we shall examine the economic, social and cultural situation of the countryside and the measures for its further improvement. The tasks which this plenum will lay down will further enrich the great experience accumulated by our Party in the creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism for the construction of socialism in the countryside.

Chapter I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES ON THE BASIS OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION — THE MAIN FACTOR IN RAISING THE LEVEL OF WELLBEING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

As is known, our country inherited from the past a very great backwardness in all fields of social life. Semi-feudal relations prevailed in the
countryside. Agriculture had a primitive character. Monoculture prevailed in it and it was carried on in an extensive manner, entirely on the basis of small, fragmental economies. The land was worked with primitive methods and tools. There were no modern mechanized means, chemical fertilizers and selected seeds; irrigation was very limited, while the number of specialists was altogether insufficient. As a result, the yield rates of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock and of agricultural production as a whole were low.

This state of things and the social-economic policy of the ruling classes inhibited the free development of productive forces in the countryside. The working peasantry had want, poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance as inseparable fellow-travelers. At the same time it was oppressed by heavy taxation, fleeced by money-lenders and a victim of the utter despotism of the state and big landowners. The Party saw clearly that with the inherited level of productive forces and the old relations in production it was impossible to advance to a radical improvement of the material and cultural situation of the countryside. Therefore, immediately after the establishment of the people’s power, it devoted special and incessant attention to the problems of the economic, social and cultural development of the countryside. From the agrarian reform to the collectivization of agriculture, from the introduction of agricultural machinery to major works of drainage and irrigation, from assistance with selected seeds and chemical fertilizers to the wide-ranging support through the financial policy and credits, from the training of cadres to raising the educational and agrotechnical level of the peasantry, and many other steps, such are the innumerable links of the long chain of the measures taken by the Party for the socialist transformation of the countryside.

Now the collectivization of agriculture has been accomplished in general; the agricultural cooperatives include 96 per cent of the arable land owned by the peasantry, and 71.4 per cent of peasant households. They have become the main base of agricultural production and have increased their level of production for the market. The productive forces in the countryside have undergone further development, as a result of which the wealth in the hands of the peasantry today has increased, too.

The area of land under crops, which is the main means of production in agriculture, had increased by 196,000 ha in comparison with 1938.

The area of land under cultivation has increased absolutely, as a Republic and per head of population, regardless of the fact that the population, too, has increased greatly: from 1,040,353 inhabitants in 1938 to 1,727,945 inhabitants in 1962. Thus, for example, in 1938 there were 2.81 dynyms\textsuperscript{1} of cultivated land per head of population, whereas at the end of 1962 this had risen to 2.65 dynyms per head.

In animal husbandry, too, good results have been achieved in breed improvement, in increas-

\textsuperscript{1} One dynym is equal to 1,000 square metres.
ing the number of cows, sheep, goats, and, particularly, of pigs. In comparison with 1938, in 1961 there were 30 per cent more cows, 3 times more pigs, 23 per cent more goats, while the number of the sheep prior to the war has been surpassed by a 12,000 head. The number of bee hives has risen, too, and now there are nearly twice as many as before the war.

The results achieved in the development of live-stock are even more important if we bear in mind the very great damage it suffered from the foreign occupiers and the local traitors. During the occupation period, 20 to 30 per cent of all the live-stock was slaughtered or stolen, and the loss in draft oxen was particularly grave.

Special attention must be paid to the development of animal husbandry in the future, because this branch of agriculture not only carries great weight in total agricultural production but it provides the peasantry with a relatively more stable income.

An especially big increase has been achieved in the number of fruit trees and grape vine. In 1961 as against 1938, the number of olive-trees increased 62.5 per cent, the area of vineyards 148.8 per cent, and the number of vines in pergola form 5 times, while in 1961 as against 1947, the number of fruit trees had increased 3.6 fold and citrus trees 6 fold.

Here we mentioned only an important part of the assets which the peasantry has today. Besides this, the state has put many other very great assets at the disposal of the peasantry and at their service.

From Liberation to the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan, the state invested about 6 billion leks for land improvement and irrigation projects alone, and the 3rd Five-year Plan provides about another 4 billion leks for this purpose. As a result of these investments, large areas of land in Myzeg, Maliq, Vurg, Thuman and elsewhere, which were formerly swamps, have been turned into some of the most fertile land in our country. At the same time, the irrigation capacity has been increased from 29,100 ha in 1938 to 166,900 ha in 1962, or 4.7 times more.

In the years of the People's Power the setting up and extension of the state farms, which now cover 15 per cent of the total cultivated land, has also been an important measure for the development of agriculture. Being provided with all the necessary means and specialists, they are giving the labouring peasantry all-round aid, and are a splendid support in supplying industry with raw materials and the population with agricultural and live-stock products. In 1962 the state sector of agriculture produced 14 per cent of the total production of bread grain, 32 per cent of the sugar beet, 27 per cent of the vegetables, 19 per cent of the grapes, and 11 per cent of the milk.

A great change has taken place especially in the mechanization of farm work. The number of tractors (reckoned in 15 Hp units) has increased from 30 in 1938 to 6,207 in 1962, and the number of self-propelled combines, which prior to Liberation were quite unknown here, has now reached
about 400. The increase in mechanical power has brought about perceptible qualitative changes in the general power balance of agriculture. If in 1938 the draft power of work animals represented 99.2 per cent of the total power balance of agriculture, in 1961 it made up 21.3 per cent of it.

In order to increase the wealth of the peasantry, the state has provided it with effective aid in the other fields as well. In 1962 as against 1950, the countryside was provided with 2.6 times more selected seeds, over 4 times more fertilizers, 8.3 times more insecticides, over 4 times more animal drawn agricultural implements. Since 1945, the state has provided the peasantry with over 7.5 billion leks in agrarian credits.

As can be seen, over the 18 years since the establishment of the People's Power, a considerable development of the productive forces has been achieved in agriculture. On the basis of these profound changes, there has been a rise in the productivity of labour and in total agricultural production, the structure of which has improved. According to preliminary figures, in 1962 total agricultural production reached 28,400,00,000 leks, or 117 per cent more than in 1938.

All of us are rightly pleased about these great results achieved in the development of the countryside, these brilliant successes which the general line of the Party has scored in the correct solution of the agrarian question.

However, the Party is aware that the results achieved are still insufficient and far from what the complete construction of the socialist society requires. Today we have all the possibilities to accelerate the rise of the wellbeing and the cultural level of the countryside, where the bulk of the population of our country lives. In October 1962 the population of the countryside with 983,000 people and that of the work centres that do not rank as towns with 205,000 inhabitants, together made up 1,168,000 people, or 67.6 percent of the total population of the country.

The results achieved in the development of agriculture and live-stock farming were taken up for analysis at the Plenum of the Central Committee held in October last year. The conditions created were examined there and the ways defined for the further development of agriculture and live-stock farming, for the continuous increase of agricultural and live-stock production so that the production of grain, meat, milk, vegetables, potatoes, fruit, etc. will fulfill the needs of the population and the economy better. Now, all the districts have worked out in detail the measures which must be taken to raise productivity per unit, and we shall not dwell on those measures, but we stress that the main problem for the organs of the Party, the state and the whole peasantry today is that the many measures which the intensification of agricultural and livestock production entails must be implemented one by one, precisely, and at the proper time. It must be made clear to everybody once again, that the implementation of the many

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1 In 1973 there were 16,824 tractors and 955 autocombines.
measures for the intensification of agricultural and live-stock production is the only real and reliable way to resolve the main contradiction which exists in the countryside today between the socialist relations in production and the productive forces which are lagging behind. We are on the way to overcoming this contradiction, but nevertheless we emphasize once again that without its solution any more rapid rise of the material and cultural wellbeing in the countryside is inconceivable.

Our program is an ambitious one. Our aims are noble, but they cannot be achieved if we are satisfied with what we have done already, if we do not mobilize ourselves with all our forces to carry out the great and important tasks which we have laid down in connection with the increase of agricultural and livestock production. Apart from these, we are also faced with new tasks, which require that, parallel with the economic development of the countryside, we must raise the wellbeing and cultural level of the countryside to a new, higher stage. The road we have traversed, the high level of consciousness, the determination and patriotism of our working masses, and especially, the enhancement of the leading role of the Party in all the problems of the life of the countryside allow us to say confidently that all these tasks will be fulfilled successfully and that the consistently correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party will score new successes in the future, too.

**Chapter II**

**ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND RE-DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND INCOMES IN COUNTRYSIDE**

While correctly assessing the decisive role of production as the basis for the improvement of the wellbeing of the people, at the same time our Party has also had a proper appreciation of the active influence exercised by distribution on production and consumption, therefore it has always devoted great attention to it. It has striven to bring about the organization the allocation of forms and ratios of distribution and consumption, which give the maximum impulse to the increase of production and consumption, to ensure the rational utilization of the social product, of manpower and other means of production, to block the way to all unnecessary material and financial expenditure, and to help strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The triumph of the people's revolution and the establishment of new socialist relations of production overthrew once and for all the old relations of distribution in the countryside completely. The parasitic appropriation and consumption of a large part of the agricultural production by the feudal lords and the other big landowners as well as the system of tithes were done away with. In round figures, in 1938 the state, the feudal lords and big landowners took, without any compensation, about 30 per cent of all the grain produced
by the labouring peasantry in the form of tithes, half shares and third shares of the harvest. This appropriation went as high as 60 per cent of the harvest for serfs and landless share croppers.

The socialist order not only created entirely new relations of distribution in the countryside, but also created the conditions for the planning and the direct organization of distribution, both within the countryside itself and between country and town, making the carrying out of the process itself much simpler and improving the forms of distribution.

In 1955 the process of distribution included 140,000 individual economies, from which was secured 89.7 per cent of the total fund of state procurements of grain, whereas from those few agricultural cooperatives existing at that time only 10.3 per cent of this fund was secured. With the merging of innumerable small individual economies into big collective economies, with the increase in number and strengthening of the cooperatives, the process of distribution has become simpler. Now the principal base for state procurements are the 1,353 agricultural cooperatives, which, in the year 1961, supplied 90 per cent of the total grain procured, whereas from the individual economies came only a small quantity which made up only 10 per cent of the volume of grain procured throughout the whole Republic.

The Central Committee of the Party has followed a correct economic policy in the field of the distribution of production and incomes in the countryside through all the stages of socialist construc-

tion. This policy has been put into practice through such measures as the adoption of the model Constitution for agricultural cooperatives, the setting up of a correct system of procurement and taxation, the lowering of norms for compulsory deliveries of products, the exemption of some products and certain districts from compulsory deliveries, the cancellation of arrears in compulsory deliveries and taxes, and other measures of this nature which have increased the products and incomes of the peasantry.

The reduction of taxation and levies has had a great influence on increasing the incomes of the peasantry. In 1955 the peasantry paid 2 billion 116 million leks in cash and kind as taxes and levies, while in 1961, it paid only 874 million leks, or about two-and-a-half times less. This fact alone clearly shows the great benefits the peasantry has enjoyed from the policy of the Party in the field of distribution.

The Party observes with satisfaction that, as a result of the above-mentioned changes, the process of distribution of farming and live-stock production is being steadily improved.

Now our task is to carry the existing forms of distribution further forward, to eliminate the shortcomings which are revealed, and, in this way, to ensure a more effective administration of agricultural production and incomes in the countryside.
I. We Must Further Develop the Forms of Distribution of Production, Especially of Grain, in the Countryside

One of the important and complex problems about which both the countryside and the Party are concerned today is the establishment of the most correct proportions possible in the distribution of agricultural and livestock production, and especially of bread grain. This ratio should be such as to ensure the best possible fulfilment of the requirements of extended reproduction, the overall needs of the state, as well as what is required for consumption in the countryside itself.

Life has proven that, in general, the present forms of distribution of agricultural production in the collective economies, have been and are correct. They have helped in the implementation of a patient and flexible economic policy towards the countryside, which has encouraged the increase of the productive forces and wellbeing, thus helping to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The data at our disposal show that, over a span of three years, the state has bought through the channels of distribution about 26 per cent of all the grain produced by the agricultural cooperatives. Comparing the data on the procurement of grain from the countryside today and prior to Liberation, we cannot fail to draw two main conclusions:

First, whereas in 1938 about 45 per cent of the total grain the working peasantry produced was taken from it, today, as mentioned above, only about 26 per cent is taken from the countryside.

Second, whereas before Liberation, 65 to 70 per cent of the grain taken from the peasants was appropriated without compensation and the remainder was bought by the big merchants and other speculators at low prices. Now all the grain procured from the countryside is paid for and partly represents repayment for the work carried out by the Machine and Tractor Stations.

Examination of the existing forms of distribution brings out the problem of the contradiction in the distribution of grain, and the future of the system of procurement. It can be stated with complete confidence that the main and most effective way to tackle this problem is to increase production through the intensification of agriculture. Nevertheless, taking account of the new conditions created, we should undertake studies with a view to improving the present forms of the system of procurement. In the meanwhile, the charges to be paid in kind and in money for the work carried out by the Machine and Tractor Stations should be reduced by an average of 19 per cent for about 70 per cent of the work processes done by these stations on lands of the third class and upwards. Likewise, payments in grain for deep ploughing should be replaced by payments in money. In 1963, the agricultural cooperatives will gain about 66 million leks from the reduction of these payments in kind and in money. These concessions will encourage the extension of deep ploughing and the mechanization of agricultural work, will create the
possibility of the granting of 2-3 year credits for deep ploughing, and their influence will be to increase agricultural production.

Comrades,

Despite the improvements achieved in the economical use of grain and bread, bearing in mind the particular importance of this problem for our country and economy, we must make further efforts and be even more concerned to achieve greater savings in grain during harvesting, storing and consumption.

III. We Must Ensure a More Correct Ratio of Distribution of the National Income in the Countryside into the Fund of Accumulation and the Fund of Consumption

As a result of the uninterrupted development of the productive forces, the national income from agriculture has gone up, too. Whereas in 1955 this income amounted to 15 billion 190 million leks (state farms excluded), in 1961 it reached 16 billion 330 millions leks, an increase of 7.5 per cent. This increase was achieved especially through the development of live-stock farming, with its income in 1961 being 20 per cent higher than in 1955. But the highest rate of increase was recorded in fruit-growing, with income doubled in 1961 in comparison with 1955. In 1961 the income from the live-stock farming and fruit-growing represented 50 per cent of the total income from all types of farming, as against 35 per cent in 1955.

Along with the growth of the income, the process of its distribution has improved as well, especially the ratio between the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption. In this direction we have always been guided by the principle that this ratio should meet two main objective requirements: to ensure the needs of extended socialist reproduction and to fulfil the requirements of wellbeing in the countryside.

Rough calculations show that during the 1960-1961 period about 22 per cent of the total income of the agricultural cooperatives all over the country was used in the fund of accumulation of the cooperatives themselves, 10-12 per cent went into the central state fund of accumulation, and the remaining 66-68 per cent to the fund of individual consumption. In reality, the fund of individual consumption of the peasantry was larger, as the income from the individual plots of the cooperativists, which is used mainly to meet the consumption needs of the cooperativist family, is not included in the above percentage.

The ratio of distribution of national income in the countryside shows that the line followed by the Party on this question has, in general, been correct and in conformity with the objective requirements of the development of our economy. It has ensured the deveolopment of productive forces in the countryside and, at the same time, has brought about a rise in the wellbeing of the peasantry.
After the completion of the collectivization of agriculture in general, a task for the future is that greater attention must be paid to the harmonization of the proportions between the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption, and the shortcomings which are still noticed in some districts and cooperatives must be overcome. If the rate of increase of the accumulation fund is low, the development of the productive forces in the countryside will be slowed down; on the other hand, if the fund of accumulation is increased at a rate and in proportions beyond our real economic possibilities, then the fulfillment of the task laid down by the Party for raising wellbeing will become more difficult.

In regard to this question, in the practice of the agricultural cooperatives to date, three main tendencies are noticeable which, of course, do not assist either the development of the productive forces in the countryside or the further rise of wellbeing to the required extent.

1. One tendency is that in some cooperatives the fund of accumulation is set at a level lower than the possibilities they have for extended reproduction.

2. Another tendency is that some cooperatives set their fund of accumulation at a level higher than their real economic possibilities, and so reduce the fund of consumption.

3. The final tendency is that in some agricultural cooperatives that part of the fund of accumulation which is spent on non-productive projects is still large, which impairs the efficient utilization of this fund. Extended socialist reproduction requires that the main part of the fund of accumulation should be utilized to increase production, while only a part of it, together with the means provided by the state, should be employed to fulfill the social and cultural needs of the countryside.

With the aim that the distribution of national income in agricultural cooperatives should serve the fulfillment of the tasks devolving on us in connection with raising the wellbeing of the peasantry better, the following measures should be taken:

First, in the future, the Party organizations, the state organs and the management boards of agricultural cooperatives should pay more attention to the problem of the distribution of income in the countryside. Always keeping in mind the great political and economic importance of this problem, our general orientation not to allocate large funds of accumulation beyond our possibilities, to the detriment of consumption, but, at the same time, not to lag behind in this direction and hinder the process of development of the productive forces in the countryside, has been and still is correct. On this question, we should be guided by the principle that the fund of accumulation should be set on the basis of the level of production and the standard of living attained. In order to avoid reducing the members' level of income per work day, in years which are not good for agriculture the norm of accumulation set at the start can be reduced in conformity with the results achieved in the fulfillment of the plan of produc-
tion. In order to ensure uniformity and stability in the increase in the incomes of the cooperativists per work-day and to cope with any situation which may cause the reduction of the fund of consumption, the agricultural cooperatives should strengthen and increase the transferable fund of distribution from year to year.

Second, to avoid premature and excessive investments in the non-productive sphere, measures should be taken to lay down limits for the proportions of the use of accumulated means in the productive and non-productive spheres. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that not all the funds destined for non-productive investments should be spent within a given year if the planned level of income per work-day has not been achieved.

Third, bearing in mind the present level of income of the agricultural cooperatives, it seems reasonable to say that, for the time being, this is not the time to proceed a step further in providing pensions for the members of agricultural cooperatives, but cooperativist families in need should be assisted with the social funds created for this purpose, in accordance with the regulations in force, and we must take all measures to ensure the best possible implementation of the decision of the Government on this question.

Fourth, the preservation and better administration of material and monetary values remains a permanent task for the party organizations, the mass organizations, and all the working people in the agricultural cooperatives, in order to raise the level of consciousness of each cooperative member so that nothing is spoiled or damaged, that no single lek of the common property is spent without thinking hard about what benefit it will bring. Increasing the consciousness of the need to increase and strengthen the common property day by day, to strictly observe the regulations about the proper distribution of the income in money among the members, is the indispensable condition for increasing the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption.

maternity leave and childbirth of cooperativist women from the social insurance fund and to equalize the percentage of normal earnings paid during maternity leave and childbirth in town and countryside.
IV. — The Income from the Collective Economy — Basis for the Improvement of Wellbeing in the Countryside

As is known, with the triumph of the cooperative system in the countryside, the collective economy is turned into the main source of increasing the income and the wellbeing of the peasantry. In the recent years, the income from the collective economy of agricultural cooperatives has marked a further increase, despite difficult weather conditions. It is a significant fact that in 1961 the income per work hand in the cooperatives was, on average, 9 per cent higher than in 1959.

In 1961, the overwhelming majority of agricultural cooperatives distributed more than 80 leks per work day to their members. But there are cooperatives which distributed less than 80 leks per work day. However, we should be aware that the results achieved do not fully respond to the big tasks the Party has set for the further raising of the wellbeing of the countryside. Therefore, there is a need for greater efforts in the future to increase income per work day, especially in those cooperatives that are behind in this respect.

However, as is known, besides income from the collective economy, the members of agricultural cooperatives also have other sources of income, among which the incomes they take from their personal plots and from work in state enterprises or other institutions occupy an important place.

In the present conditions, the incomes from their personal plots represent a substantial part of the total incomes of the cooperativists. From studies carried out on the spot it emerges that the incomes from the personal plots of the cooperativists vary with the different districts. In the overwhelming majority of agricultural cooperatives the incomes from the personal plots are much less than those from the collective economy, and they play an auxiliary role. This applies to all the areas in the plains and to part of the hilly zones. But there are still cooperatives, especially in the mountainous zones, in which the incomes from the auxiliary economy are equal to or greater than those from the collective economy.

Although the collective economy should be the main source of income and the principal basis of the wellbeing of the cooperativist peasantry, while the personal plot should play an auxiliary role, in fact, the opposite occurs in some cooperatives, and this is undoubtedly a contradiction.

The question must be asked: Why does such a thing occur? Does it mean that, in the policy for the collectivization of agriculture, the Party has allowed shortcomings on this matter of principles? No, the policy of the Party has been and remains correct on all the problems concerning the collectivization. Then where should the cause of this contradiction, which affects part of our agricultural cooperatives, and mainly those in less productive hilly and mountainous areas, be sought?

It should be stressed right from the start that this contradiction is a temporary phenomenon of our advance, which is linked with a series of fac-
tors, such as the still low level of production of those collective economies, the low scale of collectivization of live-stock and the formation of the fund of accumulation entirely from the income from the collective economy. Apart from these factors, the fact that here and there, hangovers from the past still exist in the psychology of the cooperativist peasant, which have been expressed in the allocation of the best land to personal plots, in efforts to keep more livestock in the auxiliary economy than the Constitution allows, as well as in the greater care which he shows for his auxiliary economy than for the collective one, has had an influence.

Which is the way out of this situation?

It is clear that time is needed to overcome this contradiction; therefore any undue haste would have harmful consequences. This contradiction will be overcome, first of all, through the implementation of the program of the Party for the intensification of agriculture, through the expansion and strengthening of the collective economy. Without carrying out the tasks in this field, no fundamental change can be expected in the ratio between incomes from the collective economy and from the private plot.

But it should be made clear that, when we raise the problem of changing the ratio between income from the collective economy and income from the personal plot, we do not want the personal plots to be underrated or neglected. While giving first importance to the joint economy and increasing their concern and work to strengthen it, the members of the cooperatives should make the best possible use of their personal plots, with the aim of increasing their incomes and raising their level of wellbeing. There is no doubt that in the future, within the framework of the rules specified in the Constitution of agricultural cooperatives, the personal plot will continue to play an auxiliary role in meeting the needs of cooperativists’ families, as well as in increasing surplus production for the market. It is necessary that the organs concerned should carry out complex studies of other measures which should be taken, especially in the cooperatives in hilly and mountainous zones, in order to improve the ratio between incomes from the collective economy and from the private plots, and within 1964 present the results to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania for examination.

As we mentioned, our peasants also have income from work they do in the state sector, from pensions, and other sources.

It can be taken for granted that in the future, too, the income which our peasantry secures from the state sector will continue to be an important source to improve its wellbeing. But our task is to have this income distributed as fairly as possible among the villages, indeed, even among families of the same village, avoiding a certain spontaneity that has existed up till now as well as the trend that only some categories of people, who sometimes have less need than others, benefit from it. To this end, we should see to it that in assigning peasants to work in the state sector, we should always
take into account the composition and the number of hands in the families, the needs they have, of course without infringing the principle that all those who are sent to work outside their villages should be volunteers, and fully observing the regulations in force...

Chapter III

ON THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND WAY OF LIFE, CRAFTSMAN, COMMUNAL AND HEALTH SERVICES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

So far we have spoken about work and production as the source of income, about income as the basis for raising the wellbeing of the people. Now let us see how this income is being used and whether it is being used as effectively as it should be for raising the wellbeing and improving the way of life in the countryside.

The way of life and the services available constitute big and important social problems, which have to do directly with the further raising of the wellbeing in the countryside. However, sometimes a narrow and limited understanding of these problems and the role they play in the further socialist development of the countryside is observed. Sometimes it happens that the standard of living and way of life are conceived only as fulfillment of the needs for food. In some cases, this narrow concept has had the result that the Party organizations and the organs of the state power have concentrated their attention mostly on the problem of production, while other important problems of life and the rational use of the product produced have not been given the attention they deserve in their daily work.

In fact, the standard of living and the way of life is a very comprehensive notion including in itself the economic, material, and cultural conditions, communal, health, and craftsman services, in other words, all the economic and social conditions, which determine life in the countryside, in all its daily variety. There is no doubt that without raising these aspects of life in the countryside to a new and higher level, the rapid march forward towards the complete construction of the socialist society itself is unimaginable and inconceivable.

As we have already stressed, increased production constitutes the decisive factor for raising the wellbeing in the countryside. However, the way the material values are used, the way of life in the countryside, also plays an important role. The way of life exerts an influence encouraging increased production, because, by using the material values properly, by increasing the demands for a better life, the desire for work will be increased, and there will be greater efforts to raise production and ensure as much income as possible.

Under the old feudal-bourgeois order the standard of living in the countryside was very low. The overwhelming majority of the peasantry suf-
pered from lack of food, and this constituted the fundamental demand of the whole way of life. Many were the peasants, who, in order to get a few kilograms of maize, or a little of salt or kerosene had to spend whole days travelling to the town to buy them at speculative prices. At that time, depicting the tragic situation of the peasantry, our distinguished poet, Migjeni, wrote: «A grain of maize is a grain of pain, when there is much hunger and no maize at all... Today the first word the children prattle is not the name of god, but 'Maize! Maize!', that is the vital word, the synonym for life...»¹ In the old village, it was the church and the mosque, the feudal landowner's palace, and the clan chief's fortress which predominated, while the masses of the peasantry lived in lowly huts and cottages, breeding places for disease and epidemics which wrought havoc, taking a heavy toll of life among the people.

The deep revolutionary transformations carried out in the political, economic, social and cultural field have raised the standard of living of the peasantry, too, beyond any comparison with the past. Now new, previously unknown requirements of life have emerged in the countryside. Today the village demands more electric light, radioes, bicycles, sewing machines, household equipment, beautiful clothing, and many other things. The look of the old village is disappearing further and further beyond the horizon, remaining only as a bitter me-

¹ Migjeni, Selected works, p. 114, Tirana 1969, (Alb. ed.).

mory of the past. Today, along with the new houses, schools, houses of culture, creches and kindergartens for the children, clinics and health centres, streets and gardens are rapidly going up, to make the life of our new village better, happier, and more beautiful.

The banning of buying and selling land and the collectivization of agriculture to a large degree liberated the peasant from his old outlook on property so that he uses his income to raise his wellbeing. The phenomenon when peasants strove for years on end to save money to buy a plot of land and other means of production, and as often as not became slaves of the money-lender has disappeared.

Now the correctness of the policy pursued by the Party in resolving the agrarian problem can be seen more clearly than ever. Life has completely confirmed that the road followed by the Yugoslav revisionists and their disciples on this question has brought them the preservation of capitalist relations in the countryside, the further ruin and impoverishment of the labouring peasantry. On the contrary, the wise policy of our Party has led to the triumph of socialism in the countryside and the continuous raising of the wellbeing of the peasantry.

The talks held with the peasants during the consultation with the people once again showed the correctness and wisdom of the policy the Party has followed in prohibiting the buying and selling of land. An old peasant from Vlora explained the improvement of his life in these very signifi-
cant words: «Today we work and earn. The Party gave us everything we needed. Then what should we do with our money? Of course, we shall eat and drink better, will be better clothed and shod, and will even build new houses».

Nevertheless, the discussing of the problem of the wellbeing in the countryside brought to light a number of problems, for the solution of which great work has to be done in the future.

What are some of these problems?

First, the socialist mode of production has triumphed in the countryside, while the way of life of the peasantry has lagged behind. The demands of the peasantry for improvement in its way of life are still limited and the mentality of «being satisfied with little» prevails. This does not urge the peasantry to extensive participation in work and slows the development of the productive forces in agriculture.

Second, in many cases, the rates of increase of income in kind and in money are higher than the rate of improvement in its administration to improve the way of life. The great backwardness inherited from past centuries and the old outlook on the way of life have had a strong influence in this disproportion.

Third, there are great differences in the way of life among villages and areas of the same district, and among districts themselves, which have almost equal incomes.

Fourth, socialist trade, communal services, craftsman and health services, although greatly developed in comparison with the past, still exert insufficient influence in the improvement of the way of life in the countryside, since their activity does not properly reflect the new demands, on the fulfilment of which the change of the way of life is heavily dependent.

The successful overcoming of these contradictions will certainly lead to a further rise of the wellbeing and the way of life in the countryside. Of course, this requires time, requires further improvement in the work of the Party organizations and the state organs so that the desire to live better and in a more cultured way and to make a more correct and thrifty use of its income becomes more deeply implanted in the consciousness of the peasantry.

Therefore, along with increased efforts from the peasantry for more income, education of the peasantry to raise its demands concerning the way of life and better administration of its income is a very important problem at the present stage of the socialist development of the countryside. It is our duty to take all the necessary measures of an educational and organizational character, in order that these problems are more widely reflected in the daily work of the Party, the state and mass organizations, so that they are felt as a vital need by the masses of the peasantry themselves.

I. — We Must Raise the Standard of Living and Way of Life in the Countryside

Among the basic problems of the standard of living and way of life, which occupy an impor-
tant place in this major question, the quantity of foodstuffs used per head, the way they are prepared and the structure of the diet, the quantity of industrial goods used per head and the manner of dressing, the equipping of the house with the necessary furniture, the manner of sleeping, etc., should be mentioned.

Today in our country there are villages and entire zones in which the changes made in the above mentioned aspects of the way of life over these 18 years are beyond all comparison with the past. Such, for example, are the villages of the Devoll region and the Korça plain, the villages of Gjirokastër, those of the Seranda and Vlorë coast, of Shupëra and Maçëllara in Peshkopia, of the Shkodra plain, etc., where the way they eat, their clothing and footwear, the way they sleep, as well as other aspects of daily life are not much different from the way of life in the city. I mentioned only a few zones, but there are others like this in other districts as well, and in general, the advances made in the way of life during the years of the people's power have affected all the villages.

A confirmation of the above mentioned changes is the turnover in retail sales of consumer goods. In the consumer cooperatives alone, which mainly serve the countryside, they have risen from 4 billion 800 million leks in 1955, to 7 billion 200 million leks in 1961, or 50% more. At the same time, the structure of goods used in the countryside has also changed very much. Along with the traditional articles of mass consumption, more and more new industrial goods are being introduced in the countryside. Of course, an important factor in this direction has been the policy of the Party in the field of production and import of mass consumption goods, as well as the systematic lowering of their prices. With regard to this we mention the effect of only one of the measures which have helped increase the consumption of goods in the countryside: since the year 1956, 7 general reductions of price have been made. As a result, in 1961 the prices of the mass consumer goods sold to the peasantry were 31% lower than those of the same articles in 1956.

But the further improvement of the way of life in the countryside requires that the income of the peasant family must be used better and more correctly, and the structure of articles which the village consumes must be improved. On the spot studies show that expenditure for food and industrial goods takes 90-95% of the income of the budget of the peasant family. Therefore a rational administration of income for this purpose has special importance and one of the reserves for a further improvement of the way of life should be sought in the improvement of the structure of this expenditure.

Now we shall concentrate on some of the main problems linked with the standard of living and way of life in the countryside. . . . . . . . . .

The new conditions created in the countryside call for a more profound understanding of the task with which the organs of production and trade are charged in improving the way of life
of the peasantry. The time has come to put an end to these shortcomings and the Party and state organs must seriously tackle the problem of the further development of trade and the production of the goods necessary for the countryside.

The consumer cooperatives, as economic organizations of the peasantry, should not concentrate their work entirely in the field of the exchange of goods between town and country. They should be always seeking and finding the most suitable forms of work to help their members in improving their way of life, too. To this end, it would be reasonable for the consumer cooperatives to help their members in the processing and preserving of agricultural and livestock products, either by taking over this task themselves, or by giving the members technical assistance in return for a given compensation in kind or in money. Besides this, the consumer cooperatives could help the women's organization or the village women themselves organize sewing, cooking, or housekeeping courses, by providing the technical staff and the necessary teaching equipment for these courses; they could organize cinema shows for the cooperative members and their families, and so on. In order to be able to carry out these tasks, the consumer cooperatives could use the funds they create for culture, or part of their profits. Such measures and others like these will link the cooperative members more closely with the cooperative and help to increase its organizational strength.

It is indisputable that the complete building of socialism in our country must be accompanied by the further improvement of the way country people dress and a radical change in their sleeping habits. This of course, will take some years, but even now we must take a series of measures, both of an immediate and of a perspective character, of an educational and administrative character, which will ensure that all party organizations and state organs at the centre or the base, without exception, take up these problems and activate the entire peasantry for their solution. To this end, apart from the all-round measures which the districts themselves must take, the following tasks must be born in mind:

First, work must be done to encourage the peasantry to increase its use of industrial goods. This problem must be taken in hand better by the state organs and it must not be left to spontaneity. Within this year, tasks should be set for the organs of production and trade to provide the market with new, simple goods, at reasonable prices, which are better adapted to the needs of the countryside, such as furniture and timber products, household equipment, enamel and glassware, clothing etc. Amongst these tasks, measures should be envisaged, also, to restrict the trade in goods that help maintain unsuitable habits of dress, and to replace the felt which the peasantry produces with types of industrial felt.

Second, it should be considered an important action of the Party organizations and state organs to persuade the peasants not to sleep on the floor, to restrict to the maximum the custom of several couples sleeping in the one room, and to get live-
stock removed from the houses. Within the coming two-three years the Party committees and executive committees of people's councils of the districts must take such measures as to completely solve these problems, and within 1966 they should report to the Central Committee of the Party about the fulfilment of these tasks.

Third, the Party and state organs and the mass organizations should draw up a 3–5 year plan for the creation of model villages. This movement should be spread on the basis of the preliminary work of persuasion, of the income of each family, and of the possibilities it has to make investments in furnishing its house, etc.

Employed at many production centers of our country, such as mines, construction sites, irrigation projects, etc., there are thousands of workers whose families are in the countryside. This has not only helped to improve the living conditions of these workers, but has, at the same time, also had an influence on raising the wellbeing of their families who live and work in the countryside. Hence these workers should exert an even greater influence on their families to improve their way of life and to introduce into the life of the village everything valuable that they learn at the work centres.

II. We Must Introduce Communal and Craftsmen's Services More Deeply Into the Life of the Village

Communal and craftsmen's services occupy a special place in the whole way of life in the village.

It is difficult to achieve rapid and allround progress in the life of the village without, at the same time, developing various kind of services, especially those related to building, electric power, trees and gardens, roads and drainage, communications, and craftsmen's services. The expansion of these services not only creates the necessary conditions for a more comfortable and cultured life in the countryside, but is also an important factor in saving time and freeing women from many tiring household chores.

In the past, the economic backwardness of the countryside was made even worse by the almost total lack of communal and craftsmen's services. The building of villages was left completely to spontaneity. The primitive house with earthen floor and often without windows or chimneys prevailed in them. Nobody thought about the roads, drainage, or drinking water, let alone electricity. Instead of plots of green, everywhere in the village and around every house you ran into thorn bush hedges.

Today the face of our village has changed a great deal. Within a relatively short period, from 1951 to 1961, apart from buildings for production and those of a social and cultural character, 55,500 new houses have been built, 300 villages have been electrified, and hundreds of new motor roads have been opened, linking even the most remote regions and villages of our homeland. Efforts have been made to build villages according to a plan, to plant trees and gardens and beautify them. All this has
invigorated the life in the countryside and made it more beautiful and pleasant.

The problems of the communal and craftsmen's services in the countryside are many, but we shall restrict ourselves to some of the more important issues which are raised by the socialist development of the country at the present stage.

1. We Must Build Better and Make Our Socialist Village More Beautiful

In considering the question of new buildings in the countryside, the following main problems present themselves: drawing up the general design for each village, even provisionally, producing standard designs of houses, production or social-cultural buildings, ensuring building materials, and the forms of carrying out the building work.

Up till now, building in the countryside in general has been carried out in a haphazard way, wherever each family wanted, without any defined overall scheme or guiding plan for the placing and future expansion of the village. Even these few sketch plans which have been drafted have been incomplete and not in conformity with the guidelines laid down by the central organs of the state power. Thus, instead of the 400-500 square metres allotted to each dwelling house, up to 1,200 square metres have been envisaged. The building of the best houses on the outskirts has been permitted, while storehouses and stables have been built in the centre. It is also to be deplored that from lack of care and control, new constructions, sports grounds, and brick kilns, in many cases, have occupied the best agricultural land. These shortcomings have marred the appearance of the village, have hindered its concentration, and led to waste of agricultural land which, is already very limited.

In many villages and various areas of such districts as Korça, Vlora, Peshkopia, Saranda, the new houses have been built with two storeys, large windows, with floors and ceilings. This is a good thing since it saves space, makes for better and cheaper, cleaner and more hygienic houses, and a more beautiful village. But many houses and other new projects are still not built according to the conditions and the demands of the time. There are cases where houses are of one type, with two rooms and a porch, without floors and ceilings, with small windows and with animals being kept in or near them. Such buildings are unsuitable since they lack the necessary conditions for hygiene and habitation, lack adequate ventilation, are damp and difficult to heat.

As is known, the possibility of expanding building in volume and value depends to a large extent on the quantity, the kinds of building materials, and the way they are procured. The Party has long been strongly emphasizing that both in the town, and especially in the countryside, local sources of cheaper, light materials should be used in building, first of all. But what occurs in fact? In many cases buildings in the countryside are still going up in heavy, costly materials, building with cane and sun-dried brick is not known or used to
the proper extent, and timber, which is very costly and in short supply, is used for roofing. The agricultural cooperatives, in general, have not organized local production of building materials and are compelled to procure them far from their villages, very often in other districts, incurring heavy expenditure.

Building work in the countryside is organized in different forms. Many agricultural cooperatives have set up building teams which serve the cooperative and its members. However, the organization of building in the countryside still has shortcomings. In most cases the building teams are made up of old men, and nothing is done to train young tradesmen. Sometimes building work is done with tradesmen from other districts.

The new buildings which have gone up in the village have improved its appearance. But it is clear that the overall appearance of the village is not determined by the buildings alone. It depends to a great extent on other factors, such as the streets, drainage, trees, parks and gardens.

Now in almost every district you will find spic and span villages beautified with trees and gardens, where, as a result of the care shown by the villagers themselves, the houses are whitewashed, surrounded by gardens with trees and flowers, while the yards and roads are paved with cobblestones.

But while touching on this problem I must stress that, despite all the work done, the local organs of the state and the people’s councils of the villages, in particular, are still concerning themselves very little with building or with beautifying their villages, planting trees and gardens, looking after the streets and drainage disposal. This is the source of the shortcoming that since in certain villages of the Shkodra, Elbasan and Berat districts the problems of maintenance of the village have not been given due importance, there is a lack of greenery, beautification and drainage, and the streets are generally bad, rough and unpaved.

At this stage of the country’s development, the task of building our socialist village better and making it more beautiful is more important than ever. In order to carry out this task, these main questions should be borne in mind:

First, the central communal problem for the future development of the village is the problem of establishing a detailed overall plan, and where such a thing is impossible, there should at least be a sort of rough plan. This problem remains still unsolved. Therefore, it is necessary that within 1964, the relevant instructions should be issued and the time schedule, order and criteria defined for the final solution of this problem. In drawing up the overall plans these three basic criteria should be kept in mind: the prospects of the development of villages, and this is linked with the unification of cooperatives, the maximum saving of the fund of arable land, the defining of an area in the centre of each village in which all the buildings of the social cultural institutions and the trade network should be concentrated, the fixing of places for sports grounds, ensuring supplies of drinking water, etc. This work should begin first in enlarged agri-
cultural cooperatives, and then be extended to other cooperatives and villages.

Second, to make for more beautiful, comfortable and cheaper types of building in the countryside, state organs are recommended to approve within 1984 a number of standard designs of comfortable and beautiful houses, as well as of industrial and social and cultural buildings for mountainous, hilly and lowland areas, taking account of the climatic conditions and the sources of building materials available in each area.

Third, in order to handle the question of the external appearance of the villages in a more correct and organized way, the people’s councils, guided by the executive committees and led by the party committees, each year, beginning from 1984, should draft a concrete program of the work to be carried out for the beautification of their own villages, for the repairing and paving of internal streets, the construction and maintenance of drainage systems. This program should be based entirely on local actions, mobilizing all the internal reserves and resources of the villages themselves.

2. We Must Spread Electric Light, Ensure Drinking Water, and Extend Other Communal Services in the Countryside.

Our Party has devoted special attention to the spread and use of electricity in the countryside. Electrification and the level of usage of electric power are one of the most important indices of the rise in the standard of living and cultural level in the countryside. For this reason, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has approved a perspective study on the electrification of the countryside by the year 1985.

On the basis of this orientation given by the Central Committee of the Party, some results have been achieved. Today, more than 23,000 houses in the countryside are supplied with electricity. But since we mentioned the results, it must also be said that some districts are lagging behind with regard to the spread of electricity in the countryside and have not made use of all the possibilities they have had in this direction.

The general orientation should be that the electrification of the village should be achieved by building small hydro-power stations for individual villages or groups of villages, since hydro-resources exist in the majority of our villages, or can be created by digging canals, or building small reservoirs. At the same time we stress that the mecha-

1. Proceeding from the instruction of the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on the rapid, all-round development of the countryside, in December 1967 the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania decided to complete the electrification of all villages in the country 14 years earlier than envisaged in the original plan, on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, on November 8th, 1971. This decision was realized as early as October 1970.
cal power of these resources should not be used to produce electric power only, but in complex, for irrigation, for saw-mills, flour-mills, and for other purposes.

In order that the electrification in the countryside can be carried out according to the time schedule set by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, each year the state organs must plan to import the necessary equipment, while with our own forces, we must expand the production of small turbines and spread more widely the use of tile, timber and ferro-concrete pipes, being as sparing as possible with steel pipes and other imported material. Along with this, the executive committees and the people’s councils of districts should take measures to ensure better administration and use of the power stations existing in the countryside.

Water is one of the most important elements for the life of man. At present, the peasantry is supplied with drinking water through almost 11,000 springs and fountains, 4,000 artesian wells, besides thousands of bucket wells. In general care for the maintenance and expansion of these resources has steadily increased.

Nevertheless, the supply of drinking water for the villages remains one of the main communal problems over which the Party organizations and the local organs of state power should show great concern. It is a fact that the existing sources of drinking water do not meet the needs of the rural population, and on the other hand, the maintenance of them is very primitive. Often the wells, fountains, and springs are not isolated with walls of stone or cement to protect the drinking water from the surrounding environment, thus becoming a source of infection and disease.

While the drinking water supply in the mountain villages is more or less satisfactory, in the villages of the plains the situation is not good. Most of the lowland villages are supplied with river water, which, being used without any strict control, represents a health risk for the people. Where as there is a very strict regime in the cities for the protection of water supply systems, the disinfection and bacteriological analysis of the water, nothing is done about these problems in the village, and what is more, it has become a habit that nobody is responsible for them.

At a time when, as we mentioned above, a perspective study on the electrification of the countryside exists, there is almost nothing definite about supplying the villages with drinking water. Considering the great importance of this problem and with the aim of getting ahead of it, a comprehensive study should be undertaken, and, on this basis, a perspective program should be drawn up, giving priority to the lowland villages. This program should be drafted and approved within 1965.

In order to avoid the danger of infection and the spread of disease in the countryside through polluted drinking water, as an immediate measure, repeated bacteriological checks should be made of it, while also carrying out disinfection measures, and so on. This work should be organized and directed by the bacteriological centres of districts.
With regard to the communal services in the countryside, the problems of fuel supplies, flour mills, and funeral services also require attention. The problem of fuel for the countryside has been discussed several times by the Central Committee of the Party and the relevant tasks have been defined. Now it remains to get on with the job of putting them into practice. In regard to flour mills, it would be a good thing to plan the production of hammer mills.

In many villages, graves are scattered at random, near houses, without fences, and in some cases they are placed in personal gardens. For this reason the respective local organs of state power should be instructed to fix the place for new burials within the year 1963 and allow no burial outside this place. At the same time people's councils should also think about the burial service.

3. We Must Expand the Network of Roads and Communications Between Town and Countryside and Between Villages

The improvement and expansion of the network of roads and communications between town and countryside and between villages is an important factor for the further development of the agricultural economy, for bringing the village nearer to the town, and assists in the creation of better material and living conditions in the countryside.

The process of the construction of socialism has also included the expansion of the communication network in the countryside. The number of localities and villages linked with the town through highways, built by the state and with actions by the peasants themselves, has been increasing from one year to another.

Although a great deal of work has been done, we are still far from the final solution of this problem. There are villages which are not yet linked with motor roads or even secondary roads. Very often, especially in the lowland areas, the roads have been created spontaneously, with many bends around the boundaries of private property. Part of the roads are in bad condition and unusable since no attention is paid to their maintenance.

Therefore, this problem must be taken in hand by the Party and state organs, and special studies and programs carried out with the aim that this problem should be solved in general within the next 10-15 years. Certainly, this great and difficult problem cannot be solved successfully without a broad mobilization of the peasantry. Perhaps it might be reasonable to entrust the building of roads to the youth organizations, which, in the past, have made a valuable contribution in this field. In deciding the course and construction of new roads, the army, also, can and should help with topographers, engineers, etc.

Another important question related to the rapid solution of the problems of improving life in the countryside is also the further extension of the post and telegraph network. In comparison with the past, the results achieved in this direction are very encouraging. Today all localities have post
offices and telegraph and telephone services, and many agricultural cooperatives are linked with the telephone. However, the perspective development of the countryside requires a further expansion of this service. Apart from this we should see to it that internal telephone connections are established between the villages of the enlarged cooperatives. On the other hand, for the expansion of the post and telegraph services, the relevant organs should be charged with the drawing up of a detailed program, envisaging the connection of most of the villages with the telephone network by 1980-1985. Finally, in order to improve the post and telegraph services in the countryside and to enhance the sense of responsibility of this institution in the delivery of mail, the couriers of localities should become post office employees again, as in the past.

4. — We Must Extend Craftsmen’s Services to the Most Remote Villages

The village is in daily need of various craftsmen’s services, which are connected with the needs of production, social-cultural needs, as well as with the needs of the peasant families themselves. For these reasons, the extension of craftsmen’s services should be considered as an indispensable condition for the improvement of the way of life in the countryside.

1. The extension of the telephone network to all the villages of the Republic was completed in 1974, 10 years ahead of schedule.

In the recent years, especially since the collectivization of agriculture, based on the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party, satisfactory work has been done to set up and extend the various production activities, repair services and handicrafts in the countryside. Parallel with the co-operated, private and cottage handicrafts, the handicrafts of the agricultural cooperatives have emerged and are being extended.

At the present period it is essential that the handicrafts of agricultural cooperatives should be strengthened and extended even more. So far, the handicraft sectors which are linked with the needs of production, such as smithies, carpenters’ shops, etc., are more or less developed in the agricultural cooperatives. Of course, this is a good thing, and it must be encouraged. But the agricultural cooperative should also be thinking about other handicraft services in which we are more backward. As a rule, our peasants everywhere are compelled to come to town to have even the simplest garments sewn, to get their hair cut, or to have their shoes repaired. Therefore, the time has come for some agricultural cooperatives, according to their conditions, to begin to set up various service sectors such as footwear repair shops, dressmaking and tailoring shops, etc.

The further extension of craftsmen’s services in agricultural cooperatives cannot be achieved without securing the necessary specialists. Since the training of village craftsmen by sending craftsmen from the town is not giving results, it would be reasonable for the agricultural cooperatives.
acting on the basis of plans drawn up by executive
commitees, to send, at their own expense, trainees
to the handicrafts cooperatives or the state enter-
prises.

Independently of these measures, the coopera-
ted handicrafts should continue to help the coun-
tryside. Within 5-6 years, we should have managed
to set up or extend repair and service departments
covering all specialities, in all the centres of locali-
ties, which meet the needs of the rural population.
Apart from this, from time to time, the cooperated
handicrafts must organize the sending of mobile
brigades of various craftsmen to the countryside.

The consultation with the people brought to
light that there have been many complaints made,
of more or less the same nature, about the problems
of building and communal services in the coun-
tryside. This shows that, with regard to these
problem, the situation is the same everywhere. It seems
that here we have to do not just with shortcomings
of the comrades in the countryside, although of
course, these do exist to a certain extent. This
state of things is perhaps explained, first of all,
with the fact that there has been a lack of concrete
and organized guidance of these problems from the
top down to the village, and that the proper atten-
tion has not been given to them. In short, the lead-
ing role and activity of the state organs in the
problems of communal services and building in
the countryside have scarcely been felt.

Now that the collectivization of the agriculture
has been completed in general, and we are facing
new tasks in the socialist development of the
countryside, the problems of construction and com-
munal services in the countryside should be taken
in hand by the organs of state power, from the
centre to the base. In so many years both the
knowledge and experience in regard to the problems
of communal services and building has been acu-
culated and it must be applied by the organs of
state power in the countryside as well.

To this end the competent state organs must
be charged with completing, within 1963, a study
about the best way of reorganizing the communal
sector at the centre and the base, which will ensure
their management of problems of communal servi-
ces and building in the countryside. Here, the com-
petences of the village communal sector, the cadres
required, the method of planning and the scale of
participation of the state through its funds for
the solution of these problems in the countryside
should be clearly defined. This study should also
examine the possibility that in the future, the villa-
ge will draw up its own plan and budget for all
the matters of communal services, in which the
needs, the expenditure, the possibilities and re-
sources to cope with them are envisaged.

III. We Must Raise the Organization of the Health
Service to the Level of the Requirements of the
Further Improvement of the Wellbeing in the
Countryside

The wellbeing of the people is meaningless,
without the protection of their health. The health
situation of a people depends not only on the level
of their economic development, but on many other factors, such as the concern of the state over this question, the level of culture and, on the whole way of life. Naturally, the organization of the health service in the countryside plays a special role in this direction.

The centuries-old backwardness which we inherited from the past could not fail to be accompanied by grave consequences for the state of health of the peasantry. Many diseases such as malaria, typhoid, syphilis and rickets had become chronic afflictions of the peasantry, crushed it physically, and made it feeble and incapable of work. The protection of its health was left entirely to chance.

Faced with this situation, the Party and the state had to take urgent and comprehensive measures. For this reason, immediately after Liberation, the health service was organized on entirely new foundations and given a marked prophylactic character. For the first time the state was engaged in an organized way in the liquidation of many infectious and epidemic diseases.

The aid the peasantry receives today is beyond any comparison with the past. From the 14 out-patient clinics in 1938, today there are 746 of them, not including the 32 maternity homes, 23 hospitals and 9 dental clinics. With the expansion of the network of health institutions in the countryside, the medical staff working in them has also increased continuously. Today 47 doctors, 144 assistant-doctors, 86 midwives and 580 nurses work in the village health institutions. With the measures taken for the further increase of medical cadres, in 1966 there will be 230 doctors, 324 assistant doctors, 700 midwives and 826 nurses working in the countryside. Apart from these cadres, great help is given the peasantry by the doctors and other health service personnel working in the district centres.

Our peasantry receives out-patient medical aid, treatment of infectious diseases, tuberculosis, and tumours, as well as qualified obstetrical assistance, free of charge. Children up to the age of four years are treated free of charge in health institutions, while those up to one year get medicines prescribed for home treatment free of charge.

The effect of the measures taken by the Party to protect the health of the peasantry is apparent in the demographic data, which are a reflection of the life of each person. In 1961 as against 1938, the principal demographic figures for the entire country were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1961</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Births per 1,000</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inhabitants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths per 1,000</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inhabitants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural growth</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per 1,000 inhabitants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above figures show that the countryside has made great progress in comparison with the average of the entire country in 1938. On this basis, a very much more rapid natural growth of the population has been ensured, from 16.9 per thousand for the whole country in 1938, to 34.1 per thousand in 1961, or twice as much in the countryside alone, while the average life expectancy in our country today is above 62 years.

While, in general, we have achieved great successes in the protection of health in the countryside, the fact that in regard to deaths, especially among children aged from 1-4 years, there are still great discrepancies between town and countryside, cannot fail to attract our attention...

The health organs should take such measures as to ensure a radical improvement of their work in the countryside. In cooperation with the Party organs, the local organs of state power, the mass organizations and the Red Cross, they should intensify the propaganda to raise the level of health education in the village, to consolidate the prophylactic character of the health service, as well as to extend it further.

In the future, we should gradually, but resolutely narrow the gap which exists between town and countryside in the level of the health service. Therefore, in the work for the preservation of the health of the peasantry we should strengthen the health institutions in the countryside, dealing in town only with the cases that need more difficult specialized medical treatment. In this way, the medical service will be brought closer to the patient in the countryside as well.

To attain this aim it is necessary for the health service in the countryside to be organized in a way more in conformity with the times and with our requirements and possibilities. In this sense, basing ourselves on the present health network, we must work towards setting up a medical centre for each group of villages, especially in the remote regions, which will be the nucleus of the health service and will be gradually equipped with the necessary means to carry out more highly qualified work. It is desirable that, within the year 1964 the state organs should carry out a special study on this question, envisaging the gradual setting up of these centres, in conformity with the possibilities permitted by the state plan or the contribution the agricultural cooperatives themselves may make.

The principal tasks of these centres must be: First, they should spread health education among the mass of the peasants, teach them the most suitable ways of eating, dressing, and sleeping, and of protecting themselves from illness, and implanting in them the conviction that they must seek the doctor's aid in time. They should carry out this major job together with the best activists of the village, by organizing courses, conferences, various demonstrations, etc.

Second, through their diagnostic work they should study the causes of the most widespread diseases in the village and then organize an effective struggle against them.
To cope with the major tasks connected with the health service in the countryside, greater numbers of able doctors should be sent to the village. It would be much better to have a doctor for each group of villages, than to receive all the patients at the city hospitals. Therefore, a more correct proportion in the distribution of doctors in town and countryside must be established, by sending doctors first and foremost to those regions where the frequency of diseases and deaths is greatest.

Apart from these measures, in order to assist the peasantry even more in the protection of their health, beginning from January 1, 1964, the fees the peasants pay today for treatment in the health institutions will be cancelled. The adoption of this measure once again shows the concern of the Party for the protection and strengthening of the health of the working peasantry. Such measures can be adopted only there where the people are in power, where everything is done for their benefit. This measure, and others adopted previously by the Party and the people's power in the field of health protection, are one of the great victories of our working people, which the workers of even the most advanced capitalist countries in the world can only dream about.

But the improvement of the organization of the health service in the countryside will not yield the desired results if it is not accompanied with the raising of the work for the dissemination of health culture to a higher level. The health propaganda must be aimed at the improvement of hygiene, at the care of parents raising their children, at acquainting the population with the danger of infective diseases and the manner of combating them. In this work the main role must be played by the medical cadres who should concentrate all their social activity in this direction. But it is self-evident that the raising of health culture is not a task for the medical cadres alone. The organizations of Women, the Front, the Youth, the Red Cross, all of them, without exception, should be involved with this problem.

Comrades,

The analysis of problems connected with the standard of living and way of life, communal, craftsmen's and health services in the countryside, shows that we have made great strides forward in the elimination of the centuries-old backwardness inherited from the past. In this field, our program for the future, is great. The complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism will inevitably lead to raising wellbeing in the countryside to a new, higher level. The fulfillment of the tasks of the 3rd Five-year plan, will mark another victory in this direction.

But, as is known, the tasks set out in the program of the Party for raising wellbeing in the countryside during the third five-year plan period are big ones. The study of this problem revealed a series of contradictions and shortcomings, which arise from our rapid advance and which can and must be overcome. But for this to become reality,
the conscious activity of the Party, the peasantry and all the working masses of the country must be mobilized.

We should keep well in mind that the implementation of the decision of the 4th Congress of the Party on the further improvement of the wellbeing of our people, is largely dependent on its being carried out and, first of all, in the countryside, where the bulk of the population works and lives, where 45% of the national income is realized, and where the level of wellbeing is lower than in the city. This than, is the reason that we must go much more thoroughly and courageously into these problems, from the things which may appear small to the biggest ones, because in this way our whole overall cause will be carried forward.

Chapter IV

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

So far we have made a general analysis of one aspect, the main aspect of the problem of raising the wellbeing of the working masses of the countryside, that of improving their material wellbeing. Now we need to dwell on the other aspect of the problem, its second aspect, that of enriching the spiritual state of those masses, of raising their educational and cultural level. These two aspects constitute one whole, are closely linked in a dialectical way, and influence each other reciprocally. The material wellbeing is the basis for raising the educational and cultural level, but the latter also helps or hinders the further raising of the material wellbeing. Because how can the fulfillment of the above mentioned tasks, the further development of the productive forces, the increase of incomes, the improvement of the way of life, the introduction of the new into the countryside, be conceived of without the necessary knowledge and culture? That is why, since the very beginning, after the triumph of the popular revolution and along with the struggle for the great revolutionary economic transformations, the Party, launched the slogan, and began the struggle, for the development of the cultural revolution. Proceeding from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and our reality, utilizing the ancient cultural-educational traditions of our people, which it enriched and raised ever higher, and basing itself on the boundless desire of our people for education and culture and their iron determination to achieve them, the Party set about the work with full consciousness, with courage and unshakable confidence that every thing would work out well. And, as always the Party triumphed. Today we are witnesses to the colossal achievements in this field.

It is well known that, due to the age-old oppression and the anti-popular obscurantist regimes which deliberately strove to keep the people in darkness, we inherited a very great backwardness in the field of education and culture, especially,
in the countryside. More than 90% of the peasant population was illiterate. In 1938 there were elementary schools in only 529 villages, or one fifth of the villages of Albania. For this reason, only one quarter of the children of school age attended elementary schools. The sons and daughters of peasants who received secondary schooling could be counted on one’s fingers. In the whole of Albania, at a time when there were hundreds of mosques, churches and temples, there was not a single cultural institution in the countryside.

But the implementation of the program of the Party made it possible, in an historically short period, to carry out a thorough-going all-sided cultural revolution, along with the great political economic and social transformations. This revolution, which swept the whole country, raised the cultural and educational level of the peasant population and exerted its influence in changing their world-outlook and psychology.

As a result of these achievements, illiteracy was wiped out among the young and the bulk of the adult population in the countryside. Compulsory elementary schooling was fully achieved throughout the country. Starting from nothing a broad network of secondary schools was set up, in which 75% of the village pupils who had completed primary school, enrolled this year, while in certain districts, like those of Gjirokastra, Saranda, Fier and Durrës, this figure is as high as 90 to 95%. This year, 56% of the pupils who had completed their seven year schooling in the countryside were enrolled in the general or vocational secondary schools, and this is a brilliant victory of our cultural revolution. Now the doors of the higher schools have been flung wide open to the sons and daughters of the peasantry. At the same time, thousands of village boys and girls, as well as women and men, are attending schools for adults while continuing in their jobs. Thanks to all these achievements, now one person out of every five in the countryside is attending school regularly.

While carrying out the communist education of the younger generation, our school has served and is serving as an important centre for the introduction and dissemination of the new in the life of the countryside in general and in the way of life in particular. It is linking itself ever more closely with all aspects of the life of the people.

But besides schools, a broad network of other cultural institutions has been created, a mass amateur cultural-artistic and physical culture movement is developing, in the countryside, and newspapers, the radio, books, films, and other means of ideological and cultural education are entering village life in ever increasing proportions.

The deep cultural revolution that is being carried out, has released the energies and talents of the peasant and has increased his thirst and love for culture. It has brought about great changes in the spiritual life of the peasantry, which is being freed from the heavy burden of ignorance, from prejudices and superstitions. The peasant woman is breathing more freely. A start has been made on reducing the gulf in the educational-cultural development between town and
countryside. All these things have produced a change in the peasant’s way of life.

The great achievements of the cultural revolution in the countryside have been attained thanks to the correct line and leadership of the Party, to the all-round help of the socialist state has given the countryside for the solution of this vital problem, as well as to the material contribution and the all-round interest of our progressive peasantry, itself, in gaining education.

I. We Must Raise the Role of the School and the Educational Level of the Peasantry Still Higher

The problems of education are many-sided and the 4th Congress of the Party has clearly defined the tasks for their solution. Therefore, here we shall dwell on those problems of education which have a direct influence on the development and all-round social-cultural progress of the countryside, the further raising of the educational level of the younger generation and the whole rural population, the further improvement of the way of life in the countryside.

It must be said that, despite the colossal results we have achieved in the extension of education in the countryside, despite the rapidity at which they have been achieved, and although the trend of further development in this direction is constantly upwards, right now, we have many unresolved problems and unutilized reserves. The network of existing schools in the countryside does not fully respond to the ever-growing demands of the rural population for education. There are marked disproportions in school attendance between boys and girls, and men and women. Likewise, there are disproportions in the extension of seven-year schooling among the different districts, within the districts themselves, between the lowlands and the highlands, between the numbers who commence seven-year schooling and those who complete it. At the same time, the broad network of elementary and seven-year schools which we have in the countryside is very little used for the organization of part-time schooling for the village youth and the relatively younger men and women. Concrete knowledge of these problems and of the unutilized possibilities is an indispensable condition for defining the necessary measures, for solving the problems and for the proper mobilization of the organs of education and the teachers, the party organizations and local administrations, social organizations and all the peasantry in this work.

Now we are starting the transition from compulsory universal 7-year schooling to 8-year schooling, which will be completed in four or five years in the city. At the same time we have set the task that we must extend it all over the country within the next ten years. This is the most important step in the development of the people’s education and the cultural revolution in general, and, especially, the greatest achievement of our peasants in the field of education and culture. Within this 10 year
period every village boy or girl will have the possibility to receive at least, the incomplete middle schooling at the 8-year school. In this way an appreciative uplift in the educational-cultural level of all the peasant population will be achieved.

But the achievement of compulsory universal 8-year education in the countryside is a difficult task, especially if we take into account the disproportions, the shortcomings and the still unutilized reserves in the seven-year schooling. It is clear that in order to realize the 8-year schooling we must open new 8-years schools even in remote mountain regions. But it is senseless to open these schools where there are only very few children. Hence the opening of new schools must be combined with the opening of small hostels both by the state and by the agricultural cooperatives or the country population, themselves. At the same time, it is essential that all the other possible reserves should be utilized.

The transition to 8-year schooling requires a radical improvement in compulsory attendance at school, especially by girls. With one more year being added to the existing school system, the children will have to attend it at least up to the age of 15-16 years. Bearing in mind the backward mentality still prevailing among part of the peasantry, the keeping of children, especially girls, at school up to that age, will encounter difficulties. Therefore, the teachers, state and party organs, and all the social organizations must make an even greater struggle for all the girls to complete their 8-year schooling, considering this as one of the important ways of raising the all-round role of the woman in the life of the village, for uplifting the figure, personality and dignity of the women.

Now a start has been made in extending the network of middle schools to the countryside...

II. We Must Make Culture an Organic Part of the New Socialist Life in the Countryside

Culture is an important aspect of life in the countryside. It plays a major role in the ideological education of the working people, in imbuing them with the socialist consciousness, with the new attitude towards work, property, and society. It makes the life of the working people more beautiful and pleasant.

Today the new culture, national in form and socialist in content, is flourishing in the countryside. There is a broad network of cultural institutions extended throughout the country, and about 1,300 houses and centres of culture have been put at the service of the peasantry alone. The Albanian book, for which our patriots fought so hard, is more and more becoming the property of the masses.

However, we are aware that the cultural level in the village is still low and a serious hindrance to the all-round rapid development of the countryside. At the same time, as a result of the rise of the material wellbeing, the demands of the peasantry for a more cultured life are increasing. Only a
few years have passed since the establishment of the cooperativist order, and how much the demands for a cultured life in the countryside have increased! But these demands will be much greater after 10-15 years, when the agricultural cooperatives will be stronger, more prosperous, when electricity, the radio, and the cinema will have entered more deeply into the life of the village, and there will be more cadres of medium and higher schooling in the countryside. For these reasons, we are faced more urgently with the task of taking all the necessary measures to make culture the property of all the peasantry, part and parcel of the socialist life in the village.

1. We Must Emancipate the Peasantry From the Prejudices and Hangovers of the Past

We have achieved satisfactory results in the emancipation of the peasants from the prejudices and hangovers of the past. This is expressed in all the social and economic activity of village life. Now, in general, the religious division is not felt, the barbaric custom of vendetta has been wiped out, as well as many other backward customs that shortened people's lives and damaged the family economy. In particular, the attitude towards the woman has changed a great deal. Her role and personality in the economic, political and social life of the village are being enhanced with each passing day.

But can it be said that the peasantry has been completely liberated from the prejudices and hangovers of the past? Certainly not. To attain this objective, we still have to carry out a great deal of continuous ideologically-political work with all the masses of the peasantry, and especially with the youth, to whom the future belongs.

More strongly here, less so there, religious prejudices are still preserved in the countryside. Attendance at church, mosque, and tekhe, the religious ceremonies on occasions of death, the participation in religious fairs, and all the like, cause great damage to agriculture, because they take the peasants away from work and spread religious views among them, which poison their minds and feelings.

A number of backward customs that humiliate the woman and restrict her ever more active participation in political economic and social life are still strong in the countryside. Legally the woman has won all her rights, but there are still customs that run counter to her new position in socialist society. In the Peshkopia, Durrës, Gramsh and Librazhd districts, betrothals in infancy, and marriages imposed by the parents between persons of disproportionate ages and for money still occur, not to mention other manifestations which do not conform to the juridical norms and communist morality.

Comrades, we have often spoken about work with women, the role and the place they occupy as active and worthy participants in the construction of socialist society. And the Party has always
raised this problem strongly, because it is aware that at no time, and even less today, has the Albanian woman ever lacked either the desire or the ability to work, to make her life more beautiful, to carry the Homeland forward. Today, as never before in our socialist country, she has all the possibilities and objective conditions to display her personality and what she is capable of doing in every field of life, at work, in society and in the family, as a worker and leader, as an educator, housewife and mother. And we are all seeing the hundreds and thousands of women who, with unrivalled heroism and talent, are working in factories and workshops, in cooperatives, in fields and stalls, in nurseries and schools, in trade, finance and the health service, in laboratories and in their families, setting a great example to all.

However, the role of the woman is still not properly appreciated by everybody and everywhere as the Party requires. The shortcomings and weaknesses mentioned above are clear evidence of this. The prejudices and hangovers of the past are still a drag on a good many people, even including cadres, especially in the countryside, and hinder them from facing the question squarely. Today the Party is strongly emphasising that, in the new stage of the complete construction of socialist society, the question of enhancing the personality of the woman at work, in society and the family arises as another objective necessity. We are examining the question of raising the wellbeing in the countryside. Well, then, let it be clearly understood that without the participation of the woman, without raising her personality this will never be achieved: production cannot be increased, incomes cannot be raised, the handling of them cannot be done correctly, neither food nor clothing will be in order, the home cannot be made more comfortable, the child cannot be educated and life cannot become happier. Therefore all of us, first of all we men, who should have a thorough and correct understanding of this problem, and the women themselves, who should struggle harder and have more confidence in their own strength, the Party, the organizations of women and youth, the state organs, in other words, the whole society, should strive to speed up the creation of all the subjective conditions for the further enhancement of the role of the women, for raising and strengthening her personality, getting rid of any prejudice or hangover from the past which is a hindrance to this. Then we shall see how rapidly the tasks set by this plenum for raising the material and cultural wellbeing in the countryside will be resolved.

We have succeeded in doing away with many prejudices in other directions as well; we have liquidated many backward customs. For example, we have unrooted from among the majority of the peasantry, the evil custom of the vendetta which, in the past, destroyed hundreds of peasant families every year. But here and there, there are still people who go as far as the use of fire arms over petty quarrels.

The preservation to a still considerable degree of religious prejudices and backward customs of
the past also has its source in the insufficient work which the Party organizations are doing for the formation of the socialist consciousness among the peasants. There are some party organizations that replace active educational work with the peasantry with administrative measures, the method of persuasion with that of compulsion, that put the stress on the economic damage of backward prejudices and customs, without proving on an ideological basis the need to eradicate them from the peasants’ consciousness. Setting out with the aim of combatting the celebration of religious feasts, there have been cases when the consultative meetings of the Democratic Front have called on the peasantry to celebrate these feasts, or funerals, not with meat, but only with beans. Moreover there have been villages that have proposed that the Front membership cards should be taken from those who infringe this rule.

Naturally it is naïve to think that such measures could yield the slightest beneficial results for the elimination of religious prejudices, empty beliefs and backward customs. The struggle to root out these remnants of the past inherited from centuries on end, is above all an ideological struggle, which has as its aim the spiritual liberation of people. If people have such hangovers this is simply their misfortune, but not their fault. Hence a very patient, friendly and comradely stand should be maintained towards them.

In the struggle against religious prejudices, empty beliefs and backward customs, scientific atheist propaganda should occupy an important place. It should patiently educate people with the scientific world outlook, without insulting them or directly offending their sensibilities. The eradication of these remnants is a difficult and delicate job. They cannot be wiped out either with decrees or with rallies. This work requires intelligence, patience and tact. All the forms of Party propaganda, all our cultural institutions, schools, teachers and all other intellectuals, the press and the radio, literature and the arts should be aktivized better to this end and they should consider the struggle for the education of the masses of the working people with the communist world outlook as one of their main tasks. Great importance should be given to the correct scientific explanation of natural phenomena, the popularization of the successes of science and technology, and criticism of religious dogmas, pointing out to the peasantry the emptiness of them and the harm they bring. The schools, the youth organization, and the cultural institutions should pay special attention to the education of the youth on this question.

More concern should be shown for the preservation and further development of the good customs and the lofty virtues our people have inherited generation after generation, such as bravery, fidelity, hospitality, honesty, and generosity, while instilling new content into them. At the same time, the new customs emerging from the socialist life, and connected with important events of the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the country, village, district, or cooperatorist family, should be developed and spread more widely.
2. Greater Efforts Must be Made for Raising the Cultural Level of Mountain Villages

The deepening of the cultural revolution in the countryside has the general uplift of the cultural level in all aspects of the life of the peasantry as its main objective. This important task will be carried out successfully, if among other things, the disproportions existing today in the cultural development between various villages and areas are taken into account and measures adopted to eliminate them within the shortest possible time.

The Party has always been concerned about this problem and has devoted special care to the development of culture in the mountain villages. The expansion of the network of schools and cultural institutions and other such measures have served this end.

However, disproportion in cultural development, especially between the villages of the highland zones and those of the plains still exists. Apart from objective reasons, such as the economic and cultural differences, difficulties of the terrain, etc., this has come about also because of the insufficient concern which the Party and state organs have shown, and the lack of work differentiated in conformity with the special features of these areas.

But should these special features of the mountainous areas hamper the cultural development of this part of the peasantry? Are these difficulties insurmountable?

We are convinced that despite the above mentioned special features and difficulties, all the possibilities exist for us to raise the cultural level of the peasantry of the mountainous areas to a higher level, to carry culture to the remotest villages and thus to eliminate the disproportion which exists between them and the village of the plains as quickly as possible.

To achieve this we must strengthen the work of the Party organizations and state organs in these areas. They should carry out differentiated work, concentrating especially on the cultural problems which these zones are most concerned and utilizing all the possibilities and the most appropriate means and forms. Cultural work should not be confined only to work within the walls of the houses and hearths of culture, which in the concrete conditions cannot draw in the whole mass of the village population. Cultural activities with small groups of a given quarter or a few families should be practiced, making use of the good tradition of our peasant of visiting one another, while social gatherings, talks on various political and cultural problems, recreations, games, etc. should be organized.

More help should be given to these villages by the cultural organizations of the city. But in order to achieve the desired results a radical improvement must be made in the work of the cultural institutions of these areas themselves. Along with the school, the houses and especially, the hearths of culture, are the basic institutions which should be totally engaged in the organization of cultural work in the countryside. There are 668
such institutions in 1515 villages, or nearly one in each two villages. This is a powerful base for undertaking more extensive cultural activity, but in fact it is being utilized to an inadequate extent. Therefore, in future, the Party committees and executive committees of people's councils must pay greater attention to the organization of the work of these institutions, so that they wake themselves up and carry out allround activity with the masses of peasants and extend amateur artistic activity in the countryside.

At the same time, special attention should be paid to the selection and training of the cadres of culture for these villages. The weaknesses in cultural work also stem from the fact that the cadres charged with these tasks do not have the necessary training. Out of 581 people in charge of houses or hearths of culture, only 157 have secondary schooling, whereas the others have 7 year or elementary schooling. Experience has shown that in those villages, where the village teachers have been charged with the cultural activities and, where they, have been given more help and supervision by the party organizations, the leading bodies of the cooperatives and the state organs in the district, the results have been greater. Therefore, in the future, along with the measures which the Ministry of Education and Culture and the district executive committees should take for training people responsible for houses and hearths of culture, wherever possible, the cadres charged with these tasks should be people with secondary schooling and especially teachers...

Chapter V

ON THE WORK OF THE PARTY AND STATE ORGANS CONCERNING THE PROBLEMS OF WELLBEING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

...Our Party is the leading and directing force of all the political, economic and social activity of the country. Life has shown that all the changes effected and progress achieved by our people, whether great or small, have been made under the leadership and guidance of the Party. Therefore, the carrying out of the program of work which we are pulling forward in connection with the further development of socialism in the countryside depends to a great degree on the all-round organizational work of the Party and its levers.

As we stressed above, we have undoubtedly achieved great historic results in the socialist transformation of the countryside, in the general transformation of the main aspects of its life. But we are aware that on the road traversed we have also encountered difficulties by no means small, that in the work of Party and state organs and mass organizations, there have been shortcomings and gaps which hinder our advance at the pace of the time. These shortcomings have been expressed mainly in the insufficient attention devoted to the complex of problems concerning improving the way of life in the countryside, in the leading work of the Party and state organs.
The problems which we presented above, concerning the wellbeing and way of life in the countryside, require that the work of the Party and state organs must also be raised to a new, higher level. For the Party organizations to cope with these problems, they must become better and more thoroughly acquainted with the allround socialist development of the countryside, with the tasks arising from this development, and seek the ways to their solution. And the whole success of this work depends on whether the Party organizations make these problems clear to the peasant masses and whether they mobilize them in time to deal with them. As always, in this case, too, the strengthening of the bonds of the Party with the masses and its consulting the masses remains the master key to every victory in the future.

In our examination of the economic social and cultural situation in the countryside, we indicated some of the main contradictions characteristic of its development at the present stage. They stem from the objective reality, from the laws of development of our society, and as such, they are inevitable. Our duty is to uncover these contradictions, to have a thorough knowledge of the causes of their emergence and, basing ourselves firmly on the concrete conditions of our socialist construction, to correctly define the most effective ways to overcome them quickly. The recognition and correct solution of them constitutes a motive force which assists and accelerates our advance, and is an essential condition for successful use of the economic laws of socialism, and to avoid errors in practice.

We are also aware that overcoming the present contradictions will, without fail, lead to the emergence of new contradictions, because our historic mission to carry the country continuously forward towards the lofty peaks of socialism and communism will continuously come up against contradictions. But we are convinced that our Party will always know how to find the correct way to overcome them, and will successfully lead the working masses in the complete construction of socialism, because it is always enlightened by the triumphant ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and bases itself firmly on them.

The victories achieved so far, and the new tasks which we are putting forward today, which have their source in, and are entirely based on the far-sighted line of our Party, show once again how right is our road, and with what realism, wisdom and courage our Party acts in every field and at any time. The difficult situations which the imperialists and their tools — the revisionists of the Khrushchev-Tito group, are trying to create for us and the struggle they are waging against us, is quite unable to stop our Party from taking its usual well-measured and sure steps. We are marching forward. Marxism-Leninism, which the modern revisionists fight openly or try to distort on the quiet, will smash them mercilessly. As for our Party, which is firmly based on
Marxism-Leninism, which stands eternally loyal to it and applies it in a truly creative manner in all directions, its victories will be inevitable.

Comrades, in presenting this problem to the Plenum, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee is fully confident that it will be crowned with success and will render a still greater service to raising the wellbeing of the peasantry and all our people. The entire history of our Party shows that, despite all obstacles and difficulties, everything it has undertaken, it has carried it through to the end, because it has always responded to the vital aspirations and interests of the working masses and has found their unreserved support. And the tasks which this Plenum will set, also, are for the good of the peasantry and all our people, and express their aspirations and ideals. Therefore, the Party must take the management of these problems firmly in hand, must more and more rouse the conscious activity of the masses of town and countryside and all the political economic, social and state organizations, institutions and organs, and always guide it wisely, so that all the efforts are concentrated on well-defined objectives.

We are confident that this time, too, the working masses of the town and the countryside will respond, as always, to the call of the Party with their self-sacrificing work to carry out the new tasks that this Plenum lays down for the countryside, thus scoring another victory in the struggle for the fulfilment of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the brilliant perspective opened to the people by the

4th Congress of the Party, on the long but glorious road of the construction of communism and socialism.

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RESULTS OF KHRUSHCHEV’S VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA

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A few days ago Khrushchev concluded his visit to Yugoslavia. Both the propaganda machine of the revisionists and the Western press tried to give this visit the maximum “international political significance”. It is now clear to all that Khrushchev did not go to Yugoslavia for a vacation, as stated at first. He went there to complete the process of the full rehabilitation of the Tito clique, to unite openly with this band of traitors, long condemned by all the communist and workers’ parties, to hatch up new plots against the socialist camp, the international communist movement and peace, and to take another step in his rapprochement with US imperialism.

These aims of N. Khrushchev’s visit became immediately obvious from his endless statements boosting the “successful building of socialism in Yugoslavia”, the “correct Marxist-Leninist line and the outstanding merits of the present Yugoslav 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-administration”, 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 24 speech at Split, Khrushchev publicly declared, «We note with satisfaction that, on the absolute majority of international problems, the views of the USSR and Yugoslavia are similar... The unity of views and actions of the USSR and Yugoslavia in the international plane is a very important factor in world politics. This unity contributes to the 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 the 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 admitted 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 Velenje on August 50, 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 Tanjug 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 economy management which have nothing in common with socialism and which they themselves, not very long ago, criticized and rejected as anti-Marxist and anti-socialist, and as a variant of the theories of anarchosyndicalism.

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 based on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is why comrade Nikita Sergeyevich 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 Tito’s 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 Imperialist West to have the slightest
worry about the results of Khrushchev’s visit to Yugoslavia? None whatsoever.

Khrushchev’s demagogy cannot continue for long to deceive the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist and workers’ parties with his tales that allegedly changes have been made in Yugoslavia towards socialism, that the Yugoslav leaders are correcting their former mistakes, and consequently, that Yugoslavia is a country which is building socialism.

Everybody knows how matters really stand, what changes have been made there. Daily life brings out many facts which prove that nothing has changed in Tito’s Yugoslavia. Only the grave can straighten 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 rumors 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. S. 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,

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1. of N. Khrushchev.

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national 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 Khrushchev group is rushing. As the popular saying goes, «a man is judged by the company he keeps». To unite with the Yugoslav revisionists means to unite with the enemies of socialism, the renegades from Marxism-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 Khrushchev 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 Khrushchev group has obliterated any distinction between friend and foe, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between defenders and disrupters of unity, and between anti-imperialist fighters and agents of imperialism, and has gone completely over to the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, the peoples and peace in the world.

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The second main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev’s visit to the Tito clique, from their talks and public statements, is that they have 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, Khrushchev and his propaganda agents have ceased to use the term «socialist camp». This was especially noticeable during his tour of Yugoslavia. In no address, in absolutely no published speech or conversation, can one find such an expression except at the August 21 banquet, when Tito made a scornful reference to it. The question here is not just that Khrushchev tried to avoid saying anything that might prejudice his «cordial relations» with the renegade Tito, through the use of such «unfashionable» and «unnecessary» terms as «the socialist camp», towards which, as everybody knows, the Yugoslav revisionists maintain a completely negative and hostile attitude. The fact is that Khrushchev supports and fully agrees with Tito’s hostile attitude towards the socialist camp. When a journalist asked him at Brioni whether «the fact that Yugoslavia does not belong to blocs hinders the Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation», Khrushchev answered, «No!» and added, «Historically all the socialist countries take the same Marxist-Leninist position, for we are linked by common ideas and are guided by a single theory,
while other manifestations like 'blocs' and so on are temporary."

What does this mean? To what blocs is he referring? It is publicly known that the Yugoslav revisionists consider the socialist camp as a «bloc», that when they speak about the so-called «neutrality» or «non-alignment» of Yugoslavia, they pretend that they stand not only outside military blocs and organizations but also outside camps and above the camps. Under these circumstances Khrushchev's statement against the so-called «blocs» inevitably gives rise to two conclusions:

On the one hand, it is clear that Khrushchev fully accepts Tito's reactionary position; regarding the socialist camp as «a military bloc», as a negative phenomenon that has led to the aggravation of the international situation and as something «temporary». This is an hostile attitude which aims at liquidating the great socialist camp.

On the other hand, in this way Khrushchev supports and justifies the demagogic manoeuvres of the Tito clique about the so-called «neutrality» and «non-alignment» of Yugoslavia. But how can there be a country which is socialist and at the same time «neutral» in the great historic struggle between the two camps, the socialist and imperialist camp? There was a time when Khrushchev himself condemned and rejected this absurd pretension of the Tito clique: «The Yugoslav leaders», he declared at the 21st Congress of the 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 bloc', the neutrality to which the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are so attached, has a strong smell of the US monopolies, which are fostering 'Yugoslav socialism'. The history of the class struggle still knows of no example in which the bourgeoisie has supported its class enemy materially or morally, and assisted it to build socialism.»

Thus Khrushchev has now decided to cancel out the existence of the socialist camp and does not hesitate to come out openly against it. Here we have to do not only with a major concession of principle to Tito's revisionist and anti-socialist positions, but also with a real betrayal of the vital interests of socialism, with an attempt to undermine the socialist camp itself and to liquidate it.

In the context of his activities to undermine and split the socialist camp, the international communist movement and their unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian Internationalism, Khrushchev deemed it necessary to revive the idea of pan-Slavism during his visit to Yugoslavia. From the very first day he spoke of «our traditional friendship», «our common
historical destiny» and «our common final goal», in this way, implying and stressing the special links between peoples of the same ethnic group. This is not the first time that the Khrushchev group, departing from the Marxist-Leninist class position, has tried to build its political platform regarding the relations between states and parties on such ethnic, racial, and even religious grounds, even going so far as to make one effort after another for rapprochement with the Pope of Rome in order to win the support of Catholics. But to replace the class principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism with pan-Slavism or with other similar non-Marxist 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 Khrushchev group.

Moreover Khrushchev did not fail to assign a special, if not a decisive, role to Yugoslavia in the Balkans and even in the world(!).

It was for this purpose that in his speech at Velenja, he extolled in an one-sided way the fight of the Yugoslav peoples against the fascist 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 fight of one people and the deliberate ignoring of the contribution and the struggle of other peoples, which Khrushchev resorted to, reveals once again his aims of disruption and provocation by inciting the nationalist and chauvinist passions of the friends he supports. Khrushchev also took the opportunity to encourage Tito’s old dream of a special role in the Balkans, of his hegemony in some sort of «Balkan Federation». Thus during this visit Khrushchev revealed himself nakedly to be the complete Machiavelli, politically and morally.

Khrushchev and Tito puffed themselves up by posing as masters of the fate of the Balkans. When a foreign journalist asked them about this in Brioni, observers could not fail to notice Khrushchev’s angry reaction, when he said: «Why do you stick your nose into our affairs?» Just what lies hidden behind the phrase «our affairs» was revealed by the British news agency 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 Khrushchev and Tito? Who gave them the monopoly of the right to speak and act in the name of the Balkan peoples, to make deals and divide the roles behind their backs and to their detriment?

But what is this Tito clique to which Khrush-
chev wants «to entrust the fate of the Balkans»? And what is the «special role» which Khrushchev has assigned to it? Our people, as well as the other peoples of the Balkans, particularly those of the socialist camp, 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 Kogi Xoxe and others, the plot hatched up by the Yugoslav revisionists in collaboration with the Greek monarcho-fascists, the US 8th Fleet, and some traitors against the sovereignty of our country, nor will they forget the numerous acts of provocation and hostility against the People's Republic of Albania and our people. Tito accompanied his «dear» friend to the vicinity of the northern borders of our Homeland in a demonstrative way. N. Khrushchev did not go to Tito-grad to pay a «passing» visit to the ethnographic museum of Cetignie and see the relics of Nyeoash. He inspected the Albanian-Yugoslav borders, in order to express in this way his support and approval of the profoundly hostile stands and intentions towards our people of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders, who are notorious for the attempts they have made on the freedom and the independence of our socialist Homeland.

It is clear that «the special role» of Titoite Yugoslavia in the Balkans, indeed in the world(!), is directed against the vital interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement; that its aim is to undermine and split them; and that this is a component part of the campaign of the Khrushchev-Tito revisionist united front against those fraternal parties which firmly uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism, first and foremost, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. The clearest evidence of this is the fact that Khrushchev's entire visit to Yugoslavia was accompanied by a frenzied campaign of monstrous, coordinated attacks launched by Khrushchev and Tito and others against the Marxist-Leninist parties.

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The third main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia is that he has moved closer to the imperialists, particularly to the US imperialists. It is a publicly known fact — and Tito has more than once confirmed it by his own words — that «socialist» Yugoslavia has become a «bridge between the East and the West». Khrushchev is now openly using this «bridge» not just to make approaches to, but actually to cross over to the West.

Expressing his great satisfaction over the
conclusion of the tripartite Moscow agreement, which is another capitulation of the Krushchev group to the imperialists, a fraud and a betrayal of the cause of socialism, Tito said in his speech at the banquet given by Krushchev on August 21, «Of course this is still insufficient. Much still remains to be done...» Tito, the inveterate agent of imperialism, is not satisfied with the results achieved, he wants further steps to be taken along 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 analysing Krushchev'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 Krushchev'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. Krushchev 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 America, soon, that is, the new and more moderate attitude of Krushchev.

The attitude of the Tito clique towards US imperialism and the attitude of US imperialism towards the Tito clique is no secret to anyone. Their relations are like those of master and servant. It is clear that the approach to and unity with the servant and agent of imperialism, who is nurtured and kept on his feet by US dollars, is a big step towards approach to and unity with his master — US imperialism. Everybody sees this. They see and condemn this open betrayal by Krushchev 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 Krushchev'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 Krushchev 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, particular-
ly, 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 discouraged, 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 congratulatory letters from the imperialists for the Yugoslav road and the rapprochement of the Tito clique with Khrushchev, but would be hearing those same anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary attacks which the imperialists usually aim against their class enemy — the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist and anti-imperialist forces of the world.

From this it is not difficult to understand who will benefit from such rapprochement and unity. The imperialists have good reason to welcome and support it, because they see in this unity the establishment of a united revisionist front against socialism and all the forces of the world revolutionary, 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 themselves 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 torn 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 publicly in support of the Yugoslav leaders and about their common concepts to be proclaimed in a joint official document.

But Khrushchev still feels obliged to keep up his disguise, because however carefully a joint official document 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 not forgive him. The Soviet people 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.

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CLOSING SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE 11th PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE PLA 1

(parts)

December 14th, 1963

The plenum we have held was necessary and will be of great assistance in further strengthening the work of the Party.

As was correctly stressed, we have achieved successes in our work, but we also have shortcomings. And the shortcomings are not only at the base, they are shared by the whole Party, at the base and in the leadership. Therefore the criticism made here of the leaderships of the party basic organizations, the state organs, and party commit-

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1 The 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour was held on December 13-14th; it heard, discussed and unanimously approved the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania «On the Further Strengthening of the Party».
tees in the districts was quite correct. Likewise, there was no lack of criticism of the leadership, that is, us, the comrades at the centre, whether of the apparatus of the Central Committee or that of the Government, and it was very correct, reasonable and necessary. And when the apparatus of the Central Committee was criticized, this implies automatically that not only the directors, chiefs and instructors and others, but all of us who work here, from me to the other secretaries of the Central Committee, were criticized. When the ministers and other government organs were criticized, the Government and all the comrades working there were criticized, too. The criticism made at this Plenum, which we have to take up and correct, has a very positive and Marxist aspect; many «is» were dotted in the Marxist-Leninist spirit.

But can it be said that these are mistakes of line in ideology or political or organizational distortions of principle? We are sure that there are no mistakes and distortions of this nature in our Party, because our Party stands firm on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, whether ideological or organizational, defends them and keeps them unaltered. And taking its stand on these strong theoretical and organizational foundations, the Party has always been able to orientate itself correctly in defining its internal and external general policy for the development of our economy, the building of socialism, because it has always had its compass clear. Albania does not live isolated, it has to do with friendly and enemy states, which adopt a different policy towards it. Those, who yesterday posed as Marxist-Leninists, have now become traitors, are in power and have changed completely. They have changed the entire political, organizational and ideological orientation and are in open struggle against Marxism-Leninism. While always standing firm on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has been able to adopt its tactics in a Marxist-Leninist way, according to the situation, so that they conform to the interests of our people and the construction of socialism, to the interests of the independence and sovereignty of our country, of proletarian internationalism and the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. This is a great success for our Party, and it will continue on this road, because ours is a revolutionary Party, which has been, is, and will always be the vanguard of the working class and all the masses of the working people in Albania, because it bases itself firmly on its close ties with the masses of the people. This is one of the decisive Leninist-Stalinist weapons. I emphasize Leninist-Stalinist. It is known that Stalin has said, «cadres decide everything». In the opinion of our Party

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.
such a thesis is correct. In no single instance can one find in the Works of Stalin the cadres being opposed to the masses of the people. On the contrary, one will find stressed there the thesis that the party must link itself as closely as possible with the masses of the people and rely on them.

Here is what Stalin says in connection with this question:

"...Previously people used to say: 'technique decides everything'. This slogan helped us to wipe out a dearth in technique and create a very broad technical base in all the branches of activity, to equip our people with first-rate technical means. This is a very good thing. But this is by no means sufficient. In order to put the equipment in motion and make thorough use of it requires people who will master technique, cadres capable of mastering and making use of this equipment according to all the rules of the art... If there were a sufficient number of cadres capable of mastering this technical equipment in our magnificent plants and factories, in our state and collective farms, in our transport, and in the Red Army, our country would achieve an effect three or four times greater than it does today. That is why, today, we should put the stress on people, on the cadres, on the working people, who master technique. That is why the old slogan, 'technique decides everything', which reflects a period already left behind, when we suffered from a dearth of equipment, should be replaced today with a new slogan, with the slogan 'cadres decide everything'. This is most important."

because if it is cut off from them, it dies. What is more, to emphasize this question, J.V. Stalin referred, by way of example, to the figure of Anteus. Therefore if it is claimed that Stalin said that cadres decide everything, while ignoring the masses of the people, this is incorrect.

But why is the party called the vanguard of the working class? Because those who take part in the party are the most conscious people of the working class, those to whom it has entrusted the leadership on the basis of its ideology. The party has complete trust in its members and those are cadres. When we speak of the party we mean that the people in its ranks are at a higher level than the masses, as regards their Marxist-Leninist world outlook and communist consciousness. N. Khrushchev's thesis, that says, we are «the party of the entire people» is a bluff. To the revisionists, this means the party of a new bourgeois capitalist class which is formed in the new conditions. It is a party which will bring to power new Kerenskys, who have emerged and are forming a stratum there.

Which is that Marxist-Leninist party that does not fight for its cadres? We threw ourselves into the National Liberation War, but, if we had not created the Party, if the people had not had confidence in a handful of people, who began to do the work of the Party, if within the great mass of people who hurled themselves upon the enemies, arms in hand, individuals had not stood out, cadres who won the confidence of the people and the partisans, who led them in the glorious battles,
if these individuals from the ranks of the people, who led our glorious army and liberated the country through war, if all of these had not existed, would it have been possible to imagine that such a situation could have been created in our country? How can anyone think we can go forward without cadres? If today, tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow, the Party were to think of running, the iron-nickel combine for example, without first training cadres, this project would never be carried out. How can socialism be built, or all these projects be run, without cadres?

Neither in life nor in his works did J.V. Stalin say that the cadres’ path should be paved with gold, that they should be given privileges and become bourgeois. It is an important issue that all the cadres should live and work in the revolutionary spirit of the Party, not cut themselves off from the masses, that they wage a persistent struggle against all the pressure of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois mentality, which they bring in from their lives and which still exists during the building of socialism and will continue to exist during the stage of transition to communism, too. It is another matter, and would be extremely harmful, if cadres were to be granted favours which put them in privileged positions, were to be above the masses, behave arrogantly towards them, and underestimate the masses.

We are convinced that our line on these questions is correct and Marxist-Leninist. The Party and our cadres have never forgotten the great cause of the masses. It is the masses who create abundance, who change the situation, and move the mountains. But the masses are led by the Party, by the cadres who, themselves, have come from the masses. It is the task of the Party to keep these cadres clean, like the people, the working class and our revolutionary peasantry, to temper them as modest people, not as exploiters seeking power and wealth. In this direction our Party has done and is doing still a colossal job.

Let us now return to our question. The work of the Party is many-sided, great, arduous, but glorious. When we speak about the work of the Party we shouldn’t set limits. There can be no two ways about the question of leadership by the Party. The Party is in its apparatuses, in the state, in the ministries, the army, the organs of justice, and everywhere. The Party decides. All the party members, in the forefront of the struggle of the masses, carry out the great interests and desires of the people, who, under the leadership of the Party, have created possibilities for a better life, for advance. On the basis of the work of the Party with the people, their great patriotic, revolutionary, socialist consciousness must be aroused. This is done, and should be done better, by everybody, by him who works in the Party apparatus, as well as him who works in a plant, enterprise, in government or in a ministry etc. To this end ceaseless work in a revolutionary spirit should be carried on by everyone in the sector to which the Party has allocated him. The speciality in these sectors should in no way be utilized for personal, subjective interests. The Party has trusted its member to put
all he knows modestly in the service of the masses wherever he works, to be more militant and more ready to sacrifice himself than anyone else. Neither he who works in the state, nor he who works in the party can say that his work is more valuable to the party. Perhaps a worker in the party apparatus may say that his work is much more valuable. This is a mistake, this is a subjective view. Or a worker in the state or an enterprise should not say, «It was I who raised this question», «I accomplished this task while those people of the party only talk, only hold meetings». He who thinks like this is on the wrong road, he is thinking in a subjective way. In both these instances it emerges that neither one nor the other understands the unified, universal leading role of the party in all its links. All the party comrades, and especially those whom the party has elected, should understand that the people in the administration are appointed, and they should understand this well. The communists elect their leaders in the party, in the party committees or party basic organizations to accomplish an exceptionally big task. We have explained what this is. But let us say once again: This does not mean that the party comrades shouldn't concern themselves with economic questions. Without this, all the work with which a party worker is charged is baseless, it is up in the air. The problem is that the party worker, instructor, or secretary should know all about economic matters, but not through figures and statistics, since they can be found within two minutes and the party has appointed special persons to deal with them. The thing is you must know all about the economic tasks allocated to you, the method of organizing them through the ideological, political, and organizational work, and encouragement, from the technical aspect of the small enterprises right up to the biggest ones, which the party member, working for the party, should know how to handle. He has extremely great tasks to uplift the political and ideological work, to strengthen the organizational links, as defined by the party and the state, and through the links, to exert an influence on the spirit of the communists. This is a colossal undertaking. Then why do the party workers displace the state organs, their comrades who are just as loyal and capable as those who work in the party apparatus? The chairman of an executive committee may very well become a party secretary, since he has all the qualities of a secretary, while a secretary may very well become chairman of the executive committee any time you like. These are all cadres which the strength of the party has brought up and educated. They are able to do their work, and do it very well. But they need the aid of the party, because without its help, without the mobilization of the party and its mobilization of the masses nothing can be done. Everybody in the party is clear about this.

Therefore, in view of this great task laid down by the party, here I am referring to the party workers specially, it is impermissible and unacceptable that the party committees and meetings of party activists should be involved, for example, in de-
ciding how many drums of water should be gathered to water the vines or how many picks and shovels are required to dig holes, etc.

I interrupted a comrade at this point in his contribution and interposed when he said, "Willy-nilly, we, too, get involved". But why should these things happen while we neglect the main question without which the state power cannot carry on? The build-up of industry, agriculture, work in the army, the organs of justice etc., call for great mobilization, and without this mobilization, which the Party brings about, nothing is done. Each sector will proceed on the road of the Party only if people are tempered as they should be from every viewpoint. The Party, the party basic organizations and the party members themselves will do this tempering. This cannot be done by holding a gun at someone’s head. We must never forget that pressure of the bourgeois remnants, the capitalist pressure, and now the great revisionist pressure, do not leave people in our country entirely unaffected, whether party members or not. This means that the class struggle continues in these forms, and it should be waged with the greatest severity against this pressure, as the Party has done up till now...

I shall make a criticism of you, comrade secretaries. We know that you work hard, but if you and your comrades have in mind the political and ideological work, in all its complexity, the strengthening of the organizational links and the mobilization of the masses, you should drop the minor things immediately, go thoroughly into problems and fight for people. This is how things were done in the time of the war. Experience is experience. During the War I was in Tirana, where comrade Gogo Nushi and comrade Fitaret Shahu were my collaborators. We all know that they were very difficult times, because the enemy was close on your heels, but we did not fail to visit every party basic organization and left no family without contact. The leadership of the Party knew everything about people’s lives, knew what each of them thought. The Party also knew that they were not all pure gold, there were people with wrong ideas, there were heroes, convinced and disciplined people, reliable people, but there were also intriguers, windbags, cowards, etc. In those difficult times the Party displayed great patience towards these people. Take the case of Anastas Lulo1; the Party worked on him for a long time, and when it saw that he and his associates were becoming dangerous in their activity, it crushed them. But, as a result of the work and care of the Party, many people were corrected and tempered.

Now times have changed, the Party is in power, therefore our tasks today are great. However, there are many cadres, too, and they have now made great progress, so our possibilities are colossal. Compare for yourselves what a low cultural and educational level you had at that time, but...

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1. Former leader of a communist group. After the founding of the Albanian Communist Party he carried out factional activity until finally he was denounced by the Party.
your spirit was revolutionary, you fought the enemies without compromise and mobilized the people to inspire them with the ideas of communism. This persistent work enabled the Party to advance. Therefore today, just as in the time of the war, this practice of work should be kept alive, the good method of work, the great importance of man for us, should never be forgotten, because man will build the factories, dig the canals, and make inventions. But man is man, he meets difficulties in life, has feelings, shortcomings and strong points. We know very well who is going to channel all these things on to the right road. Only correct, collective and individual work, day by day by the Party with these people will make everything go well. But we still have shortcomings and the blame for this falls, first of all, on the people who work in the party apparatus.

Life inside the Party should be militant and dynamic.

We follow the principle that the party basic organizations should show initiative, but if the instructor of the party committee keeps it constantly under his tutelage, even if he were a genius he could not always attend every meeting of the basic organization, and we would be parting from the principle of independent action by the basic organization in any case. Here we have many shortcomings, which we should put right. We have the forms, maintain instructors, but what accounting do we demand from them, what instruction and advice do we give them? We should recognize that these are not thorough and complete, are not a diet containing all the calories they need. We are able to do this work better, but we must put aside those things which are not our concern, we should know how to share out the work well, then know how to teach the instructors so that they can teach others, and must create a synthesis of work that will be clearer and more mobilizing for the masses of the Party.

We always go to the base during campaigns. We are not opposed to this, we have to go there during campaigns, but when a campaign is conducted, the impression is left that something new is under way. For 20 years we have been carrying out campaigns. But will it always require a whole lot of people to go to the party basic organization to get out of the mud? This is not right. This does not mean that we should not go to the base at all. Now the party basic organization is not in such a situation as to remain stuck in the mud. We should have more faith in it, but this faith should be real, well-based, Marxist-Leninist faith. And this work is not done like the wind or with one word. The work of the Party is difficult and tiring. Therefore the rank-and-file of the Party, who have elected us, trust us to do it, and we bear great responsibility before the people. If we want to really strengthen the work, we have to do it. By this, I do not mean to say that we are doing nothing, but the proceedings of this Plenum should bring about a great and obvious change in all aspects of the work of the Party.

Comrades, we must fight bureaucratic leadership, and this struggle should be carried out first
at the top, since the danger exists, and then right to the end at the base. I am not referring only to the problem of letters and memos, because there is bureaucracy in this direction, too. All of us are clear about the ideological, political and organizational principles. You have to be a dogmatic, bureaucratic secretary if you cling to forms alone, considering them unchangeable when in practice, even though the Central Committee has established them, they have begun to fail to justify themselves. In this direction, the Party comrades who are linked with the masses should create new forms, therefore we should not ring up to ask whether we should implement this form or not. When it yields results you should put it into practice immediately, then come to the Central Committee so that we can have a look at it...

Hence, we should not be bureaucrats when something is good and useful to put into practice; it is a good thing that ideas emerge from below. We should always be full of initiative in a correct way, but we should educate the people to be prudent because even initiative is harmful if it is overdone. People well-educated by the Party consider the general interest first, and then personal interest.

Revisionism, about which we spoke, is a dreadful disease and we must profit from the struggle waged against it. We should not simplify the issue, but when we say we must profit on the basis of the lessons of Lenin, Stalin, our experience, and so on, this requires, above all, that we carry out the fight against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants, against all aspects which are not good, and sometimes hostile, even of the party members, etc. This is a necessary thing. We should not forget this, because the revisionists base all their activity on these remnants, they rely on these strata. The degeneration into which they have plunged their parties assists them; they have brought about the degeneration of the party because they no longer base themselves on Marxism-Leninism, on the Leninist principles in the organization of the party, the economy, and policy. The Titoite, Khrushchevite, Czech, and other revisionists are working furiously to bring about the degeneration of their parties into bourgeois, capitalist parties and to transform their countries from socialist into capitalist countries; they are working to create strata of the new bourgeoisie in their countries, made up of people with degenerate views, not with party views. The Khrushchev and Tito regimes have created extremely favourable conditions for functionaries, first of all. With his treacherous revisionist transformations in agriculture, Khrushchev has also created exceptionally favourable conditions for all leaders of the kolkhozes; and to the intelligentsia, first of all to intellectuals of high calibre, not only within the country but abroad, too, he has granted exceptionally great privileges in order to have them as major class bases.

You know about the question of factory management in Yugoslavia which is capitalist in nature. The generation of new capitalists has been created there. Hence all factory management is capitalist, which, under today’s conditions, gives the
workers a crust of bread, too. But the capitalists at the base are the support of the capitalists at the centre. N. Khrushchev is applying this method of work and this creation of new capitalists in the USSR, too. In the industry of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev has begun and continues to create managerial councils, composed of degenerate and dissipated anti-Marxist, bureaucratic leaders, who are gradually becoming a basis for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR.

Concerning agriculture in the USSR, this, too, has begun to go downhill, and it will continue to do so. In this direction there is not a shred of party work with sound Marxist-Leninist criteria; revisionism prevails in the country, the masses of the people are being steadily fed a diet of anti-Marxist ideology and the western way of life. You should bear in mind all the demagogic propaganda carried out by radio, press, etc., and should not think that it does not influence our people, too. Do not forget the Tirana Conference, the anti-party elements, agents of the Yugoslav legation and revisionists, who rose against the Party. They accused the people of the Party and the state leadership of allegedly living in luxury. But such a thing does not exist in our country, and if there are individuals with such tendencies, the Party must educate them and cure them. This is an important task, and if we go to sleep over it then we have committed the gravest crime. We should be working for today, for next year and for centuries to come. We have laid good solid foundations, on which we can base ourselves to keep our Party pure in the future. Our responsibility on this question is great, therefore alien manifestations should be combatted by all of us. Our Party does not follow the revisionist course.

Had we based ourselves on the principles of the revisionists, or those of the Tirana Conference, and increased salaries, things would have been different. But we did not see anything abnormal as  

1. The 3rd Conference of the Party of Tirana city was held in April 1956. At this conference, enemy elements, who had managed to be elected as delegates, attacked the Marxist-Leninist line and leadership of the Party. They put forward their anti-Marxist platform, the aim of which was revision of the political line of the Party in the spirit of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This whole affair had been hatched up by the revisionist forces and was guided by the Tito clique through the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana. Misusing the internal democracy of the Party, the anti-party elements created a tense situation at the conference. The Central Committee assessed the situation as very serious and sent comrade Enver Hoxha to the conference. He exposed the aims of the revisionists and put forward the resolute stand of the Party of Labour of Albania for the preservation of the purity of its revolutionary policy and practice. The delegates to the conference fully supported this stand of the Party and condemned the attempts of the enemies to divert it from its Marxist-Leninist line. The revisionist plot failed.
regards salaries. Our task, and that of party members is and should be, first of all, to make proper savings, to safeguard the wealth of the people, and especially people's consciousness. If we protect people's consciousness, we shall emerge with success from all the difficulties we meet, we shall be able to fight them more successfully than up till now.

As to the disease of revisionism we should not forget that in the USSR the rot began in the head of the fish. We should bear in mind that the tendency to seek personal comfort, to want more than your fair share, the tendency that «I deserve more and before someone else» is not expressed among the working class and the revolutionary peasantry, but among the people of administration and the intellectuals. Therefore, not only should the Party work very hard, with vigilance and justice, with the working class and be inspired by it, but it should work carefully especially with the office cadres, so to say, with those who run things, with the intellectuals. I do not like the expression, which I have heard here and there, and does not seem right to me, when someone asks a cooperative chairman, «How many head of sheep does your cooperative own? Why the «your»? Say how many head of sheep does the cooperative own. This is very important. What I mean is that if the seed falls on a fertile soil, bad things may happen. Naturally, a great deal depends on the leadership of the cooperative. It is bad for the cooperative if it does not have a good chairman, but even if the chairman is good he cannot do anything on his own. Therefore, the strength of the Party, of the collective, is everything, and any other viewpoint is wrong. We have chairmen of cooperatives who are swell-headed. Perhaps the cooperative chairmen take high salaries, and we must look at that particularly, and then there are also chairmen who never get mud on their shoes or have a pick or a shovel in their hands. In such a chairman, willy-nilly, the view of private property may be created, as though the cooperative is his and he is the chief of the clan. If you say to the chairman, «It is thanks to you that things are going well here», or, «there is nobody like you», then the collective is underestimated, the chairman speaks arrogantly, becomes swell-headed, becomes despotic, thinks that he alone knows everything and that nobody can do better than he. If such a thing may happen once with someone from the working class, or twice with a poor peasant, with those of intellectual origin it is ten times more likely to happen.

That is why incessant ideological work should be done with everybody in order to implant the feelings and general interests of the collective, which ennoble the individual. The collective works in close connection with, and under the leadership of, the Party, therefore everyone should march in step with the collective, nothing is outside the collective, and any sort of interest outside the collective should be eliminated, especially for intellectuals.

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1. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania differences between high and low rates of pay have been steadily reduced. Thus in 1978 the ratio was 1 to 2.
We should bear in mind that we have an extremely great amount of work ahead of us in the agricultural cooperatives. We have many weaknesses in the party basic organizations in the countryside, also because of the shortcomings I cited. The question of why there are no admissions to the Party in this or that village should concern us. The comrades put it well, and it is correct that where there are no admissions, the party basic organization is like stagnant water breeding mosquitoes and disease. In the party basic organizations where there are no admissions there cannot be a healthy spirit, a feeling of taking it easy is created, cliques come into being, and some people form the idea that they are competent, irreplaceable, and that there is no need for others. People who think like this have lost the concept of the Party.

Therefore, young people must always be coming into the party basic organizations, in the enterprises, administration, the village and suburbs, since the youth bring into the Party their great willpower and energy, their pure love for, and faith in, the Party. The older party members must educate and temper the young communists for the future. It has taken twenty years on the anvil of the Party to make us Marxists and enable us to work more or less well and without mistakes. Twenty years and more will not be needed for the youth but the older communists should think of the morrow and prepare cadres.

The question of admissions to the Party is of great importance. This should not be done in a stereotyped manner and through campaigns. The principle of admission to the Party defined in the Constitution should be respected, but even this is not sufficient, because not all the problems can be included in the Constitution. We would be making a mistake if, now, proceeding from what we have said, we were to go all out to have admissions to the Party from the countryside. We have to examine this question organization by organization. This is not some «special» work, because, if we are doing the work of the Party well, this question will arise automatically. When we see that the party basic organization of a cooperative is militant, there is criticism and self-criticism, young and old are in the forefront of the struggle, and there is nothing unhealthy there, why should we rush to admit young people to the Party, with and without criterion, simply because we have a directive? If we have such a party basic organization, it should create a group of nonparty activists, from whom new elements can be admitted to the Party at any moment. Because we do not admit everybody to the Party.

Whereas in another party basic organization, where no admissions to the Party have been made for a long time, and this is recognized, the party basic organization should make the effort to work better with the people, with the most revolutionary cooperativists, in order to admit new elements to the Party, and, you might say, stir up the stagnant water there. It will not be the secretary of the organization, who has grown accustomed to this situation, who does this, but the members of the
Party with the vigorous work of the party committee, with the aim of bringing new people into the organization, and thus creating a healthy Marxist-Leninist spirit.

So, if two or three new party members are needed in a party basic organization of a village, let them enter it. Or in some other village perhaps the peasants turn out to be very conservative towards women. Then work should be done in the party basic organization of this village to admit young women to the Party, to shake the communists and the whole village free of their conservatism towards women. In another village where the question of women is advanced we need not do such a thing specially.

Therefore to carry out sound party work for today and for the future, we should study and analyze every directive «bit by bit», examine it in all its aspects, then set about the work in an organized manner.

In this way we shall always have a true Marxist-Leninist party just as we, ourselves, and the people want it to be, which will cope successfully, as up to now, with these situations we are living through for the construction of socialism in the conditions of our struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

Much depends on the work the whole Party carries out wherever it works, much depends on the methods for the improvement of their work on the part of the party workers, party committees, but much depends also on the organization of their work by the state organs, etc.

We say and will go on saying that the basic organizations should be militant. But the problems should be brought up in the basic organization, where such things should be criticized severely, because they obstruct the work, and we should not occupy ourselves with trifles. It is not a case of come along, we are going to criticize you because we saw you drinking three glasses of raki today, or because you spoke angrily to your wife, etc. This may be done, but not just this. The trade union organization should not concern itself with why someone has not taken his wife to the cinema. This is not the main thing the party basic organization should concern itself with, but it should take up the problem over which the Party is most worried, while as to him who did not take his wife to the cinema, which has made an impression on you, you could go on a comradely visit to his house and invite him and his wife to go with you to the cinema.

Therefore, the most important problems should be raised in the party basic organization and then we shall see how it will become militant, how decisions will be taken, since there are all sorts of forms. The party leadership in the enterprises, factories, etc., is not bad, on the contrary it is very good. The Party takes part directly in the management of factories, because the plan which comes there is discussed with the members of the Party and with the workers, and the Party, for its part, mobilizes the masses to carry it out. Therefore, to make everything go as it should, the party basic organization should mobilize the people, educate
them, combat their shortcomings and it must become consistently militant. Not only the secretary of the party basic organizations, but the party committee and the secretaries of party committees should take a great interest in this problem. They should be specialists. First of all, the secretary of the party committee who is in charge of the industry should be a specialist, so that when he goes to a factory, he can say to the party comrades of the textile sector, for instance, that you have worked very badly, because the twill has come out so and so, can stress that they must be more careful, more conscientious, that is, he has to speak in such a manner as to mobilize the people and not simply jot down figures. Therefore, comrades, efforts must be made in these directions.

Then the question of letters, both in the Party and the state, is very unhealthy. Every day, I receive many letters, let alone the other secretaries of the Central Committee. These letters are very important. One hour each day I devote to reading the letters I receive. All of us understand their importance, but the reason that all these letters come to us is that the people of the Party and the state, in ministries or enterprises, are not doing their job properly. There are letters with unfounded complaints, but there are also things which should be set right and are, in fact, put right when the letter addressed to us is sent by us to the base. But why are things put right after the matter comes to us? These people have gone to the base, first of all, but have not found the solution to the problem. This should make us think.

There are too many people in the ministries, and they should be reduced. Just one statistic: 203 thousand letters have come in and gone out of 17 central government departmental offices in a matter of 9 months. The Ministry of Agriculture and that of Industry stand out in this respect: one with 50 thousand and the other with more than 50 thousand letters. Why so much red tape? We have to take into account the time spent by those who write all this memos. Three-quarters of these letters have to be dealt with by the Party and the state. Imagine how many people are needed to read these letters, to write the necessary notes for us, and finally to reply to the people concerned. Three-quarters of these letters should be avoided, therefore let us take measures to fight the bureaucracy which obstructs the activity and creativity of the working people. The bureaucracy of letters must be combatted. If we have fewer people, the work will go better. We should make improvements in this direction.

I believe that this Plenum will be very helpful. We must put the work on a better course, this is indispensable, necessary for our Homeland and for the victory of our Marxist-Leninist cause in general.

*Taken from the original in the Central Archives of the Party*
THE HISTORIC DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS OF PËRMET CAME OUT OF THE BARREL OF THE PARTISAN GUN

Address at the reception given at Përmet on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the 1st National Liberation Congress

May 24, 1964

Dear comrades,

If one speaks of the historic importance of the Congress of Përmet one is bound to speak of the war of the Albanian people, since this Congress was a component part of it, was a key part of the glorious National Liberation War. Throughout the centuries of their history, our people have continually waged just wars, but the National Liberation War, which was the continuation of these wars, was the greatest and the bloodiest, the most glorious and the most complicated. It was the crowning of all these wars, the final fight.

Our country has given birth to eminent men of letters and arms, our people have brought forth fighters and generals, scholars, philosophers, and politicians, people of a fiery revolutionary spirit who have striven in every way to liberate the country from the innumerable hordes of internal and external enemies. These men, emerging from the people, fought together with the people, sometimes led them to victory and many times suffered defeat, but the people never gave up. After each defeat, they rose again, fought, shed their blood, and went through fire and flames, over and over again.

Those were hard times. The people and the loyal people who led them in uprisings looked abroad for friends to support them, tried to create alliances favouring the cause of the people. But the chiefs of world imperialism, the governments of the great bourgeois states, in alliance with the feudals and despots of our country, foiled all these efforts of the people and their progressive leaders. The imperialists have never had any consideration for Albania; to them, the blood of Albanians was of no value. Albania was a token to be bartered. Each time a ray of hope was born after bloody wars, the internal enemy, together with the external enemy, got up to a thousand and one tricks at the people's expense, spurred their sacrifice and the bones of the fighters. They robbed the people of their victory and scornfully told them, «Take your staff and cloak and go to look after your cows, because we run the state, we do the thinking for Albania, because we have it in our blood to command, to direct, to make the policy with the kings». Such were the degenerate feudal lords and the bourgeoisie of our country.

In these difficult circumstances the people did
not succeed in creating a leadership that was truly their own, consistent, and monolithic. This is why they were unable to win their true independence, but through suffering, misery, and the wars which they waged they gained endless experience. The atrocities and the betrayals perpetrated against them became lessons for the people. Therefore, the people and their sons were fully confident that the day would come when they would settle accounts with all their external and internal enemies.

Their unbowed spirit, heroism, and power of endurance have always been great virtues of the Albanian people. Our people demonstrated this great experience in the glorious National Liberation War, and in the heat of this war they themselves created the leadership they had dreamt of. They created their heroic Communist Party of Albania, which knew how to gather together and make proper use of all this experience of our people.

We often say that at that time, our Party was young in years. This is true. But at the same time, it was old in experience, because the Albanian communists were the sons of their long suffering people, the great grandsons of Scanderbeg, of the Frashëri brothers, of thousands of heroes. Merits do not wait for old age to affirm themselves. This was the case with our Party, because it was a Marxist-Leninist party, which was born in war, which was tempered in war, which mastered the Marxist-Leninist ideology and took upon itself the heavy and glorious burden of leading the revolution.

We, the early communists, were not fully versed in the Marxist-Leninist theory, but we knew its main principles and those we developed further, and what is more, we never lost sight of them. The fact is that the Albanian communists and all our valiant people, in the fight, at work, in battle, consistently implemented the Marxist-Leninist theory. The word of our Party became a banner for the people, and they carried it out with amazing ability, as though they had gone through a Marxist-Leninist school. This should not surprise us, because the founders of our great theory themselves — Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, had the people as their teacher. They raised this experience of the peoples, the revolutionary fighting experience of the proletariat and the peasantry, to the level of a science for guidance, action, revolution, and socialism. For this reason, our young Party, armed with the great revolutionary experience of our people, and guided by the immortal theory of Marxism-Leninism, knew how to mould the brilliant future of Albania.

But, at the same time, we must admit that such a thing was not achieved easily, that it required effort, that the struggle was difficult. In the beginning, the Party thought things out deepy, and, when it started its war, it acted with determination, as Lenin and Stalin taught us: «The revolution is the most serious thing, once you start the revolution, you must carry it right through to the end, because, if you stop half-way you are doomed to failure and you harm the people». From
its first steps, the Party kept this high sense of responsibility for the fate of the people well in mind. It knew that it would score victories, but also that there would be defeats, but it was convinced that, in the long run, the victory would be with the people. The Party was convinced that the people would respond to its word and would make it their banner just as they did.

It was going into the most difficult war against the most savage enemies mankind had ever seen, therefore the Party carefully weighed up these grave situations, taking into account the circumstances and the internal and international forces. The Party was clear about where its true support lay, which stratum of the people had to be won over and which had to be fought. The Party sized up and kept well in mind the great forces of the enemy, as well as the intrigues of the traitors of the country and the alliances they would enter into with the occupier, which would have to be coped with. Our people's great experience of the past, as I said earlier, was a great treasury for our Party. In this great life-or-death struggle our Party was also clear about who were the true external allies of our people. Thus, as early as the first days after its founding, the Party took up the question of the armed struggle, and this had to be combined with its great political struggle, with the ideological struggle. Comrades and brothers, this combination has been the life and the constant concern of all of us.

What did Marxism teach us when we began the war? It taught us that, in order to win their freedom, to break the chains of servitude, the people must rise in revolution, rifle in hand, must mercilessly attack the imperialists and all those making common cause with them. Our people had learned this great lesson of Marxist-Leninist theory through the centuries. It was dictated to them by life, and with great intuition they had applied it throughout all their history. Generation after generation, our people have fought, rifle in hand, and have withstood the countless waves of various occupiers and all the traitors and exploiters who tried to hinder their patriotic movements, the peasant movements, the progressive intellectual movements. Thus, our Party put into practice this great lesson of the people, this great lesson of the revolution which Marx teaches us, by giving the signal to begin the war for the complete destruction of the fascist occupiers and the local traitors.

Why did our fathers and forefathers fight? To win freedom and independence and to take power into their own hands. What does Marxism-Leninism teach us? The question of seizing power is the decisive question; we must throw ourselves into the revolution, and the people must take the power into their hands; the people must determine their own fate; the working class must lead this fight, and in alliance with the revolutionary peasantry, must guide the revolution through to the end. Therefore, the first thing for our Party was to give the signal for the armed uprising in order to win freedom, to seize power, and to
establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The armed uprising erupted like a volcano in our country.

Right from the start we, the first communists, said that we would carry this bloody war against the Italian fascists, the German nazis, and the traitors through to victory only if we created a genuinely revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party, a party of the masses, not a sectarian party of five or twenty people, but a party linked like flesh to bone with the people, a strong, steel-like, pure party, made up of thousands upon thousands of cadres who would be in a position to lead this great war with success in all directions. From the beginning, the Party said that the cadres could not emerge except in war, that such cadres loyal to the revolution emerged only from the war, the battles, and sacrifices. And the Party was absolutely right to proceed in this way.

For our Party the question of the war was decisive, and had it failed to understand this, our people would be living in slavery today. Our whole people arose, arms in hand, created the detachments, battalions, brigades, divisions, and army corps, they created our glorious National Liberation Army. With great sacrifice and heroism, our people climbed a steep and difficult road, overcoming colossal obstacles.

Why were these colossal obstacles overcome? Because the Party, never for a moment, overlooked other questions, among which, the great work of political explanation. The Party took upon itself the task of uplifting the Albanian people political-
we had to fight not only against the occupier, but also against the internal enemies, the permanent enemies of the people — feudal lords, boys, Zogites, sold-out politicians and many others of this ilk, who had forgotten nothing from the past and had learned nothing from it. The one thing they knew was how to oppress and exploit the people, to sell themselves to the different occupiers and serve them. These hostile classes found their support with the occupiers; the Party found its support among the people. Nevertheless, the Party pursued a correct policy, as the circumstances and the grave situation required, addressing itself to all people of good will with the slogan of the National Liberation Front: «Join in the war against the fascist occupiers without distinction as to religion, region, or opinion!» The Party had it clear that many of the waverers would be convinced, but that there would also be those who, together with the Italian and German imperialist fascists, would organize the savage war against the people. The Party worked things out and tried to avoid the fratricide. But after having done its utmost, neither its hand nor its heart would tremble when it struck down the traitors to and the enemies of the people, and exterminated them to the last, just as it actually did. This was the logic of the war, the just logic of the class struggle. A differentiation had to be made; the wheat had to be separated from the chaff. There were only two roads: either with the people, or against the people.

The Party never for a moment forgot that, in order to implement this policy correctly and appropriately, it was necessary, in the first place, for both the communists and the sympathizers of communism to be equipped with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, because only in this way would they be able to find their bearings in the complicated situations, as they did in fact, only in this way would they carry out the policy of the Party properly, as they did. The communists set to work in this direction: the war was raging in the mountains, gorges, trenches, and when the battles ended, they would open the books of Lenin, Stalin, the books of our democratic and revolutionary patriots, from which the sons and daughters of the people learned the theory, opened to themselves broad horizons, acquainted themselves with the reality of our people, integrated the past with the present, with the Marxist-Leninist theory. Such people tempered by the Party — and there were tens of thousands of them — were the decisive factor in our victory; they became the guarantee, the backbone of the steel-like unity of the Party and the people; they raised the high level of patriotism, made the people fearless, opened their eyes so they acted with great initiative, and made them merciless towards the occupiers and the traitors. The people loved them, because they were sincere and straightforward. This was the deed of the Party, these were the communists. The Albanian people, generation after generation, will never forget this great deed of our Party.

We, comrades, were all in the war, we all went through those difficult days, those days of
great enthusiasm, all of us have known — because the Party taught us — how to consolidate our victories step by step, with maturity, coolheadedness, not to act as though it were a wedding party, not to become intoxicated by success or conceited, but to be modest like our people, careful like our people, to endure things and be brave like our people, because our enemies were savage, they were bent on massacring whole peoples, on wiping out socialism, which was being built successfully in the Soviet Union, because they sought to turn the world back to darkness. But the enemies did not manage to achieve their objective, because in the world there was the glorious Soviet Union, led by the Bolshevik Party and the great Stalin. Nikita Khrushchev, the vilest traitor ever seen in the international communist movement, tries in vain to tarnish the image of the great leader of the Patriotic War, the loyal disciple of Lenin, the teacher of the entire proletariat, the great Stalin.

The history of our people, the history of the Soviet Union, Marxism-Leninism, taught us, that in that great National Liberation War, that great world war against fascism, we must have faith in the Soviet-Anglo-American anti-fascist alliance, but at the same time, always keep our eyes open. In the distant and immediate past, the Albanian people had suffered a great deal through the intrigues of American, British, Italian, and other imperialisms. I said earlier that the great patriots of our country had tried to build an alliance with the other countries, but their hopes faded and died, and history has demonstrated one thing, which could not have been otherwise, that the imperialist great powers have always sought to dig the grave for Albania. We, Albanian communists, have never forgotten this, and we had it well in mind. Therefore, we had to have faith in the great anti-fascist alliance, but at the same time, we had to be vigilant against the intrigues of the Anglo-American imperialists.

You know, comrades, that during the war years the Party criticized certain comrades who maintained a sectarian attitude, and spoke against, this alliance. The Party did this proceeding from its correct line; it taught the people not to separate our war from the war of the Soviet Union, with which we linked our war to the end, or from the war waged by the peoples of Britain and America; it taught the people that, along with this, they should open their eyes to the plans of the governments of the imperialist countries, which dreamt of seizing the opportune moment to put the noose around Albania's neck. Thus, the Party never forgot the history of our people; it bore it well in mind and integrated the teachings of life with theory.

You know that, during the National Liberation War, several groups of British officers came to our country. At first, they came over the border uninvited. The partisans, commissars and commanders of our fighting units, whom the Party had taught to be vigilant like eagles, immediately informed the General Council about the illegal entry of the British mission to Albania. Thereupon the Cen-
entral Committee of the CPA, through the General Council, gave the order that this mission should be held in a southern village so that it could not take one step further into the partisan zones. We wanted to teach the British allies that here in Albania it was the Communist Party which led, that it was not as in the old days, that Albania did not have two doors through which they might come and go as they pleased. The people were masters of the country. While trusting the people and the fighters, the Party thought that the policy of the alliance had to be preserved, but those intrigues who had come as "friends" to organize the destruction of the National Liberation War had to be isolated by such decisions. The correctness of this stand of the Party was confirmed. Those who had allegedly come to help us, though, as we know, their aid was ludicrous, intended to infiltrate into our National Liberation Army to sabotage its fighting spirit and destroy its unity. Seeing that they had failed from the start in this undermining activity, other British officers were attached to the ranks of the enemy, to the "Balli Kombëtar", "Legaliteti", and so on.

Why did they go to the ranks of the traitors of our people who were fighting against the National Liberation Army? It is clear that they were their allies. They went there to organize and strengthen the Albanian reaction, to arm its forces, to urge them on in the fight against the Party and the National Liberation Army. But their aims were even wider. By strengthening Albanian reaction, which was collaborating with the Germans, British reaction wanted and planned to have these forces ready for the decisive moment, because, during that time, these "allies" were trying to create a reactionary Albanian government in exile in London. But the Party, which was keeping a close watch over them, saw what they were up to and foiled their plans. The Party uncovered the agents of the Intelligence Service in the ranks of the National Liberation Front, and cleared them out. Then, finding themselves forced against the wall, the British officers organized a meeting with the Zogites, a meeting which was intended to prepare the return of King Zog to Albania. But the Party, ever vigilant, foiled these plans, too. Nevertheless, the Anglo-American Imperialists did not lay down their weapons. Seeing that the war of the Albanian people was on the upsurge, they tried to impede it at any cost.

Their agency in Albania was informed that the Congress of Përmet was being organized, and up to the day it opened the British imperialists did their utmost to sabotage it. But their endeavours were in vain, because the Party, always vigilant, liquidated their undermining activity with success and without difficulty. Thus, the proceedings of the Congress of Përmet went on wonderfully. The Anglo-American imperialists were aware of the historic importance of the Congress of Përmet and its consequences; this congress would ruin all their plans. Therefore, they did not leave a thing undone, but all their efforts were of no avail.

Nevertheless, the agents of British Imperialists
went further along their road. They made the pernicious proposal that they should organize allegedly «partisan forces» outside the command of General Myslym Peza, with the intention of using them later as a support for paratroops to be dropped to back up the Ballist forces at the decisive moment of the liberation of Tirana. But our glorious Party, always vigilant, nipped their «proposals» in the bud, telling them curtly that only the National Liberation Army under the command of the hero Myslym Peza would be acting there, and no other action would be permitted. Likewise, the incessant proposals and efforts made later by the imperialists for landings on our shores by their forces, which, together with the Greek monarcho-fascists, were to complicate the situation in Southern Albania and prepare the ground for the partition of this part of Albania in favour of the Greek monarcho-fascists, also failed.

Why did these «allies» not achieve their ends? Because of the great war, the great revolution of our people led by the Party, because of the correct line of our Party, which was implemented not simply by one or two, but by thousands and tens of thousands of people.

The Congress of Përmet, which will go down as a significant event in the history of our people, had extraordinary importance. It was a constituent congress. Those results which had been achieved with so much bloodshed, with so much suffering, had to be sanctioned by our heroic and sovereign people. The Congress of Përmet was no accidental event, but was well-thought out by the Party.

It was held in definite political circumstances and at a given moment, which the Party studied with great maturity.

What were the circumstances in which the Party said the time was ripe for the Congress of Përmet to take place? The famous Soviet Army, under the command of the great Stalin, was advancing triumphantly and the forces of German nazism were being smashed; inside our country we had liberated entire regions, we had destroyed the old power of the bourgeoisie and feudal lords, and had set up the people's power — the national liberation councils; the historic decisions of the Conference of Peza had been implemented by the Party with great success; the fascists and traitors were cowering in the cities; our army had assumed extended forms. In these circumstances, our Party decided to call the Congress of Përmet, with democratically elected delegates coming from all over the country, and to present to them these important problems which they had to decide in a sovereign manner; to sanction the form of the people's power, to ban the return of the satrap Ahmet Zog and his men, to annul all the enslaving treaties, to continue the war against the German nazis even more vigorously, until the complete liberation of Albania, and to eliminate the diplomatic and military manoeuvres of the Anglo-American «allies» at the expense of Albania. These were the reasons the Congress of Përmet was called.

But why call this Congress at Përmet, and not in some other place? This, too, was not done acci-
dentally. We could well have gathered at some other place, where the congress could have been more secure from the military aspect, But the Party chose Përmet for a number of reasons.

By choosing Përmet, which could be defended from the strategic aspect, as it was in fact defended by our glorious brigades, it would be demonstrated to the Albanian people and the foreign world that our war had passed from the stage of partisan warfare to the stage of a war with large detachments, to the stage of the liberation of towns; it would be demonstrated to the people that victory was close at hand. No one could resist the impact of our army. This was one reason.

The other reason was that the Party, the heir to all the lofty virtues of our people, of our keen-minded and fiery-hearted, fighting men and women, ought to honour their memory, the memory of the great men of the Renaissance who were born in and around Përmet, the great poet Naim, the outstanding philosopher, scholar, and statesman, Sami Frashëri, the great fighter, Abdy Frashëri. When they were at school, all those of our age read Sami’s book “Albania, What It Is, What It Was, And What It Will Be”. During the war years, I used to carry this book in my partisan haversack, and read and understood it now through the eyes of a Marxist. So, we ought to honour these great fighters and to show the people once again that their worthy sons were the partisans, the communists, and not the traitors such as Lumo Skendo and Mehdi Frashëri, even though they were of the Frashëri blood, Ali Këlcyrë, and others.

As you know, the Congress of Përmet took decisions which were the basis of our new Constitution. There it was decided to destroy the old power and to sanction the new people’s power, just as the people had dreamed, just as Marx Engels, Lenin and Stalin taught us, following the example of the Paris Commune and the Soviets in the conditions of Albania. Having become masters of their own fate, the people took the decision to abrogate all the damaging treaties of the past.

Even in the past congresses were held in our country, important historical congresses such as the Assembly of Lezha, the League of Prizren, or the Congress of Lushnja. In the documents of these congresses, our patriots, finding themselves in difficult positions, called on the big powers to help Albania. But in the resolutions of the Congress of Përmet, there are no such calls for help, there are no calls to Britain, America or any other state to decide the future of Albania. In the past, the enemies of Albania considered it as nothing, but this time, led by its glorious party, Albania showed them that it was unwavering and undaunted in its correct road. The Congress of Përmet warned the imperialists that the old times had gone forever, that history would never be repeated, as they might wish, that Albania would no longer be a token to be traded. that the Albanian delegates would no longer be scorned as once they were by Bismarck and Disraeli at the Congress of Berlin.

1 Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield (1804-1881) — Prime Minister of Britain in 1868, 1874-1880.
which cut Kosovo from Albania and gave it to the kings of Serbia, that it would no longer be permitted for anyone to say, as the Foreign Minister of the Tsar once said, that Shkodra was an omelette for Prince Nicholas of Montenegro. The Congress of Përmet told the Anglo-American imperialists that their ships were no longer able to land King Zog at Durrës, as those of the great power once did with a German Prince, that the Albanian flag would be flying over Vlora and Sazan; it told the imperialists that the time when Albanian patriots were sentenced to death for hoisting the Albanian flag, as they were in Korçë, had gone, and in Gjirokastër the Albanian flag would no longer be hoisted under the terror of General Piacentini’s bayonets and the Venizelists’ threats. This was what the Përmet Congress told the foreign world, this was what proud, fighting, revolutionary Albania, led by our glorious Party, told the imperialists.

The Përmet Congress gave our National-Liberation Army the order to advance, to liberate the towns and cities, to annihilate the enemy everywhere, destroying the German fascists and the traitors to the country with fire and steel, to complete the liberation of Albania within the date fixed by the Central Committee and the General Command, and, in sign of international fraternity, our forces would cross the border to help the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia in their fight for liberation. The Party ordered its glorious son, the talented and legendary General Mehmet Shehu, to march to liberate Tirana; and the partisan forces fulfilled the task set by the Party. Tirana was liberated, and in November 28th the whole of Albania was liberated. All the German forces were destroyed, the ballists were smashed and defeated by the fire of our army. The traitors, such as Lumo Skëndo, Mehdi Frashëri, Bazi i Canës, Muharrem Bajraktari, Ali Këlyra, and others, ran away like rabbits, others were brought before the tribunal of the people and paid for their crimes. This, comrades, is the great historical significance of the Congress of Përmet, the 20th anniversary of which we are celebrating today; this is a date which will remain for ever in the legendary history of our people, this is a lesson which will be studied and applied by the future generations in Albania.

The Party did all these things, and that, comrades, is why the people love it wholeheartedly and do everything for it. The people link their new life, socialism, and the future, communism, with their Party, because everything the Party has said, it has done, and this it has demonstrated with facts, with blood and not just words, with its wisdom, its determination to make the people happy, to do everything for the people. Nothing must be put above the interests of the people. As always, the communists should and will serve the people till they die, they are and will always

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2 In March 1914, the great powers, Austria-Hungary, Britain, France, and Italy brought the German prince, W. Vied, to rule Albania. Right from the beginning, he became a plaything in the hands of the imperialist powers.
be consistent in their course, they will always remain revolutionary, ready to make any sacrifice for the people. We communists, will do this as long as we live, and the coming generations of Albania, which will fill the ranks of our immortal Party, will always have the heroic struggle of our Party as a lesson on how to act.

The Party, comrades, created a large number of cadres endowed with lofty virtues, with a new consciousness, with rare bravery and outstanding ability, with a wide knowledge of science and culture, and it did this because, just as it had foreseen the difficulties of the war, it also foresaw that another big battle would begin after the war, that for the construction of socialism, which would not be easy. It foresaw the great difficulties that would be encountered, which, however, did not frighten us, but would be overcome, as they were overcome.

There are people abroad who wish us well, who have a great respect and admiration for our Party, but who sometimes raise the question of how it is possible that this new Party has not made mistakes. People may make mistakes, parties also may make mistakes, but it is not essential that every individual and party must make mistakes. The fact is that our Party has not committed any mistake in its general line, and this for no other reason but that it has always been loyal to the people, that it has never permitted itself to harm the people through its actions, has taken its steps with great care and sense of responsibility, has profited from the great revolutionary experien-

ce of the people, from their sufferings and sacrifices, because it has learned from the intrigues of the enemies of the people how to face and destroy them, just as it did, and because it has remained and will always remain unwaveringly loyal to the Marxist-Leninist theory.

All these things, comrades, made it possible to win the war, to create the people's state power, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, to successfully achieve the reconstruction of our country ravaged and devastated by the war, to build socialism successfully.

In the reconstruction of the country we encountered many difficulties, but the mobilization of the people for the application of the line of the Party was total. On this road we had the moral, economic, political, and ideological support of the Soviet Union and Stalin, which the Albanian people will never forget. On this road we came up against savage enemies and had to begin another struggle against them; they were the Titoite traitors, the rabid great Serbian chauvinists, anti-Marxists and agents of imperialism, who acted in a brutal manner, both overtly and covertly. They tried to dig the grave for our people, they organized their agency within our country with Koçi Xoxe and his like, they gathered round them in this plot careerists and anti-Marxists in order to liquidate the great achievements of the Party and people. On the eve of the victory of liberation, at the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, held on November 1944 in the city of Berat, they plotted to
liquidate the leadership, to discredit the Party, to take the reins in their hands, to turn Albania into an appendage of Yugoslavia, its 7th Republic. However the Party reacted and fought them, because it was tempered in so many battles and manoeuvres of the enemy, because the Soviet Union, Stalin, came to its aid and tore the mask from these traitors. Life proved how right was Stalin, how right was our Party which commenced the struggle and never stopped it against these renegades from Marxism-Leninism, against these agents of imperialism, who are striving with every means to transform the socialist countries into bourgeois capitalist countries and to put them under the heel of U.S. imperialism. The heroic struggle of our Party foiled the perfidious plans of the Belgrade revisionist clique, and our country marched successfully forward.

Later, other enemies, just as savage, emerged. During this time, however, comrades and friends, through toil and sweat, our Party and people have done wonderful things. Socialism is being built in our country successfully, a healthy, strong, and educated working class has been created, our socialist industry has been set up, the socialist revolution has been carried out in the countryside, which has been collectivized, the new life has been born and is thriving. Collective work to create the maximum material blessings for the people has commenced, marshes and swamps have been drained; the land has been protected, levelled, drained, and put under irrigation, hills all over Albania have been planted in orchards, olive groves and vineyards, schools have been opened in the remotest corners of the country, so many that even Sami Frashëri, with all his powerful progressive imagination, could not have foreseen, the people’s intelligentsia has grown and increased, closely linked with the Party, closely linked with and in the service of our working class and the revolutionary peasantry, a steel-like Party people unity has been created, a thing that was never seen before in our country, unity like a clenched fist to march forward, to make progress, to build socialism, unity like a clenched fist in the face of the imperialist enemies, a clenched fist in the face of the modern revisionists, headed by Khrushchev and Tito and all their lackeys.

There were some who pitted us saying what can small Albania do, surrounded by bourgeois, reactionary, imperialist and revisionist states. But they need not have concerned themselves, for Albania is immortal. Faced with the correct and resolute stand of Albania, of our people and Party, every attempt of the enemy has failed in the past and will fail again in the future. Nobody dares touch Albania. Why? Because Albania will become its grave. The enemy wants to prolong his life, therefore, he tries to avoid such dangerous efforts where he knows the going will be tough. However, there are some crazy enough to try, therefore Albania remains vigilant towards them. The Party has armed the entire people. It has created a powerful army, armed with all the means of war, capable of coping with any danger; the Party keeps the class struggle ablaze, never allow-
ing it to die down against the internal enemies of Albania, who are keeping very quiet. The Party has created a sound economy which does not experience crises, but which, on the contrary, is advancing year by year and is making the life of the people ever more prosperous. Above all, the Party has created the steel-like political and ideological unity with the people to which I referred earlier, which no force in the world can break; and this is being proved every day in the struggle against external and internal enemies.

Albania and our Party also demonstrated their strength and vitality in their heroic struggle against the betrayal by the notorious revisionist. Nikita Khrushchev, the greatest betrayal ever committed against Marxism-Leninism and the peoples. He and the other members of his gang are true criminals, they are the most evil conspirators, the most perfidious intriguers, who remained hidden during the entire period of socialist construction, and have now raised their heads. These are the conspirators who were so shameless as to tell us to our faces, as A. Mikoyan did, that they had made preparations to kill Stalin.

N. Khrushchev and his gang have set about transforming the Soviet Union into a bourgeois capitalist state and bringing the Soviet Union into alliance with the United States of America. They have their plans to put the countries of people's democracy of Europe into complete captivity. Terror, murder, imprisonment, internment camps now prevail in the Soviet Union. N. Khrushchev is organizing a regime of black terror in the Soviet Union, after the example of the socialist-revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, Bukharinists, Trotskyites, against the Marxist-Leninists and the Soviet peoples.

The Soviet people and the genuine Soviet Marxist-Leninists, who, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution and built socialism successfully, must see that the Khrushchev gang is carrying out a counter-revolution in their country. We are firmly convinced that the true Soviet Marxist-Leninists will find the right road, irrespective of the darkness that now surrounds them. We are sure that they will understand their great responsibility towards the peoples of the world.

The Khrushchev group and its followers accuse us of being terrorists and sold out to US imperialism, but it is they, and not we, who have opened the doors to US imperialism, it is they who are linking themselves with the imperialists. In their countries now intrigue and bribery prevail; there is struggle over who can steal the most, who can eat and live best, while as for the people — let them suffer. N. Khrushchev's aim is clear to all; he is a running dog of imperialism, a traitor to Marxism-Leninism, who wants to establish a bourgeois dictatorship in the Soviet Union, to get all the countries of the socialist camp under his direction, to have all the Marxist-Leninist Parties under his command, and, together with the United States of America, to divide the spheres of influence in the world, to dominate and exploit the peoples while putting down the revolution. This is
the aim of US imperialism, of Nikita Khrushchev, of Tito, and of all those who follow them. Another aim of theirs is the preparation of war against all those who resist their sinister plans and, first of all, against the great China of Mao Tsetung, Albania, and other socialist countries.

Our countries, which are led by the Marxist-Leninist parties and building socialism successfully, have raised high the militant banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, are fighting for world peace, fighting against imperialism and its preparations for a new world war, waging a resolute and successful struggle against their agents, the modern revisionists, traitors to Marxism-Leninism. With all their might, our parties and states help the national liberation struggle of the peoples that have risen to break the chains of slavery imposed on them by imperialism and neo-colonialism, the very chains that Nikita Khrushchev and his followers are trying to reinforce through their demagogy.

Everywhere in the world the genuine Marxist-Leninist communists are fighting. New Marxist-Leninist parties are being created, groups of revolutionary communists are being tempted in the struggle against modern revisionism, against the revisionists of their own countries, against their disruptive activity and their capitulationist policy towards imperialism, in the struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism. The revolution is on the rise, imperialism is quaking, and the end of the modern revisionists is approaching. The revolutionary struggle is assuming ever larger proportions; it is developing successfully in all the countries and on all the continents of the world, in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and even within revisionism-riddled Europe. The continuous efforts of Nikita Khrushchev and his cronies to impose the treacherous line on the communist and workers' parties of various countries with the most brutal and demagogic methods, and to force them to obey the conductor's baton blindly in the frenzied anti-Chinese, anti-Albanian, and anti-Marxist-Leninist campaign, are meeting with ever greater failure. Hence, the plans and intrigues of Nikita Khrushchev group are suffering defeat. His «Baltika» is foundering and his partners are trying to get off the sinking ship.

The Albanian people stand wholeheartedly behind the heroic national liberation struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Albanian people stand shoulder to shoulder with the glorious people of South Vietnam, who, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, have darkened the days of US imperialism and its stooges. In vain the US imperialists are pouring millions upon millions of dollars into South Vietnam, in vain they are sending there weapons, soldiers, and high-ranking military and political officials: the

1 In order to show their «unity», N. Khrushchev and some of his lackeys - heads of government of some countries of Eastern Europe, in September 1969, set out together on this ship for New York, where they were to take part in the proceedings of the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization.
heroic war of the Vietnamese people will smash them.

The Albanian people and their Party express their solidarity with the struggle of the fraternal Cuban people against the aggressive acts of the United States; they express their solidarity with the struggle of the fraternal Congolese people, who have risen to put an end to the imperialist interference and the treachery of Nikita Khrushchev, which brought about the defeat of the revolutionary efforts of the Congolese patriots led by Patrice Lumumba; they express their solidarity with the struggle of all the other peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The demagogy and adventurism of Nikita Khrushchev, his acts of capitulation and his rubles will deceive neither the peoples, nor the leaders of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, because Nikita Khrushchev has proved that he has betrayed his own fatherland, betrayed the socialist countries, that he rejoices over the liquidation of Marxist-Leninist parties, that his rubles and aid are nothing but a noose round the necks of the peoples who want to live free.

The Albanian people and our Party nurture feelings of friendship and great respect for the fraternal peoples of the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Oman, Aden, etc. who have fought and are fighting heroically against imperialism for their freedom and independence and for the consolidation of their victories. They can be sure that, in the Albanian people, they have a brother and a faithful friend.

Dear comrades,

On this glorious anniversary, let us multiply our efforts, let us work tirelessly, closing our ranks even more tightly around our glorious Party, which has brought us up and is teaching us to advance courageously towards the complete construction of socialism; let us be vigilant and merciless towards any imperialist enemy who may dare to lay a finger on our achievements, our independence, and our freedom; let us be merciless towards the traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists with Khrushchev at the head.

Long live our heroic Party!
Long live the glorious Albanian people!

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CLOSING SPEECH AT THE 13th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

(pairs)

July 9, 1964

Comrades,

I think it was necessary to hold a Plenum of the Central Committee to discuss these important problems about strengthening the ideological work of the Party for the communist education of the working people. They are not new problems. Our Party has been engaged with these key problems ever since it was born, engaged with them incessantly, every day, and will be ever more so in the future. It has treated these problems in a revolutionary way, on a Marxist-Leninist class basis, as a complex whole, in various forms and in close connection with the life of the Party and the entire country. Great successes have been achieved in this direction through the tireless work of the communists, and this good work in raising people’s ideological level and the communist education of the workers has been the main lever for all the successes our people have achieved in every field of their activity, under the leadership of the Party.

Let me remind you of the beginning of this work. When the question of ideological work was raised, the people of the Party considered this as a very necessary, but difficult and complicated problem. They found it difficult to study theory, they thought that this problem was mainly the concern of learned people, that it was just a problem of abstract philosophical concepts. But the Party eliminated this fear they had. We told the comrades that revolutionary theory is closely linked with revolutionary practice, that theory has come out of practice, and serves people as a guide, as an orientation in their struggle for a better life, — socialism, for the construction of socialism, for the creation of the communist man, with lofty virtues, who will lead this construction and carry it out together with the whole people and at the head of the people. We instructed the comrades that, apart from what they learned in the various schools, which would open to them wide horizons of knowledge and experience, their care for and

1 The Plenum heard, discussed and unanimously adopted the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania «On Further Strengthening Party’s Ideological Work for the Communist Education of the Working People».
devotion to their daily work would not only create the material blessings, was not only the pivot of the construction of socialism, but also the thing that would give people a better and clearer understanding of the basic class education, the Marxist-Leninist theory and the laws it has discovered, and would teach them how to apply these laws in the conditions of our country, in the various stages of our revolutionary development. This instruction of the Party was absolutely correct, therefore it yielded good results. We did not proceed on the course of, first, training cadres versed in theory; and, then, having them start the education of people, but adopted the course of work and learning, learning at school and at work simultaneously. Thus, we created cadres with schooling, who emerged from work and were closely connected with work; we created love for learning from the great school of work and, in the two directions, we tempered people with theory and science, with general and specialized culture. And, what is of major importance, we taught the mass of the people to put into practice the basic principles of the Marxist theory and communist morality, just as if they had graduated the purely theoretical Marxist courses or political schools, regardless of the fact that, sometimes, many of them did not know that, in this way, they were actually thinking, living, and fighting as communists.

The task of the Party is to carry this work even further, to raise it constantly to an even higher level. It is right that we should rejoice at the successes and base ourselves on them to im-
prove the work, but it is also essential that we look the shortcomings in our work right in the eye, without fear, that we see our mistakes and put them right.

That is the aim of this Plenum of the Central Committee, and it is a great aim.

The education of the working people with the norms of communist morality for the complete construction of socialist society is one of the greatest and most important problems of the Party; it is wide-ranging and complicated, but it is a key problem. If we take this key firmly in hand, if we keep it polished and bright, there is no door that we cannot open; if we let it get rusty, the doors will remain closed. This is a simple figure of speech, but to achieve it requires a great struggle for the education of people, a great struggle of the progressive new against the backward old, a stern struggle of the Marxist-Leninist ideology against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

The first problem I want to emphasize is the problem of work and the stand towards it.

The notion of work has its practical aspect, but it also has its very important theoretical aspect. The just maxim, the law, «He who does not work does not eat», has not only an economic and material meaning, but also a profound theoretical and moral meaning.

Work creates the material blessings. People create these blessings through their work and for their own benefit. The character of work, its mode and organization, the place of people in work,
the distribution of the fruits of the work, all are determined by who owns the means of production.

By working with their brains and hands, people create and develop the various sciences, discover the secrets and treasures of nature, invent and perfect all sorts of machines, discover new laws, and so on. People create all these things, but who benefits from them and to what degree the broad masses of the people benefit, what importance is attached to these values, what priority is given to one or the other, how much development is given to this or that sector, in what direction the wonderful creations of man’s work and brain are used — all this depends on the social system.

My purpose here is not to speak about the socialist and the capitalist system, about the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, and about the struggle we are waging and will wage up till the complete destruction of the capitalist system and the triumph of socialism and communism. Here I want to stress that great role and profound meaning of work, of which Marx and, especially, Engels in one of his well-known works, have written. Work made man, it was born together with man, work developed him physically, transformed him, created and developed his capacity for judgment and thought, and so on. Hence, the life of man cannot be understood without work, or separated from work, whether manual or mental, or the two of them together in harmony. Therefore work and man are inseparable. Work makes the life of man possible, develops, strengthens, beautifies him. Without work man shrivels, both physically and intellectually.

The correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of the importance of work, and as a result, a new attitude towards it, is a vital problem of first-rate and decisive importance for the further development of the proletarian revolution. It is the key to the liberation, the education and the formation of our socialist man.

Our people have always loved work, they have worked throughout their whole existence, and this has kept them alive. That is why the centuries of suffering, and the enslaving regimes could not wipe them out. The people do not sit in vain that, “Work is honour and glory”. This true maxim of our people has assumed a profound meaning and is being put widely into practice in our socialist country. The rapid development of the socialist economy, education and culture, the great moral and material successes our people have achieved are themselves the best proof of our people’s high level of understanding of work and the great importance they give to it. This is due to the correct inspiration and the great and extensive educational work that the Party has carried out and is carrying out amongst its members and the broad masses of the people.

However, we should not forget that in the understanding of work, in the stand towards it, in the education of the people by the Party with love for work there are big gaps, there are obstacles which we must struggle to overcome, there are objective obstacles, less difficult to overcome, and
there are subjective obstacles which are much more difficult, for the elimination of which even greater, more thoroughly, consistent, and protracted educational work by the Party is needed.

Religious hangovers, bourgeois concepts about work, remnants of old feudal and tribal concepts, old conservative concepts about the family, about the relations among the members of the family, the relations between the family and the society, between husband and wife, between parents and children, the concept of private property and its evil consequences in socialist society, and other of this kind, have left deep impressions on the consciousness of people. The force of tradition and backward custom tries to preserve them, be it but in enfeebled forms; and when they find suitable terrain, when they do not meet determined resistance and stern struggle from the new, the progressive, from the all-round methodical educational work, of both an individual and a mass character simultaneously, then, these hangovers from the past, these feudal-bourgeois concepts raise their heads, display themselves, become more pronounced and hinder the advance of the socialist society.

The moulding of the new man, this wide-ranging, important and complicated problem, cannot be understood and must never be separated from the problem of work, must never be conceived apart from work.

When we say that this person is a good worker, by this we do not imply only and mainly that he fulfils and overfulfils the norms of the plan, but also that he is conscientious in his work, that he is courageous, honest, and disciplined at work, defends the socialist law, behaves well in the family and society, and yet even this does not mean that this person is perfect, altogether free from petty-bourgeois hangovers and does not need further tempering.

The same may also be said of a broader collective. When we say that this enterprise works well, by this we mean that the people there work well in general, not only because they fulfil the planned tasks, but besides this, because they have been educated by the Party with the feeling for work, the moral standards and laws of socialist society. This, again, does not mean that everything is perfect in this enterprise, that all the workers of this enterprise are free from petty-bourgeois hangovers, from the bourgeois morality, and that we need not concern ourselves further about the tempering of people. Such a tempering will be achieved at work and through work, since work is the revolutionary force which transforms man, the world and society, it is the pivot around which life revolves. Work beautifies man, both physically and morally, it is the mirror in which the good points and bad points of a man are most clearly seen.

I said, and do not think that I was mistaken in saying, that work is the pivot around which the life of man revolves, his most powerful support. From
dislike of work, from revulsion from it, and abandoning it, from failure to be clear on the importance and the social role of work in socialism stem great evils which ruin man physically and morally. A person who has such concepts about work and maintains such a stand towards it, is a parasite, an idler, who tries to live at others’ expense, to rob his fellow man and the society; he is an enemy of the collective, of order and discipline, a supporter of religion and its evils, a carrier and instigator of conservatism, and so on. Lack of love for work is the source of evil vices, while love for work is the source of fine qualities. Work uplifts man from every aspect, teaches him a skill and gives him valuable knowledge, makes him such that he respects the norms of socialist society with a clear conscience, creates in him the real feeling of the strength of the collective, of solidarity at work, tempers him with ardent love for the Homeland, for its defence and progress, tempers him with the sense of the law, and defence of the law against those who break it, sharpens his vigilance to defend their labour from thieves, saboteurs, careless people, and so on.

A lofty socialist consciousness emerges in the course of work, the communist education of the working people is achieved through work. Hence, they are connected with each other. In the course of work the Party has formed and educated wonderful people, numbering hundreds of thousands, who are building socialism with magnificent enthusiasm. The communists, the members of our glorious Party, stand at the head of them.

Under their example and leadership, wonders are being wrought, the new man is being tempered. The work of the Party and the tireless, heroic, wise and self-sacrificing work of the vanguard workers has become an example and a banner, has become a great inspiration for the entire Albanian people. This is the greatest treasure of the Homeland, and we have to preserve and add to this treasure, have to protect it from weeds, dust and rust.

Despite the great successes we have achieved at work, we also have weaknesses and ugly manifestations which, as always, the Party has pointed out; it has encouraged the good aspects, and has fought and will fight mercilessly against the bad aspects, the shortcomings and mistakes of people and their work.

Hence, the education of people, with the communist morality is one of the most important things. He who steals, he who violates the laws of our state, our Party and society, who violates communist morality, who tells lies, etc., was not born like that – his consciousness has been ruined because he has been influenced more heavily by bourgeois morality, by petty-bourgeois hangovers, and less by the communist education of the Party and society. The task of the Party has been, and still is, to educate people, to re-educate them to prevent their degeneration from going further and to prevent the worm, which is gnawing at them, from infecting others and causing them to rot. It is a primary task of the Party to cleanse the consciousness of men of all the evils inherited from the bourgeoisie.
The forms we use for the education of people with the communist morality have yielded satisfactory results, but the fact that we also have some bad things should make us think seriously about the effectiveness of these forms and methods, ranging from educational to administrative forms, which are, also, educational; it must make us conscientious in waging the class struggle against these evils through to the end.

It is good that we carry out atheistic propaganda. But very often the way we talk about it is only allegedly scientific. I say allegedly, since we stick to a few outdated lectures of a general character because we think that, to fight religious concepts, it is enough to explain what causes the rain, what thunder is, and so on, and so forth.

In order to inculcate lofty qualities in the working people and purge their consciousness of the hangovers of the past and bad habits, their communist education must be carried out at the place of work and in a concrete manner, using for this purpose the laws and ordinances of the State, the directives and decisions of the Congresses of the Party, of the Plenums of the Central Committee, of the Political Bureau, and the Government. Is this work done properly by the Party, is it being done in a systematic manner, are all the forms and means being used for this communist education? No. There are many gaps. We educate the people with the communist morality in order to build socialism and communism and, to complete this construction successfully, we educate them ideologically, morally, technically, right through the construction of socialism. This construction follows the basic laws which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us. This is the mother theory, the main outlines of which the communists must master first of all. The proper study and assimilation of it by all naturally has its difficulties; therefore the Party has opened schools of various branches, has prepared appropriate text-books, has trained and is continuously training cadres to teach theory and apply it in practice. But, in this direction even greater efforts must be made to master theory.

Basing ourselves on the Marxist-Leninist theory, we are actually building socialism in our country, and are not building it badly or wrongly, either. It is one thing to have difficulties and shortcomings, but it is quite another thing to say, like the Khrushchevites, that we are going on to communism, when in reality they are turning back to capitalism. We have difficulties, we have shortcomings, but our line is leading with sure steps to socialism and communism.

We are building socialism, bearing in mind our conditions; and in order to attain this great objective the Party and the Government have had to issue many directives, to make many laws, to bring out ordinances, and so on, for each separate stage, for each separate direction, for each separate sector of work. These have found application in life and in work, the new has replaced the old, and today we are enjoying the results that have been achieved.

Our scientists must reflect this process of development in all its dynamism based on the laws...
of historical materialism, in the text-books and in their works, proceeding from the concrete construction of socialism in our country, from our conditions, and they have begun to do this. This is and should become an indispensable theoretical material, about which, all the communists, in the first place, should have a thorough knowledge. This is another important factor on which the communist education of the working people should be based. Therefore, the Party should be constantly preparing such materials, while thinking, at the same time, about the most suitable forms of teaching and education.

These theoretical, ideological generalizations that I mentioned above have been formulated in the laws, ordinances, directives issued every day, which regulate our daily work, our behaviour, our attitude towards work, the factory, the socialist property, private property, religion, in short, towards all the phenomena and aspects of life. On these things, on the correct and complete understanding, and the precise revolutionary application of them, depends everything — including production, the consciousness and education of people. Every law, every directive, every ordinance of the government has its technical aspect, but it also has its theoretical, ideological, moral and political aspect. People should be educated with this great complex every day. If the Party understands this well, and if it works well for the education of people with this complex, then things will go very well. Here is the source of good things and bad. We must admit that the Party does not see the two aspects of this question. It sees the technical aspect, despite its shortcomings, and helps the workers to assimilate it, whereas it has underestimated the theoretical and ideological, the educational and moral aspect, and it is precisely here that we have to find the source of serious shortcomings, of the damaging of consciousness, of the violation of the laws and communist morality. If the Party members do not think deeply about how to explain every law and ordinance (and there are hundreds and thousands of them), if they, and the Party secretaries in the first place, do not prepare themselves seriously so that they have a thorough understanding of both the technical and the moral and ideological aspects, this means that work is done carelessly, just to say it is done. No such concern is apparent, although everyone says it is the duty of the Party. The party secretaries, the party workers must take this work, which is among the most important and most effective parts of the work of the Party, seriously in hand.

Our Party workers are ready even to shed their blood for the people, if need be. Therefore, it is a revolutionary duty of the Party to educate the technicians, specialists, physicians and the other cadres who have graduated from the schools, so that they cannot sleep until they have carried out their task to the end, besides their normal work, their social work, too, such as a lecture or something else in connection with their profession. The Party must educate them never to proceed from personal material interest, but mainly from the general interest of society. By working in this spirit
we shall wipe out any harmful tendency, no matter how minor, like that which is now becoming so serious in the Soviet Union.

We should also keep in mind that our educational work will not be effective if we prepare a lecture, disregarding the time, the place, and the need for it. There are lectures on general themes, but to neglect the daily nurturing of the working people is a method of work which must be abandoned immediately. Therefore, the entire Party, including even the communist state officials should be engaged in educational work. They are Party members and they should in no way think that they are simply administrators, technocrats, and have nothing to do with the communist education of the working people. When a law or an ordinance is being analyzed, it should be gone over in detail, in all its aspects, and in this direction the Party, the state organs, the trade union, youth, and women's organizations and everybody should work in an organized, harmonious way, under the leadership of the Party.

It has always been emphasized, and we re-emphasize it, that the principal laws should be known not only by the jurists, but by all, and by the communists, in the first place. All the laws and ordinances that are closely linked with a given kind of work or sector should be well-known and clear to the working people concerned and the communists, in the first place. We should not be satisfied with just one explanation of these things but should return to them many times, especially to the more important ones, particularly to those over which infractions and violations occur.

We have emphasized and we re-emphasize that the cadres of the Party and the state burden themselves with things which are not their responsibility and which others should carry out. They deal with many things and forget the main ones, very often lack good method and discipline at work, and do not make sufficient efforts to improve their work. Method in work is an important lever. We must no forget this. If we undertake to teach others, we should have a good method of work ourselves.

Therefore, comrades, as we see, we have much to do in regard to the communist education of the working people. If we educate the workers well at work, through work, with the laws of work and socialism, outside work, too, he will know how to behave like a new man, although his education should continue even outside work.

The chapter of the education of the working people with the communist morality is the greatest, the most glorious, and the most complicated chapter of the activity of the Party. The figures, achievements, norms, productivity, depend on people, on their work and consciousness. The more they are educated, the greater the achievements, the less the damage, the fewer the evil manifestations we shall have at work and in society.

All this reflects the level of the work of the Party. The communists must be in the forefront, must set the example, must be figures of shining purity in all directions.
The communist should be exigent towards himself, if he is to make demands on others; he should always maintain a critical attitude towards his own life and work, in order to be able to demand the same from others. The communist should be honest, courageous, a man of sacrifice, persistent in the performance of his duty at work, in study, if he wants to teach others. The communist should be pure, should regard privileges for himself and the others with disgust and fight them ruthlessly, should be against easy work, when he could and should be doing more tiring work, the communist should never misuse his being a member of the Party, or the position entrusted to him by the Party. The communist must sternly fight thieves, those who abuse the common property. must persistently fight the remnants of the psychology of private property, in himself first of all; he must fight religious prejudices, tendencies to cronyism, sycophants, favouritism, personal selfishness, conceit and arrogance in himself before he can fight them successfully in others; he must fight the remnants of patriarchalism in himself in order to fight them in others.

Our communist comrades have great merits in all these directions, they are a brilliant image for the working people, but this special Plenum on these questions should serve us to further temper these virtues, to eliminate the shortcomings and mistakes that are still observed in our work.

Our people's revolution was achieved through bloodshed and sacrifices, it was achieved because it was led by the Party armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, it was achieved because the Party waged a gigantic armed struggle against the occupiers and the bourgeoisie. We shall always remain loyal to the proletarian revolution, and, although antagonistic classes no longer exist in our country, we shall carry on the class struggle against the alien remnants and manifestations in people's consciousness with great force, because this is a major question of principle of Marxism-Leninism, that has to do with ensuring the complete triumph of socialism.

In order to wage this struggle properly, as Stalin has taught us and as he always acted himself, we must base ourselves firmly on the working class, on the broad working masses and on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, on the struggle for the triumph of socialism, for the continuous strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As faithful disciple of Lenin, Stalin, throughout his life, either during the period of the revolution, or during that of socialist construction both in the field of theory and that of his concrete actions, has worked unceasingly for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the working class and has correctly utilized it in the struggle for the liquidation of the exploiting classes in the Soviet Union, in the struggle against their hangovers and ideology, against the opportunist, Trotskyite, Bukharinist groups and the other traitors to the Soviet Union, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to socialism and communism. It is also the great merit of Stalin to be the first to see the danger of Titoism, this agency of US imperialism, and give the correct
historic alarm against this plague, which aimed at liquidating the victories of socialism, the liquidation of the communist and workers’ parties, the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was precisely because Stalin waged such a glorious, principled and unerring struggle in defence of the cause of communism, that the renegade band of Khrushchev and of the other modern revisionists rose against him. By savagely attacking Stalin, they actually attacked Marxism-Leninism.

I want to emphasize some points on mental and physical labour.

Here, we should guard against bourgeois concepts and vulgar formalist ones. There are concepts that underrate, and are even contemptuous of, physical labour and overrate mental labour, or, vice-versa, that underrate mental labour and overrate physical labour. Neither of these concepts is Marxist. Both mental and physical labour have work as their common basis. The people of physical labour, as well as those of mental labour, work, create, sweat, tire themselves and, at the same time, strengthen, temper and remodel themselves. However, as a result of the wrong concepts I mentioned above, very often people arrive at oversimplified, unsound, conservative, and therefore harmful, conclusions, as for example, that he who is engaged in manual or physical work tires himself more; whereas he who works with his brain tires himself less, or that it is not necessary for some one enga-

ged in physical work to tire his brain, because others do that for him, or that certain privileges should be created for someone doing mental work, since he allegedly tires himself more. Of course, it should be said that such judgments, such comparisons are far from being Marxist.

It is useless to claim that remnants of these bourgeois concepts do not exist, to a greater or lesser extent, in the consciousness of our people. They may lie quiet for a while, but they raise their head if the Party does not work unceasingly and systematically.

In our socialist society, where the feudal-bourgeoisie has been destroyed politically and economically as a class, and where a merciless struggle is being waged against the remnants of it and its ideology, the antagonistic classes have been liquidated (and this, naturally, should not be taken to mean that the class struggle against elements of the expropriated classes and those who degenerate, against alien remnants and manifestations, which have their origin precisely in the old class society, in the capitalist and imperialist states that surround us and are exerting their pressure every hour of every day, and in the spread of modern revisionism, which is trying to destroy socialism, has been liquidated). In our socialist society, in which the exploitation of man by man has been liquidated, socialist labour has liberated our man from all the chains which enslaved him. and physical and mental work have acquired a new meaning, both in their content and in their forms and organization. In our socialist
country, there is no longer a wall separating physical labour from mental labour, as in the past, although in fact, essential differences still exist between them. In our country it cannot even be conceived that those who work in factories or fields work only physically and that their minds, their intellects, do not work. They cannot be conceived as automatons. The working class and the working peasantry do physical work combined with mental work. Socialism brings about that not even the simple peasant can do his work in a mechanical way, but must think, must bear in mind the advanced methods of agricultural technology, must create. Agricultural technology and advanced methods themselves, cannot be achieved without mental work, just as it cannot be imagined that they will remain unchanged and will not be further developed through experimental and mental work. Therefore, here the Party faces a great task among the working class and working peasantry, to combat the remnants of old backward tendencies to do little mental work. The Party should attach importance to the development of the intellect of workers and peasants. Physical labour, closely linked with a great deal of mental work, will create the true communist man.

On the other hand, very big problems also face the Party, as regards our new intelligentsia, or to put it more simply, those who work with the mind. Through its educational work, the Party should implant deeply among our intelligentsia the concept of the community of its interests with those of the working class and the working peasantry; it must be made clear to it that the intelligentsia cannot carry out its mission in socialist society without being closely linked with the activity of the working masses, without appreciating the importance and role of physical labour.

At the same time, when we speak about our intelligentsia we should keep in mind also certain facts that did not exist in the past. Today, unlike in the past, not just one category of people, but all without exception, irrespective of their social origin, are learning. Learning is «work» too, and when we speak of mental work we should not forget that some organs of the body are brought into intensive activity, become fatigued, and even sick, just as the muscles, lungs or bones, become fatigued during physical work. And these are the brain, the nerves and the heart, organs much more delicate than the muscles. Learning has become a nourishment to all, an occupation for all. Nobody can exist without this necessary mental work, indispensable to life. Viewing the concept of mental work from this angle, the Party should fight the vulgar views which underrate it as an easy, restful thing. This is an «ouvrierist» concept, as Marx called it, or you might say that, to be called a worker, you must wear a safety helmet.

When we have understood this notion of labour correctly, then wide horizons of work and great responsibilities will be opened to us. In this direction, the Party has heavy but glorious tasks to perform. For example, let us take a child, from the time he begins to go to school and till he graduates from the higher school. This is a decisive
period for his life and for our socialist homeland, because it is during this period that the foundations of the new socialist man are laid. Let us follow him through this period. His number one task is to study and to study well. The fact of his learning well or badly indicates whether he works well or badly. It is the same as saying that this worker works well or badly. The Party has given both of them the possibilities, has ensured the means, has laid down the appropriate rules and laws according to the nature of their work. If the children are to learn well until they finish their schooling, we must teach them to love their work. We should not forget that their main work is mental work, which also contains in itself elements of physical work. Even their play, in fact, causes physical fatigue but in its forms it trains their agility for their future combined physical and mental labour, apart from strengthening their health. When the boy or girl grows and matures and gains a different understanding of the reality of life, then according to the new programs, physical work at school begins and continues till he or she graduates from the university. But if all these things we have done are sufficient, why is it that not all the children work well, learn well? There is something amiss here. It appears that the work of the Party in this direction is, in general, insufficient and one-sided. The work of the Party in the school, its work with the pupils and students, should be concerned not so much with the technical-material base, from the chalk to the laboratory, but, first of all, with its thorough-

going moral, ideological, revolutionary educational work with the youth.

During their whole time at school and through the subjects the Party should implant in the youth the concept of work; it should insist on this. Just as order and cleanliness, discipline and honesty are important in a factory, they are equally important at school, indeed even more so, because it is there that the new man begins to be moulded. The Party must implant the method of working well everywhere, and especially in schools and lessons. I emphasize these things, because they are of incalculable importance.

But the educational work of the Party to create the feeling of love and respect for work amongst the youth does not begin and end at school. It should start and continue in the family and social life.

The Party should do extensive and convincing educational work with the parents about the out-of-school education of children. The parent should be interested in everything having to do with his children's education, should teach them order, honesty, love for work, for learning, for the Homeland, for the Party, for the school, should teach them how to behave inside and outside the home, inculcate respect and love for others, the spirit of heroism and sacrifice, and eradicate laziness in them. The parent should understand the feelings of his son, and according to his nature and age, find the appropriate medicine, and not be harsh when this is not necessary, or gentle where he should be severe. And in such things it is not enough for him to set
the example through his own life, but it is his duty to teach them to his children persistently.

For the education of his children the parent should even overcome his natural feelings. When he comes home really tired from work, he should avoid saying, "I'm tired out," in the presence of the child, because, willy-nilly, in this way he creates in the child a distorted concept about work. The children should see their parents working at home, while they are working the parents should see to it that the children, too, are involved in the work, should tell them about the benefits of work, and not be satisfied with the practical work which has been allocated in the school programs. This should become a norm of education in every family.

We should think seriously about these questions, comrades, because they are important party questions; but it is not enough just to think; we must work, must find the most appropriate forms, develop them and put them in practice better than up to now.

I will come now back to the previous idea. Is it conceivable in our socialist society that the learned men, our intelligentsia, our mental workers should shut themselves up in the "ivory tower" and not link themselves with life, with practice, not combine mental labour with physical labour? This is utterly inconceivable. Let us take any one we consider as worker of mental labour — there is no one who is not connected with practical life, with physical work, with the factory, with the field, and so on. If we look back at the 23 years' work of our Party, we can say proudly that it has done a colossal, glorious job in this key direction. We are on the right road, and we shall continue to improve our work and the situation.

In conclusion, on this question of the correct understanding of physical and mental labour I want to add that we must be clear about the strata which could present the greatest danger of the development of alien remnants and manifestations. These remnants can appear or develop, to a greater or lesser degree, in all strata, but they are manifested more readily and frequently among the intelligentsia, in particular. The feeling of superiority, of being in command, of being the most capable, the most experienced, the most learned, of personal egoism, of individual work, and as a result of these, conceit, arrogance, bureaucracy, personal ease, and other evils, may be manifested more readily in those strata than in others, which are not invulnerable to them, either.

Why is there more danger of the manifestation of bourgeois hangovers among the intelligentsia? This is not just because they are more natural to this stratum of society, but also because, in our socialist regime, the intellectual goes through a whole period of moulding, from his childhood to his graduation from school, and although he works while studying, this is, you might say, a preparatory period for him to enter life. He learns how to produce, but does not produce any material blessings himself, he lives on and is raised with the blessings produced by the labour of his parents and society. He is, you might say, a sort of parasite, and our socialist society accepts this fact, this sacrifice, this exception to the role.
In our socialist society, both those of working class origin and those from the other classes, enter this stratum of the budding intelligentsia, therefore during this preparatory period the dangers are present for all of them. It may happen, and in general this is the case, that among those young people whose parents are workers there are fewer manifestations of bourgeois hangovers, and more among those whose parents are peasants or intellectuals. Therefore, the preparatory period of almost twenty years, in which young people acquire a correct concept of work, of life and socialist society, of the leading role of the working class, and the communist attitude towards work and life, assumes extraordinary importance. During this period of training our socialist intelligentsia, much depends on the school, on the teaching methods, but the training outside the school, at home and outside it, in society, has no less importance. The school should not discriminate, but it should keep in mind that there are children who, as yet, do not have all the necessary conditions to learn properly in their families, therefore, it should create for them the most suitable environment possible for their studies. The school should give them more help. On the other hand, with those who have more suitable conditions at home, care should be taken to ensure that these conditions serve a better moulding of the young person and do not create feelings alien to communist education, the desire for personal comfort, the feeling of superiority, conceit, and so on. If the Party takes this basic education properly in hand, and makes use of all its means for this purpose, then our successes will be still greater in all directions. When the youth starts out in life, I mean to say, when he starts work, the Party should continue his education through work.

Comrades, the education of the new generation must be one of the things that concerns the Party most, because the new generation has not waged the war, has not known the savagery of the occupiers and the feudo-bourgeoisie, or their wives, the oppression and the massacres to which they have subjected our people. It reads these things in books. For most of the boys and girls, and especially for those of the future, it is not so easy to conceive what life was like for our peasantry in the past, when they see the marvellous development of agriculture, and they will see this even better later; they are quite unable to form any real concept of the former life of our workers when they see our country full of factories, power-stations, and schools. The Party must constantly make clear to them that these things are the fruit of our proletarian revolution, achieved through struggle, through great sacrifices by the working class and the peasantry, that they have been achieved through fierce class struggle, through a fierce fight against imperialism and revisionism. The Party must always keep the spirit of the revolution alive in our youth, in this way, must ensure its loyalty to the revolution, to the Marxist-Leninist Party, to the working class and its ideology. And for this to be properly achieved we must eliminate every hangover of the past from the consciousness of the youth through tireless revolutionary educational work.
Of course, this is no easy job, it is a long job of education, which must go on permanently, but it is entirely possible. We should weigh up the major results which the Party has achieved, base ourselves on them and march forward. A correct understanding of this question, the building up of such an education, among the working class and the intelligentsia, will bring about the elimination of many bad traits and hangovers of the past that hinder us, and are harmful to our advance towards socialism and communism. We must not for one moment forget the capitalist and revisionist encirclement and the poison it spreads, from preaching the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the elimination of the class struggle, the transformation of the party of the proletariat into a party of the bourgeoisie, to their Jesuitical preachings of pacifism, bourgeois humanism, bourgeois individualism, etc. All these things exert, and will continue to exert, great pressure on our people. Bearing in mind the relatively short period of the communist moulding of our people and the fact that bourgeois and the petty-bourgeois hangovers remain alive for a long time in people’s consciousness, the Party must carry out persistent educational work everywhere, all the time, and especially with the intellectuals and the workers of the administration, must wage a fierce class struggle against the hangovers manifested in these strata, especially because of the nature of their work which is not yet properly combined with physical labour. And because of the leading positions entrusted to them, if the shortcomings and mista-
not forget that there also some who are confused and muddle-headed. Generally speaking, phantasy is very active in them, many of them are much inclined to dream up, to refine, combine and fabricate things that often do not exist, and having in mind that as intellectuals they have pronounced tendencies to be conceited about their own ideas and to commandism, the Party should exert its beneficial influence on their work, their imagination and their dreams.

The best and most salutary method is for them to link themselves with the concrete life of the people, with their joys, difficulties, needs and problems, rather than with the worries of the worm-riddled, sick imagination of a pseudo-writer, who, shut up in his room, produces some sort of mouldy griddle-cake and wants to pass it off on us as good wheaten bread.

The other question I want to emphasize is that of the value and proper use of time

When we speak about the life of man, about his work, we cannot fail to speak also about the time he has at his disposal. Time cannot be separated from life and work. When people say that «Time is gold», these words have a profound meaning, not only material-economic, but also moral and philosophical. With this, on the one hand, they express the great value of time, which they compare to gold, and on the other hand, they express the fact that not everybody can turn time into gold, but only he who knows how to use it correctly.

Not everybody has a clear idea about the value of time and links it properly with work, measures work with time, or values time according to the results of work. In this respect, we must work hard, in order to implant a new outlook in people, a new concept about time, and to wipe out the old concepts.

This major problem was raised in a very good way by a worker in the latest issue of the newspaper «Puna»1. In an open letter to the newspaper he criticized one of his comrades who used to come to work 10 minutes late. When his comrades pointed out this shortcoming, he replied, «What of it. Ten minutes won't mean the end of the world». We congratulate the author of the letter, as well as the workers of the newspaper «Puna» who published it, and I am of the opinion that they should make this the subject of a serious campaign, so that this great problem will be thrashed out from all aspects and its moral and educational essence will be analyzed.

Wherever people work in our country, work norms calculated on a time basis have been defined. Day by day they are being perfected to the benefit of the economy and the health of the working people. However, they are not applied well everywhere. It is easy to make technical, economic and organizational improvements for the fulfilment of the norms, but it is more difficult to make everybody understand and carry these things out properly. The question of the creation of a high level

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1 Organ of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania.
of consciousness, of the further development of the socialist stand towards work comes into this. The worker who thoroughly understands the importance of work and time, also understands and accepts the idea of discipline, which is established for something necessary, reasonable and indispensable: the life of man, and his work. Socialist discipline is not the whip but conviction, the consciousness, that men act and work within certain limits, certain rules, certain state laws, and norms of socialist society, which in no way lower their personality nor eliminate their rights or initiative. If the importance of time is to be properly understood and times used well, apart from conscious discipline at work, the sense of order must be implanted everywhere, and first of all, in the consciousness of man. To establish proper order, in life and at work, in the use of time is not something that is learned from a dry lecture, or from occasional advice.

This is a whole education which the Party must implant in everybody, from the youth to the elderly. We have to teach people to make rational use of their time, at work and out of work, at school and out of school, it must become second nature to them that, when it is the time for work, they should work with all their mental and physical energies, should be disciplined, should respect the norms and laws of work, when it is the time for rest, they should rest; when it is the time for reading, they should read; when the time comes to go to the theatre, the cinema, or the stadium, they should go there; and when the time comes to sleep, they should sleep. Let them even set a time to dream, if they wish, but the important thing is why and when a man dreams, because if he sits in his office, pretending to work, but actually dreaming vain dreams, he is not a realistic person, but is engaged with useless things and wastes time at society’s expense. Hence, by taking the bull by the horns, by making the problem of the rational utilization of time a major objective of the educational work of the Party, we will eliminate a great deal of serious damage which we are suffering in the economy and other fields of life.

Therefore, comrades, despite the great work with people, which the Party has done already, we have even greater tasks ahead of us, in the further tempering of the socialist consciousness of our people, to strengthen order and discipline at work, in life, etc.

In connection with what I said I want also to say a few words about how we should understand and apply criticism and self-criticism.

Unlike other weapons, the weapon of criticism and self-criticism can not only kill you (in this direction, we should never use it), but can also cure you, can save you from evils (in this direction and only for this purpose we should use it).

Whether this good aim is achieved depends on how this weapon is used by everybody. This is not so easy, we must learn how to use it and perfect its use. Criticism and self-criticism is not a «mate-
rial weapon, like the rifle with which you learn the mechanism, train your eye, put in the round, and pull the trigger. No. The weapon of Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism is something else, entirely different from the former, very complicated, since it has to do with many moral, psychological, political, and economic factors, closely interconnected with one another, because it is linked with various periods of time and moments, etc. You must orientate yourself correctly in this labyrinth, among these factors, circumstances and moments, which in most cases are not material, are sometimes clear from facts and sometimes not, and then pull the trigger. People say that in order to pull the trigger you should have two yoke of oxen. In that case we should keep in mind how serious the question of criticism and self-criticism is for us Marxists. The difficulties met in this direction are not an insurmountable wall, we can and should overcome them, and there are many ways for us to overcome them. I shall enumerate some of them from the experience of the life of the Party which have served us to improve this powerful weapon.

We should always be careful to preserve the educative essence of criticism. Criticism should never have a devastating retaliatory character, it should never be made with hidden aims or evil intentions, to denigrate or offend, especially on the basis of falsification and slander. Criticism should always be comradely, not mainly in its tone, but especially in its content, in the purpose for which it is made.

Criticism should be well considered in order to have an effect on the person being criticized and the entire collective which hears it, which should also be educated through this criticism. It should be substantiated with concrete, convincing and correct facts and always be accompanied with educative, moral, political, and ideological conclusions.

The question is not just that the criticised should not come out of the meeting crushed, humiliated, and completely discouraged, but come out strengthened, clear, warm and convinced that the criticism has done him good and that he will correct his mistake. The question is also that the criticism made of one comrade should have an effect on everybody. It should serve as an indirect criticism also of some others who have made mistakes, who, in this case, should come forward with spontaneous, honest, Marxist self-criticism, regardless of the fact that the criticism was not aimed directly at them. In this way the criticism of one assumes, in essence, a comradely, educational character. Apart from this, the correct comradely form of criticism (and this has nothing to do with feeble, mild, merely formal criticism) really gives the Party the role of a strict mother, but with an expansive heart, with a deep love for her children.

He who criticizes should not proceed in his criticism from his position in the Party or the state but from his Party stand; he should not proceed from conceit and the feeling of his own intellectual superiority, or of someone who knows everything, who is infallible in
his views. He who criticizes should know how to preserve the party spirit in criticism, to preserve his communist modesty, to keep a cool head, to combat hasty judgments and use a powerful Marxist logic on the basis of the facts, his maturity and experience, should know how to make proper use of the data, in order to make criticism with a truly Marxist content, with a truly educative Marxist form.

The use of criticism in and out of place, of weak criticism when it should be strong, and strong when there is no occasion for it, instead of educating, very often has the opposite effect. This powerful weapon of education for the people must be used correctly, must be perfected, given the greatest attention by the cadres, and we must not go into it without a care in the world as though we were going to a wedding party, must not allow it to become a harmful or demoralizing routine, oppressive and embarrassing for the people, but it should be one of the most truly educative, mobilizing and revolutionary weapons of the Party.

Measures. Party measures, strong measures of criticism should be taken against those sick critics, who have «criticism» on the tip of their tongues, who use it out of place, or who slander, those who misuse this weapon should be sternly criticized.

The correct meaning of self-criticism is also of great importance. Marxist-Leninist self-criticism has nothing in common with or similar to «confession» to a priest. The honest man, whether a communist or non-Party, who can and does make mistakes in life (there is no immunity from this) is not afraid to acknowledge his mistake, provided he has confidence in the justice of the collective, in the justice of the Party, in the justice of the state laws, provided he has confidence in the fairness of the judgment of the comrades, of the forums, in their love and continuous care for man, provided that conditions have been created, there where he works, lives and militates, such that he can speak freely about the mistake or the fault he has committed. These conditions are essential if we want criticism to become a powerful weapon for educating the people. Generally speaking, the Party has created these conditions, but we should improve them, perfect them everywhere, in the Party organizations, in the leading organs, in the work and production centres, in the administration, and so on.

Bolshevik self-criticism takes place where criticism is also bolshevik. Each of those two things influences the other for the better, but also for the worse, when they are not bolshevik.

If criticism is based on unconvincing facts or on slanders, if criticism is made from the spirit of position or in anger, etc., then he who has to make self-criticism will either be left not knowing what to say, or be revolted and lose his patience, or will instinctively try to defend himself, under the influence of some petty-bourgeois hangovers, such as indignation, the preservation of his personality, and so on, to which he is impelled by the very fact that he has violated the law and communist morality, under the impulse of precisely such hangovers. Since a person has committed a
mistake or a fault, something is not in order in his consciousness, in his world-outlook, and in order to correct it, to purge him of this something, we cannot and must not use those somethings that are wrong, we should not proceed from those same positions that have impelled him to fall into errors.

Both after the criticism made of a person and after the self-criticism he makes, the Party must stay closer than ever to him, everybody should stay close to him, since the person in question needs to feel the care and warmth of the Party, its justice, the justice of the criticism. He needs this more than ever, and we should not forget that he is in the process of convalescence. The criticism and self-criticism is the first step of the cure, but it is not complete recovery, and if we leave it at that, or to its own fate, confine ourselves simply to recording these things in his documents of a communist, thinking that thus the matter is ended, we can be sure that we are not acting correctly and this may have bitter results.

The Party and every communist should know the nature of the comrades, their feelings, character and abilities, because these things play a great role in the correct use of criticism and self-criticism. We may and certainly will be faced with various types of people, since we are not all cut to the same pattern. For example, we have before us an honest man who has made a mistake, but is not able to analyze his mistake profoundly; it is not his way to speak freely and at length, but he feels the criticism deeply and confines himself to a frank, honest, and simple admission of his mista-

**kes. But there is no lack of those who persist in demanding that he "go more deeply" into his mistakes, that he "has hidden" things, even when he has not hidden anything. Or we have before us not an honest man, but one who knows how to hide his mistakes, a smooth talker, and when he is caught in a mistake, he does not fail to make a long, detailed, cunning self-criticism, but who himself does not believe anything of what he says. There is no shortage of wool-blind people who are satisfied with his "brilliant" self-criticism. And thus unhealthy suspicion lingers on towards the former and he is given little support, whereas harmful trust is placed in the latter and the people are not vigilant towards his evil actions, which, without doubt, he will carry on in the future, too.

Therefore, the question of criticism and self-criticism is not a simple thing and should not be understood narrowly. By this I mean that people should be criticized or they should make self-criticism not only when they make mistakes and not only in special meetings. This is one aspect of criticism and self-criticism, but it is not the whole of it.

**The fault should be avoided.** This is a major problem, and if the fault is to be avoided, people must be taught to make proper use of this weapon, and criticism and self-criticism must be developed at work, during the work, in various forms. Such an education should be carried out on an extensive scale. How can this education be carried out? In the process of work, wherever work is done and struggle is waged, people, communists or non-
Party people, may make mistakes. Therefore, all should freely express their critical opinion about the work, and in the interests of the work, courageously and without any hesitation, they should have the courage to make their criticism, whether right or wrong, to anyone at all, to their superior or to their subordinate; they should criticize the deficiencies and not wait for a meeting, should give their opinions before and after the carrying out of the tasks. The superiors should listen to these criticisms with attention, without arrogance and without the idea that they know everything; and not only must they listen attentively to the suggestions and advice of subordinates, but when they are right, they should say so there and then; they should admit, there and then, that they were wrong (at this point the superior makes self-criticism) and the subordinates are right.

In such work criticism and self-criticism are combined, mistakes at work are avoided in this way, people are corrected and educated in the process of work, such evil hangovers as servility, fear of the superior, fear that someone might have a score to settle or take a jaundiced view of whoever dares to criticize, are combated, and on the other hand, arrogance, conceit, bureaucracy, etc., are also combatted. All these vices are alien to the communists and the source of many evils.

Only in this way can that sound education in the correct and proper use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, which is necessary to us communists to wipe out many of the shortcomings and vices that present themselves to us at work and among the people, be carried out.

But to indulge in abuse under the disguise of criticism and self-criticism, as happens in many cases, must not be allowed. Many people try to escape responsibility for their crimes and the heavy damage they inflict on the economy, for their flagrant violation of state laws, rules of society, and the norms of communist morality, by making a perfunctory «self-criticism». In such cases, we should have no hesitation about bringing the culprits to justice, where they should receive the sentence they deserve. No lenient attitude should be allowed; likewise, all those who invent a thousand and one mitigating circumstances for thieves, for those who damage or misuse socialist property should also be punished, because, consciously or unconsciously, they do the work of counter-revolutionary elements, are a support for the foreign and internal enemies, serve the remnants of those hostile classes and that ideology against which we are waging the class struggle, and put in action the weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat....

Taken from the Book: Enver Hoxha, «To the Aid of the People's Army» Vol. 2, Tirana, 1975.
AN OPEN LETTER

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

October 5, 1964

Dear comrades,

A grave situation has been created in the international communist and workers' movement. The Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the communist parties, the cause for which the communists and proletarians of the whole world have fought heroically, not sparing their very lives, the cause of socialism and of communism, is facing a great danger, is passing through one of the most difficult periods of its history. Open revisionism, complete division, betrayal and degeneration are threatening them today more than at any other time.

The originators and principal culprits for this grave situation are the Khrushchev group. After having usurped the leadership of the glorious party set up by the great Lenin, and of the first and most powerful socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union, by putschist and conspiratorial methods, this group have now embarked on the road of the greatest betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism, have now become the principal bearers and disseminators of the opportunist and revisionist trend that is eroding the international communist and workers' movement today, and which has undermined the very foundations of its unity.

The Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties have time and again urged the leadership of your party, with N. Khrushchev at the head, to give up the line of revisionism and disruption, to courageously re-examine their position, and return to the road of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to condemn their own chauvinistic attitudes and hostile activities towards sister parties and fraternal socialist countries, and to reestablish relations of friendship and proletarian solidarity with them.

Even since the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when N. Khrushchev launched his vilest public attacks and most monstrous slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, our Party has called on the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to re-examine their line and to return to the right road. «The Party of Labour of Albania», it was said in the speech held on November 7, 1961, «calmly and with a clear conscience, appeals to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appeals to its Central Committee newly elected by the 22nd Congress to judge the situation...»
created in the relations between our two parties and our two countries with Leninist justice, objectively, without heat and anger, in an unbiased way. Our Party has always been ready to settle the existing differences, for the sake of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, and in the interests of our two countries. But it has always been and remains of the opinion that these matters must be settled correctly and only in a Marxist-Leninist way, under conditions of equality and not of pressure and dictate.*

As late as April 1963, in an article published In the organ of its Central Committee, «Zëri i Popullit», our Party emphasised: «If N. Khrushchev is in favour of the settlement of differences and consolidation of unity, he should show this by deeds, should take real and not fictitious steps to remove all the obstacles he has created in the relations between our two parties and our two countries. Just as he dared to attack our Party and our country in a slanderous way, to interfere in our internal affairs, and to undertake hostile activities against us, he should take the courage to publicly denounce these anti-Marxist stands and acts and return to rigorous respect for the internationalist norms of relations between communist and workers’ parties and between socialist countries».


1 From the article of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», April 18, 1963 entitled: «N. Khrushchev Again in the Role of the Demagogue, Slanderer and Splitter».

However, the Khrushchev group not only failed to listen to the voice of reason and scorned the comradely advice of our Party and the other fraternal parties, but they persisted with even more vehemence in their course of betrayal, increased their assaults and hostile acts against our Party, against the Communist Party of China and other fraternal parties, against Marxism-Leninism, against the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement. Events and facts have proved indisputably that N. Khrushchev is a conscious traitor and enemy, determined to pursue his counter-revolutionary line to the end.

Their recent arbitrary decision to call an illegal special meeting of the parties that follow on their footsteps is another great plot that testifies most clearly that the Khrushchev group are the greatest splitters that the history of the international communist movement has ever known. N. Khrushchev is trying to drag as many parties as he can into this new anti-communist plot which is intended to sanction the full and open splitting of the socialist camp and the communist movement. In connection with this he has sent a letter to all parties, and through them to our Party as well, informing them that he has decided to call a meeting of the editorial commission on December 15 this year, and the international meeting of the communist and workers’ parties towards the middle of the coming year. In this letter our Party is invited to send its delegation to Moscow to take part in the work of the editorial commission and
to announce the composition of the delegation as early as possible.

Taking into account the fact that the Khrushchev group have completely betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, and that all efforts and hopes of bringing them back to the right way have totally failed, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, has decided not to reply to their letter of July 30, 1964. The Party of Labour of Albania has no more to do with N. Khrushchev’s group of renegades.

On this occasion and under these circumstances, the Party of Labour of Albania has decided to address this open letter to you, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, pioneers of the great cause of communism, for whom we have always had a profound respect and affection. In this letter, we want to tell you with open hearts and fraternal sincerity that truth which N. Khrushchev has hidden from you for years on end. He has deceived you and continues to do so. He has denied you any right to acquaint yourselves with the materials of our Party, of the Communist Party of China, and of other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Party of Labour of Albania is addressing itself to you, for it is of the opinion that in this situation your responsibility and role are of historic significance. It is up to you to say your word. In the Soviet Union no one else but you can call a halt to N. Khrushchev’s revisionist line of action. You are the force which can save the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the great October Revolution and the glorious Party of the Bolsheviks, from the blind alley into which N. Khrushchev has led it, you must defend Marxism-Leninism, the honour and dignity of the Soviet Union and raise aloft the revolutionary banner of your party which, N. Khrushchev has sullied with disgrace.

Dear comrades,

The Khrushchev group are making a great fuss about the so-called international meeting of the communist and workers’ parties. They are trying to persuade you and all the communists of the world that allegedly this meeting is necessary, that allegedly it will help to settle differences and consolidate the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement. This is a big fraud, a bluff, a dangerous manoeuvre.

In fact this meeting by no means helps the cause of Marxist-Leninist unity, either as to the way it is being prepared or as to its political platform. Its aim is to undermine unity, to completely split the communist movement, to consolidate the shaky position of revisionism, to intensify the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, in this way carrying out the greatest service for the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania declares that the Party of Labour of Albania is firmly opposed to this disruptive meeting of the modern revisionists, and categorically denounces this new plot of the Khrushchevite clique.
For what reason does the Party of Labour refuse to take part in this meeting and why does it condemn it?

First, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is convinced that the hasty calling of the meeting of the communist and workers' parties under the present conditions and circumstances, when deep divergences on basic strategic issues exist in the international communist movement between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists, about which a great polemic is being carried on, is not in the interests of settling differences and of consolidating unity on a sound Marxist-Leninist basis, is by no means the "most effective way of strengthening the solidarity of the communist movement", but, on the contrary, is the way to completely undermine it.

Through their views and deeds the modern revisionists have made the existing differences increasingly sharper and deeper, have constantly undermined unity, have plunged themselves deeper and deeper into the mire of betrayal and disruption. With all this they have made the calling of the international meeting of the communist and workers' parties even more difficult, they have postponed it even further. Greater efforts and a longer time are now required to prepare the necessary conditions for the calling of a meeting that would truly serve the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement.

Second, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania declares that the meeting which is now being called on the initiative of the Khrushchev group is absolutely arbitrary and illegal, since the norms and principles sanctioned in the 1960 Moscow Declaration governing relations between parties have been brutally violated. No one is entitled to call a general meeting of the communist and workers' parties to suit his whims without consulting the other parties and receiving their prior consent. We publicly declare that no preliminary consultation on this matter has taken place with the Party of Labour of Albania.

N. Khrushchev has quite arbitrarily decided that the principle sanctioned in the Moscow meeting of 1960, of arriving at unification of views through equal and comradely consultations, should be replaced with the principle of subjecting the minority to the majority. The Party of Labour of Albania has always opposed such a principle, because this is a flagrant violation of the equality and independence of fraternal parties, an attempt to impose the will of the so-called majority on others. But even if we speak of majority, the real majority, and not the false and fictitious one, is by no means on the side of the revisionists. A considerable number of sister parties, whose ranks contain about half the communists of the entire world, are quite definitely opposed to the calling of the international communist meeting under the present conditions and circumstances, without reckoning here a whole army of revolutionary communists enrolled in the parties of other countries where the leaders have slipped into the revisionist position, and who also condemn the splitting and treacherous activities of N. Khrushchev.
Third the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania declares that by organizing the so-called international meeting in a hasty, arbitrary and illegal manner, the Khrushchev group are in fact trying to organize a meeting of factionists. This is clearly evident in the July 30 letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which runs: «In our opinion, the commission should start its work even if any of the 26 communist parties fails to send its delegation at the appointed time». And the letter continues: «The refusal of this or that party to take part in this collective work must not serve as a justification for further postponement of measures aimed at working out the ways and methods of consolidating the international unity of the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world».

Thus it is clear that N. Khrushchev has made up his mind to convene the meeting even without the participation of the representatives of many parties which have already expressed their opposition to an international meeting under the present conditions and circumstances. This means that the meeting which is being called now will only be a meeting of the leaders of a few parties and mainly of those who follow N. Khrushchev, a meeting of revisionists. And this fact alone refutes all N. Khrushchev’s demagogy about alleged unity and solidarity and lays bare his anti-Marxist and divisive aims.

Now it is becoming clear to all that, by hastily convening the so-called international meeting of the communist and workers’ parties, the Khrushchev group are aiming to achieve two main objectives. On one hand, to intensify their fight against Marxism-Leninism, to condemn certain socialist countries and certain communist parties, and «to expel» them from the socialist camp and the communist movement; and, on the other hand, to strengthen the ranks of the revisionist front, to subject all the revisionists to their dictate, to force «a new charter» on them, while binding them hand and foot.

The attainment of these objectives is decisive for the fate of the Khrushchev revisionist group, who are facing grave difficulties. The determined and principled struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary communists of the world has not only torn the mask of the Khrushchevite revisionists and is frustrating their hostile schemes, but has brought about a grave situation within the ranks of the modern revisionists themselves. Deep contradictions have arisen between them which are expressed particularly clearly by the tendency to oppose the hegemony and paternalism of the Khrushchev group.

Under these circumstances there is no other way left for the Khrushchevite revisionists: they must carry the split with Marxist-Leninists through to the end and at the same time hobble the other revisionists, impose their control and domination over them, check any attempt on their part for even formal independence.

These plans, which N. Khrushchev aims to achieve with the meeting that is being prepared, have encountered great obstacles, not only from
the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are quite clear about N. Khrushchev's treacherous aims to the detriment of communism and the socialist camp, but also from some of his revisionist allies. In the first place, it must be said that some of the revisionist opponents to N. Khrushchev's proposed meeting, in the preparatory stage of which they are nevertheless participating, are just as revisionist, even more consistently revisionists, than Khrushchev himself. Their opposition to the holding of the international meeting is not inspired by any concern about the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, but from their aim that the complete split and fight against Marxism-Leninism should be carried out by methods different from those of N. Khrushchev, methods which they consider more effective and with fewer dangerous consequences for them, by trying to prolong their own lives through creating false illusions about their position, and so on. Moreover, their opposition is inspired by the fact that they do not want to be tied down; they want to gain their «independence» from the Khrushchevite clique, to be free to link themselves directly with the social-democrats or the imperialist bourgeoisie, how and when they want.

The manoeuvre which N. Khrushchev and his followers are now resorting to, the tactics they are using cannot conceal the anti-Marxist aims of the modern revisionists, their hostility to Marxism-Leninism. They will not succeed in deceiving any one. Whether or not the revisionists hold their meeting, whether they hold it now or later, makes no difference. The true Marxist-Leninists will intensify their principled struggle for the exposure of the Khrushchevite and other modern revisionists, a struggle that will bring defeat and total destruction to these dangerous enemies of communism.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been and continues to be in favour of the international meeting of the communist and workers' parties. But it has been and continues to be in favour of a meeting that would serve the real unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the revolutionary principles laid down in the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations. It has opposed and continues to oppose any meeting that would sanction an open rift or would create a false unity on an anti-Marxist revisionist basis.

The Party of Labour of Albania has stated earlier, and is repeating now, that in order to prepare a meeting of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist movement it is essential to take into account the present situation of the communist movement, the changes that have taken place, and the processes that have gone on in it since the 1960 meeting, and in conformity with these circumstances and conditions to specify the measures and steps that should be taken to achieve an international meeting which would really express the opinion and wishes of all the communists of the world, and would achieve and strengthen that militant unity of which our movement stands in greater need today than ever before.
The only basis for true unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement lies in Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. No unity can be achieved on the basis of revisionism. There can be no unity between Marxists and revisionists who have betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism. N. Khrushchev’s plan to unite the communist movement on the basis of revisionism is a plan of disruption, and it is doomed to failure and disgrace. Likewise, any attempt, any hope, any illusion of finding an intermediary platform, satisfactory to all, that would unite both Marxists and revisionists is futile and detrimental to the attainment of true principled unity of the communist movement, which is the only unity possible.

The treacherous aims which the Khrushchev group are striving to attain at the present meeting are by no means accidental. The Khrushchevite revisionists have always striven towards attaining these objectives. They began the split by spreading their revisionist line. They deepened it with their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist activities. And they are now carrying this division to its logical conclusion. But the revisionists should bear well in mind that the heavens will not be overturned because of their separatist meeting and because of the «collective» measures that they may take. Their meeting will be fruitful and very favourable to the international communist movement. The day of the revisionists’ meeting will go down in history as the day of their complete and open betrayal, and at the same time as the day that will mark their final catastrophe. The revolutionary communist movement will forge ahead without the revisionists and in struggle against the revisionists, and it will certainly achieve its unity in this militant way. This will be true Marxist-Leninist unity for which the Marxist-Leninists of the world are fighting and will fight courageously.

Dear Comrades,

N. Khrushchev tries to persuade you, communists of the Soviet Union, the peoples of the Soviet Union and all peoples of the world, that with his assumption of power a new epoch has begun, a great turn in history. The decade of his rule is described as the decade of the «blooming of the Soviet Union», of the «triumphal march towards communism», as the decade of the «triumph of peace and peaceful coexistence», as the decade of the «consolidation of the communist movement» and of the «creative development of Marxism». The revisionists begin the «real history» of the Soviet Union in 1953.

These are all lies, — nothing but lies. It is true that an historical turn started when the Khrushchev group took the reins of state in their hands, but this was a big retrogressive turn, a turn that flung the doors open to opportunism and revisionism, to treachery and degeneration, to the undermining of unity and beginning the rift in the communist movement, to approaches to, and unity with, the imperialists and other enemies of peo-
ples and socialism, towards sabotage of the revolution and restoration of capitalism.

No other person or group has caused so much harm and so much evil to the Soviet Union, to the socialist camp, to the communist movement, to the cause of socialism and communism, as N. Khrushchev and his group. The history of the Soviet Union and of international communism records no greater renegade, no more rabid and dangerous enemy than the group of Khrushchevite revisionists.

What the imperialists were unable to do through their armed intervention, what Trotsky, Bukharin and other enemies of the Soviet regime could not do in their time, what the German fascists could not do during the Second World War, N. Khrushchev’s group are set on doing now.

Who has defamed, discredited, assailed so vehemently, who has slandered the Soviet power, the Soviet socialist order, as much as N. Khrushchev has done?

It was N. Khrushchev who cancelled out the most glorious period of the Soviet Union, when the Soviet peoples, led by the Party with Stalin at the head, overcame colossal difficulties, courageously coped with the ruthless capitalist encirclement, smashed the counter-revolution, built the first socialist society in the world, reaped the great historic victory in the Patriotic War, and transformed the Soviet Union into a powerful, developed, and advanced socialist state with an unparalleled authority and role in the international arena. He presented the whole of this period as one during which terror and persecution, prisons and concentration camps, violations of the law and democracy, arbitrariness and despotism, poverty and hunger reigned in the Soviet Union. He rendered the imperialists great service through these deeds of his, providing them with weapons to attack and discredit the Soviet Union. The infamous «secret» report which N. Khrushchev delivered at the 20th Congress and his subsequent speeches became the main nourishment, the inexhaustible source of all the most reactionary anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

Who can believe N. Khrushchev’s slanders about the crimes of Stalin? Can we have any faith in the concoctions of investigation committees appointed by Khrushchev, in the writings of the Adjubeys,¹ the journals of the Solzhenitsyns², and their ilk? Can it be that imperialism and its agents, for whom the Soviet Union has always been an acute irritation, which they tried to get rid of it by strangling it in its cradle, have sat with folded arms all this time, and have done nothing about it? In times gone by N. Khrushchev himself said, in 1933: «The Jakirs, the Balitskys, the Tyupchenkos, the Zatorskys, and other rogues intended to bring the Polish aristocracy back to the Ukraine, to bring the German fascists, the landlords and capitalists here... We have exter-

1 Khrushchev’s son-in-law, former editor-in-chief of the newspaper «Izvestia» mouthpiece for Khrushchev’s revisionist ideas and actions.
2 Counter-revolutionary, ultra-revisionist writer.
minated many enemies but still not all of them. Therefore, we should keep our eyes open. We should always bear in mind comrade Stalin’s words that so long as the capitalist encirclement exists spies and saboteurs will be sent into our country».

The same Khrushchev, a year before, in 1937, said: «Our Party will mercilessly crush the band of traitors, will sweep all the Trotskyite corpse of Rightists from the face of the earth. The guarantee of this is the unwavering leadership of our Central Committee, the unwavering leadership of our leader, comrade Stalin... We shall completely exterminate the enemies from the first to the last, and scatter their ashes to the winds». But instead of wiping the Trotskyite corpse from the face of the earth, or exterminating all the enemies and of scattering their ashes to the winds, the renegade Khrushchev burned Stalin’s remains, scattered his ashes to the wind, the ashes of this great defender and leader of the historic achievements of the Soviet Union. He rehabilitated all the counter-revolutionaries, from first to last, proclaimed them victims of Stalin, and decided to raise monuments to them.

Just who these victims are whom N. Khrushchev takes under his protection, we Albanians know only too well from our own experience. While N. Khrushchev has called the leaders of the Albanian Party and State, who have led the people in the great fight for liberation and the building of socialism, «agents of imperialism who have sold themselves for 30 pieces of silver», he has openly taken under his protection the murderers and terrorists, enemies of our Party and of our people, dubbing them true revolutionary communists, internationalists, patriots, and innocent victims.

Only a traitor, an enemy of communism, could hurl such monstrous slanders and attacks on Stalin, this great leader of the Communist Party, the Soviet peoples, and the international communist movement. In his anti-communist attacks on Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev has surpassed the imperialists, the most rabid reactionaries and renegades of communism, Kautsky, Trotsky, Tito and Gilas. What has he not said against Stalin! He has called him a «murderer», a «common criminal», a «despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible», the «greatest dictator in the history of Russia», and so on and so forth. J. V. Stalin, who for 30 years on end led the Party of the Bolsheviks and the Soviet peoples from victory to victory, who courageously defended the line of the great Lenin, who inspired the Stakhonovs and heroes of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, who aroused and resolutely led all the workers and peasants, all the Soviet people, in the great Patriotic War, with whose name on their lips the Matrasovs¹, the Kozmodemyanskayas², the heroes of Stalingrad, and hun-

1. A. M. Matrosov — soldier of the Soviet Red Army, who, educated by the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin, in February 1943, blocked the fire from a German bunker with his own body to ensure the victory of his detachment.

2. Z. A. Kozmodemyanskaya — heroic daughter of the Soviet people, brave and dauntless partisan fighter.
dreds of thousands of other heroes and fighters threw themselves into attacks on the enemy and fell in battle.

Have you ever stopped to think, comrades, why such bitter hatred is expressed for Stalin, why he is attacked, with so much frenzy, why the whole glorious period of the Soviet people and its Party, when Stalin was at the head, is blackened so shamefully? Don’t you see a logical connection between attacks and slanders against Stalin and songs of praise for the leaders of imperialism, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and others whom N. Khrushchev has called «reasonable men» who «enjoy the absolute trust of their people», who «are earnestly concerned about the preservation of peace», the death of one of whom, as in the case of Kennedy, he described as a «great loss for mankind» and proclaimed as a day of mourning even for the communists? Only a charlatan, a man without character or shame could behave as N. Khrushchev has done towards Stalin, to whom, when he was alive, he used to sing the most rapturous praises, whom he used to call «great Lenin’s close friend and comrade-in-arms», «friend of the people and beloved father», «the great Marshal of the victory over fascism», «the greatest genius and leader of mankind».

How could it have been possible that you, Soviet communists, the Soviet people, achieved such colossal victories of historic significance with your Party and state headed by a man who did nothing but commit all kinds of crimes and mistakes? Can there be any greater absurdity and more clumsy falsification of history than to deny Stalin’s great merits as the leader of the Party and the commander-in-chief of the Soviet Army and to praise to the skies the role and merits of N. Khrushchev, who is presented as a great strategist, not only of the Patriotic War, but even of the Civil War, as the pioneer of the cosmic era, and so on and so forth? It is a regrettable thing that even some comrades-in-arms of Stalin who directed the major operations during the war, with him and under his leadership, are now falsifying history under instructions from Khrushchev, are now denying what yesterday they admitted with their own mouths.

Through his base calumnies and attacks against Stalin, worthy only of a hooligan, N. Khrushchev insults the great Soviet people, their Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet socialist order, he insults the glorious Soviet Army, the international communist movement and the workers and peoples of the world, he insults socialism and Marxism-Leninism. N. Khrushchev himself used to say: «Whoever raises his hand against comrade Stalin has raised it against all of us, against the working class, against the working people. Whoever raises his hand against comrade Stalin has raised it against the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin» (from his speech at the Moscow rally in January 1937).
This is precisely what Khrushchev himself has done. By raising his hand against Stalin, he raised it against everything, against communism, against Marxism-Leninism.

By raising his hand against Stalin, N. Khrushchev raised his hand against the Soviet socialist system itself. He is afraid to admit this in public, in spite the calls of his most consistent allies to carry the elimination of the consequences of the «cult» through to the end. But the fact remains that by calling the three decades of Stalin’s leadership an anomaly, a deviation from the Leninist road, and by working intensively to undermine the socialist system, N. Khrushchev is actually violating the Soviet socialist system itself and is leading the peaceful evolution to the degeneration of socialism in the Soviet Union. And, the irony of it is that he calls this treacherous social-democratic road a «return to Lenin», «following the true Leninist road»!

This is the purpose and true significance of all of N. Khrushchev’s hue and cry about the so-called struggle against the cult of the individual and its consequences.

The Khrushchev group have raised their hand against the most sacred thing, the most powerful weapon of the Soviet people for the defence of the achievements of the revolution and the construction of communism, - against the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Communist Party. They are trying to disarm the people, to take the power from the people’s hands, to cause the degeneration of the party. They have trampled upon and rejected the consistent Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party, its revolutionary tradition and spirit, they have imposed an opportunist and revisionist course on the party in all fields of its life and activity, a course which jeopardizes the historic victories of socialism in the Soviet Union, for which the party and the Soviet people have fought heroically, have made great sacrifices, have shed their blood.

To carry their course through, the Khrushchev revisionist clique have carried out and continuous purges in the ranks of the cadres of the party, and the state, from both the central organs and the base, have dismissed all those about whom they are doubtful and have replaced them with cadres loyal to their course. Within ten years N. Khrushchev has removed over 70% of the members of the Central Committee who were elected at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1952, and at the 22nd Congress, over 50% of the members of the Central Committee elected in the 20th Congress. Likewise, on the eve of the 22nd Congress, on the pretext of the circulation of cadres, he replaced 45% of the members of the central committees of the parties of the federated republics, of the party committees of districts and regions, as well as 40% of the members of the party committees of cities and city quarters. In 1963, under the pretext of re-organizing the party on the basis of production, the Khrushchev clique once again replaced more than half of the members of the central committees of the federated republics and the regional party committees.
The men around N. Khrushchev today and who serve him constitute a privileged stratum, degenerated from the point of view of ideology, who have betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Soviet working class, who are fighting against Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Their sole concern is to consolidate their economic position and their political domination. Relying on this stratum the Khrushchev group are turning the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a revisionist party and the Soviet socialist state into a dictatorship of the Khrushchevite clique.

Their theses on the so-called «party of the whole people» and the «state of the whole people» are a great fraud. They have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and serve only to pave the way to the restoration of capitalism. «The march forward, that is towards communism, passes through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it cannot be achieved otherwise», said Lenin. By proclaiming that the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union has been liquidated, the Khrushchev group have taken a very dangerous step back towards capitalism. N. Khrushchev’s so-called «state of the whole people» is nothing but a mask to hide the dictatorship of his clique directed against the Soviet working class and peasantry, against the Soviet people. N. Khrushchev opposes the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is for the preservation of state power only in order to use it as a means to attain his own counter-revolutionary objectives and to keep the Soviet people and communists under oppression and subjection.

Equally dangerous is his thesis about the «party of the whole people» which wipes out the proletarian class character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and opens the way to the degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist party into a revisionist one. All the organizational and re-organizational steps, which N. Khrushchev has undertaken time after time, serve these aims.

Comrades, the Soviet state, the first socialist state in the world which the October Revolution established, the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union are faced with the grave risk of degenerating into a bourgeois state and into a revisionist bourgeois party. Passivity at these moments is inexcusable and fatal. It is the imperative, lofty, sacred and historic duty of all the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet people, to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, to defend the Communist Party founded by Lenin.

Since he came to power N. Khrushchev has taken a number of steps and has made a number of reforms in the field of the economy, particularly in agriculture, about which he has bragged a great deal. But what is the purpose and real meaning of these measures and reforms? They are in opposition to the principles of socialism and communism, they are an attempt to introduce into the Soviet socialist economy organizational forms and methods of management borrowed from the experience of Titoite Yugoslavia and the capitalist countries. The Khrushchev group have replaced the socialist principle of payment according to the work done
with the material stimulus, which they absolutize and fetishize. They have undermined the planned and centralized management of the economy, and encouraging the capitalist principle of the struggle for profits, are inciting unrestrained capitalist competition, are destroying the common property of the whole people, and are breaking it up, as they have done with the Machine and Tractor Stations.

In essence Khrushchev’s communism is a variety of bourgeois socialism. His hue and cry about his concern for the welfare of the people, for better living conditions for everyone, are hypocritical and demagogical from first to last. What the Khrushchev group hanker after is an easier life, more comfort and prosperity for the privileged and degenerate stratum who secure fat incomes in the form of high salaries, bonuses and honoria, and by means of abuses, bribes, stealing, and so on. N. Khrushchev has reduced the lofty ideal of communism to «a good plate of goulash». The United States of America, the experience of the industrialists and the recommendations of big ranch holders and farmers, of the Eatons, Hearsts, and Co serve as a pattern for his communism. He has gone so far as to hold out his hand to the US imperialists in order «to build» communism in the Soviet Union with their dollars and credits. The Khrushchevite revisionists have flung the doors open to the penetration of bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois way of life, bourgeois decadence in art, literature and culture, to the enlivenment of all kinds of anti-Soviet, anti-socialist tendencies, to the spreading of decadent Western trends. They loudly propagate bourgeois individualism and selfishness, bourgeois humanism and pacifism.

Don’t all these things speak clearly as to where N. Khrushchev is leading the Soviet Union? These are not at all steps ahead towards communism — they all lead backwards to capitalism. Under these circumstances, the question arises before the revolutionary Soviet communists, before the Soviet people: will they allow the Khrushchev group to realize their criminal, counter-revolutionary work in peace, or will they rise up in defence of the victories of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and call a halt to the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist line of N. Khrushchev?

Dear comrades,

As long as your party held aloft unsullied the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and pursued a consistent revolutionary line in home and foreign affairs, the Soviet Union was, for whole decades, the bastion of revolution and socialism, the standard-bearer of the struggle against imperialism, the great defender and supporter of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the great fighter for the emancipation of the working class and the cause of peace in the world. The revolutionary communists and people of the world looked upon the great Soviet Union with deep respect and sympathy, took as their example and were inspired by its stand for revolutionary prin-
ciples. The establishment of the socialist camp, the growth of the communist and workers' movement, the great impetus of the liberation wars of peoples are closely bound up with the internationalist role and contribution of the first country of socialism, the Soviet Union. At that time there was full unity of views and action in the socialist camp, in the communist movement, and in all the international democratic organizations of the world. All the revolutionary forces of the world, with the Soviet Union at the head, acted united as a single body against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

But, N. Khrushchev undermined the prestige, authority, and role of the Soviet Union in the world with his political course. In the name of the Soviet Union he splits the socialist camp and the international communist movement, he sabotages and strangles the revolution and the liberation struggles of peoples, deceives and intimidates the peoples, defends capitalism and imperialism and paints them in beautiful colours.

See, comrades, what a great tragedy the Khrushchev group are playing with your country which has such brilliant revolutionary traditions, such great historical merits! They are constantly linking and uniting the Soviet Union with its most ravening enemies, with those against whom the communists and peoples of the Soviet Union have waged a resolute and heroic war.

The Khrushchev group have made allies and friends of those who would like to bury the Soviet Union. They have made an ally and friend of US imperialism which is the head of world imperialism, the centre of reaction, and the main source of war and aggression, the international exploiter and gendarme, the enemy No 1 of the peoples of the whole world.

They have made a friend and brother of the Tito clique, who have long since betrayed Marxism-Leninism, who carry on activity to undermine the forces of socialism, freedom, and peace in the world, who serve the imperialists most zealously, who are maintained on US dollars, and whom the international communist movement has unanimously denounced.

They have made friends and allies of the renegades of the working class, servants of the bourgeoisie and most rabid anti-communists, the reactionary Right-wing leaders of social democracy like Guy Mollet, Spaak, Wilson, and others.

They have made friends and allies of the reactionary Indian bourgeoisie whom N. Khrushchev is equipping with armaments and whom he is inciting to oppress the Indian people and launch aggression on such a fraternal socialist country as the People's Republic of China.

They have made friends and allies of the Vatican in Rome, this old centre of reaction and obscurantism, with all the counter-revolutionaries of the world, including the Bonn revanchists with whom N. Khrushchev is trying to come to terms.

N. Khrushchev has turned the sharp edge of his attacks against the true and loyal friends of the Soviet Union. He has launched ferocious attacks against the People's Republic of China, against the Communist Party and the great Chinese
people, he is sowing discord between two great peoples, between the two most powerful socialist countries. It is not the Soviet-US alliance, for which N. Khrushchev is working hard and dreaming day and night, but the fraternal Soviet-Chinese collaboration and friendship, which the Soviet people, the socialist camp, the revolutionary and liberation movement in the world stand in need of. But instead of this collaboration and of this friendship, N. Khrushchev is continually intensifying his unprincipled fight against the People's Republic of China and its Communist Party. Comrades, is this not a great betrayal of the vital interests of the Soviet Union?

You know the fierce attacks, monstrous slanders and accusations, the hostile acts which the Khrushchev group have launched against the Party of Labour of Albania, against the People's Republic of Albania, against the Albanian people and their leaders. What crime is there that he has not accused our Party and our people of! In his campaign against our Party and our people, he resorted to threats and pressure, brutal interference in our internal affairs, established the economic blockade and broke off diplomatic relations. From the rostrum of the 22nd Congress he openly called upon the communists and people of Albania to launch a counter-revolution, to overthrow the leadership of the Party and the state, exhortations which are continually repeated by the Soviet propaganda organs, and especially by Radio Moscow in its broadcasts to Albania. But why all this resentment, all this hostility towards a socialist country, towards a Marxist party and a fraternal people, hatred and enmity which even the most rabid imperialist enemies have not expressed towards our country? What was the crime this party and these people committed? Their sole "crime" was that they refused to submit to N. Khrushchev's line of betrayal, came out in defence of Marxism-Leninism, and unmasked and opposed the disruptive aims of the revisionists.

The Khrushchev group are waging a bitter struggle against other socialist countries which do not submit to their dictate, as well as against all the communist parties which oppose revisionism and uphold Marxism-Leninism. They are using against them all the weapons and methods which the class enemy uses. They interfere brutally in their internal affairs, violate their sovereignty and independence, use pressure and blackmail to force them to their knees, sow dissension and organize plots, as they did recently against the Communist Party of Japan, use the joint organizations of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid and the Warsaw Treaty in order to put the socialist countries under the domination of their group, to exploit them for their own selfish and chauvinistic purposes.

With the whole of his policy and activity N. Khrushchev has rendered and is rendering great services to imperialism and world reaction, and has caused and is causing heavy damage to the cause of socialism, the freedom of the peoples and peace in the world.

Modern revisionism, which spread very rapidly following the 20th Congress of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union, paved the way to the bloody counter-revolution in Hungary, to the counter-revolutionary events in Poland, jeopardized the very existence of certain communist and workers' parties, as in the United States of America, in Denmark, and elsewhere. Following the Khrushchev policy, the Communist Party of India with Dange at its head transformed itself into a tool of the reactionary big bourgeoisie, into a national-chauvinist party that has betrayed the ideals of the Indian working class and people. In Algeria the revisionists diverted the party from the armed resistance together with the people, isolated it from the masses, placed it in a tailist position and made it lose its place in the political life of Algeria. The Communist Party of Irak suffered a real tragedy, when, having succumbed to pressure from the Khrushchev group, it lost its vigilance, and as a consequence, received a heavy blow from the reactionaries and the cause of the revolution in Irak suffered a big defeat.

Revisionism is eroding many communist and workers' parties, particularly in Europe, which is pregnant with revisionism. They are being transformed from parties of social revolution into parties of social reform, they are approaching and amalgamating with the social-democrats, are departing from the revolutionary traditions and the revolutionary spirit, they are nurturing themselves with illusions about the peaceful parliamentary road, which the revisionists have raised to a principle of world strategy.

For the sake of his approach at any price and all-round collaboration with the US imperialists who are the real beneficiaries from the whole of his policy of so-called «peaceful co-existence», N. Khrushchev has committed grave crimes against the peoples' freedom and independence, against peace, against the Soviet Union itself, against its security. For the sake of this approach and reconciliation, following his adventurous actions, Khrushchev capitulated shamefully to US imperialism during the Caribbean crisis, when he did not hesitate to sacrifice Cuba's sovereignty. He brought great shame to the Soviet Union, to its armed forces, when he allowed the US imperialists to search Soviet ships on the open seas in a most humiliating way, while Cuba, a tiny country, only 90 miles from the USA, honourably upheld its dignity, did not allow any imperialist searches in its territory, even of Soviet ships in Cuban territorial waters.

N. Khrushchev sacrificed the national interests of the Congolese people when he voted in favour of the intervention of UN troops under the direction of the US imperialists. This compromise brought tragic consequences to the cause of freedom and independence of the Congolese people, as everybody now knows.

The Moscow Treaty on the Partial Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Tests, which is in fact directed against the interest of the Soviet Union itself and the socialist camp, gives the US imperialists the possibility of continuing their underground tests unilaterally and of increasing their atomic potential, of continuing their nuclear
blackmail to threaten and intimidate the peoples.

N. Khrushchev has made many deals with the imperialists at the peoples’ expense. In spite of the great noise made year after year about the signing of the peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the West Berlin problem, N. Khrushchev has now virtually abandoned this matter, and on the eve of his visit to West Germany, he is preparing to make further compromises with the Bonn revanchists to the detriment of the vital interests of the German Democratic Republic. While all the peoples throughout the world rose in anger and resolutely denounced the new aggressive acts of the United States of America against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, N. Khrushchev, to avoid losing favour with the Americans, raised only a feeble voice, with difficulty managed to say a couple of words in an undertone to express his regrets over the Tonkin Gulf incidents, at a time when a fraternal socialist country was faced and is still faced with grave danger.

Not only has N. Khrushchev given up fighting the imperialists himself, but he is doing his best to stop the other peoples from carrying out the revolution and from fighting the imperialists, and trying to restrain and strangle the world liberation movement. He spreads all sorts of pacifist illusions about imperialism and its leaders, advises peoples to be docile, not to irritate the imperialists but to submit to them, because, according to him, a “world conflagration could be kindled from any little spark”. He threatens and intimida-

tes them with the horrors of atomic war, he preaches peace under any conditions and at any price! He has gone so far as to suggest the setting up of an international police force within the framework of the United Nations Organization, to become an international gendarme, together with the US imperialists, in order to suppress any liberation and revolutionary movement of peoples in the world.

It is not by chance that the US imperialists, the right-wing leaders of social-democracy, and reactionaries of all hues lavish praises on the person of N. Khrushchev, on his policy, on his attitude. They describe him as a “great realist politician with whom one can readily come to terms”, “the most suitable man for the West in Moscow”, “the Soviet premier who acts like an American politician”, “the man who is putting the communist world on the road to great transformations and evolution”, and so on and so forth. They have rested great hopes on Khrushchev and his group, and that is why they come to meet him half-way and give him all kinds of aid and support to lure him further down the road of betrayal on which he has long since embarked. They speak openly about “not allowing this great occasion slip through their fingers” and that “the USA should, to a certain extent, make Khrushchev’s task lighter”, and so on and so forth.

History has not recorded any other case of this kind, in which the leaders of imperialism, the class enemies, have lavished so much praise, so much enthusiasm, on a leader of any communist
party as on N. Khrushchev, have expressed so openly their approval, joy, and hopes regarding his political policy. This fact alone makes clear who benefits from N. Khrushchev’s actions, whom his views and deeds serve.

Dear omrades,

In face of the great danger of Khrushchevite revisionism that is menacing the socialist camp, the international communist movement, and the Soviet Union itself, today the communist parties that have adopted sound Marxist-leninist positions, all the revolutionary communists the world over have risen in resolute and principled struggle.

A struggle of historic importance in defence of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism is being waged by the glorious Chinese Communist Party. New Marxist-Leninist parties have sprung up in many countries of the world like Australia and Belgium, Brazil and Ceylon, while Marxist-Leninist revolutionary groups have been set up in many other countries such as Italy and France, Austria and England and elsewhere.

And it could not happen otherwise. The communists who have dedicated their lives to the cause of the revolution and of socialism could not have failed and cannot fail to rise up against this great betrayal of the working class on the part of the modern revisionists. We are fully convinced that this struggle will take ever greater proportions, and that this is precisely what will bring about the final defeat of revisionism.

In this great historic battle between Marxism and revisionism, on whose outcome the present and future of socialism depends, a great responsibility and role devolves upon you, comrades, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is precisely in the leadership of your party that the great evil has taken root, it is the centre of modern revisionism today. The great danger which revisionism constitutes for the entire international communist movement today lies in the fact that it has manifested itself in the oldest and most authoritative party in the world, in the Bolshevik Party, in the Party of Lenin and Stalin, that it has infected the first and most powerful socialist country, the Soviet Union.

Taking advantage of the authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet state, and utilizing the state power with all the colossal means at its disposal, the Khrushchev group are trying to deceive the Soviet communists, to force their course of action on them, to confuse the leaders of many parties, and to plunge them into the mire of opportunism.

In this grave situation created by N. Khrushchev’s betrayal, the time has come for you, Soviet communists, to perform your lofty revolutionary duty towards your glorious party, people and country, towards the proletariat and peoples of the whole world, not to allow the treacherous Khrushchevite clique to jeopardize the future of socialism and communism. The Soviet revolutionary communists have never sat back on the strength of their traditions and merits of the past. Today more than ever before these traditions
should be reasserted in the same revolutionary spirit, with the same determination and devotion to principle, to defend the glorious name of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to raise high its revolutionary banner, flung to the ground by N. Khrushchev. The vital interest of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the revolutionary and liberation movement of the world demand this.

You live and work in the country where the leaders of modern revisionism hold sway. Therefore your fight in defence of Marxism-Leninism is of decisive importance. No doubt this fight is far from easy. It demands great efforts, courage and determination, even sacrifice. But the Soviet communists during their glorious history have given proofs of their heroism and self-sacrifice for the great cause of the working class. They have never been intimidated, they have never retreated before any enemy, carrying out their duty gloriously even in the most difficult moments.

The Party of Labour of Albania addresses this open letter to you, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, because we love you, because we consider you today, as we have always done, our comrades-in-arms. The attempts of this group to smash the Soviet-Albanian friendship, to sow dissension and enmity between our peoples, will fail. The sentiments of friendship and brotherhood of our Party and our people towards your party and peoples have never been, nor will they ever be quelled. The Albanian communists and people are lifelong friends of the Soviet Union. Regardless of the fact that a group of renegades stands today at the head of the Soviet Union, the Party of Labour of Albania, the People’s Republic of Albania, and the Albanian people will always defend the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, created by the great Lenin, against all the foreign and internal enemies. We have never forgotten, nor will we ever forget, what the Soviet Union means to us, we will never forget its internationalist aid for the liberation of our country and the building of socialism.

The attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the Albanian people, has been and remains clear-cut: an uncompromising struggle of principle for the destruction of the Khrushchev revisionist group; friendship, loyalty and full internationalist solidarity and brotherhood with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Our Party abides strictly by the statement made at the solemn meeting on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, on November 7, 1961: «Our Party and our people keep intact in their hearts pure sentiments of friendship towards the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, regardless of the attacks, slanders, and hostile acts to which they have been subjected. Our Party has taught us to love the Soviet Union, the great Fatherland of Lenin and Stalin, both in good times and in difficult ones».*

Guided by these principles, these feelings and this spirit, the Party of Labour of Albania turns to you, confident that the Soviet communists will

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, p. 169 (Alb. ed.).
know at these historical moments how to fulfill their revolutionary internationalist mission with dignity, will face every storm as worthy sons of their glorious party, of its heroic road and history.

How many plots and hostile acts have been concocted by the class enemy, the enemies of the Soviet Party and people, against the Soviet Union since the time of the October Revolution! But the enemy has always been crushed. The cause of socialism, the Soviet power has been defended with honour. You, sons of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, have smashed the intervention of the imperialist forces, which like ravening beasts tried to strangle the revolution, and you triumphed in the bloody Civil War against the rabid class enemies. Supporting you, heart and soul, with militant actions during those days were the communists, the proletarians, all the revolutionaries and oppressed peoples of the world. You, sons of the Bolshevik Party, fought with unparalleled heroism under the leadership of the great successor to the work of Lenin, J. V. Stalin, during the Patriotic War, bravely vanquished German fascism on the field of battle, and became the saviours of the peoples of Europe. In this war, again you had allies in the communist and workers' parties throughout the world, the proletariat and all the peoples, the whole of progressive mankind.

Today a great danger is again threatening the Soviet Union and your party. They are being menaced from within and from abroad by the plot that the imperialists, together with the modern revisionists, are hatching up. This plot, which is being effected under peaceful conditions, is, in fact, much more dangerous for the fate of socialism in the Soviet Union, for all the international communist and workers' movement, for the fate of the revolution in general. At the head of this plot are the leaders of US imperialism and world reaction and the Khrushchev clique. The cause of socialism and the October Revolution, to which you have dedicated your lives, calls on you once more to defeat the great counter-revolutionary plot, which is threatening you, with the same heroism and revolutionary spirit that have characterized your whole life as militant Leninists. And today, as yesterday, in this just fight in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet Union you are not alone. Standing by you are the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties, all the revolutionary communists, all the proletarians and the peoples of the world, who comprehend a much greater force than the allies you used to have in your battles against the class enemy, the enemies of the Soviet Union in the days gone by.

The Party of Labour of Albania, which is not accustomed to whispering behind the door, but speaks openly and frankly, declares resolutely with a clear conscience that it is with you. Therefore, we consider the struggle that must be waged against the revisionist and imperialist plot, in defence of Marxism-Leninism, in defence of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, as a lofty internationalist duty. And the Soviet Union cannot be defended by saying, "We
are with the Soviet Union, right or wrong. Only traitors think that way. The Soviet Union cannot be defended in that manner. That would only defend the betrayal. We do not want the Soviet Union dominated by the revisionist traitors. We do not want to see the revisionists wreck the achievements of the October Revolution and push the country towards alliance with the imperialists for the restoration of capitalism over the soil watered with the blood of the best sons of the party, of the working class, of the Soviet people. We want to see the Soviet Union, yesterday, today, tomorrow, and always, a powerful bastion of the cause of socialism and communism, of the revolution and the freedom of peoples, of peace in the world.

We, Albanian communists, all the workers and patriots of socialist Albania, regardless of our being few in number and the object of continuous ruthless attacks from the imperialists and revisionists, are fighting and will be fighting resolutely, unyieldingly, to the end in defence of our great common cause, Marxism-Leninism, in defence of the Soviet Union. In this fight we accept our full responsibilities and we think that it is time for all true communists and revolutionaries, for all those to whom the cause of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, and the revolution are dear, to assume their full responsibilities in this situation courageously.

Once again we express our full confidence and unshaken belief that our comrades, the communists of the glorious party of Lenin and Stalin, who have been an example of great inspiration for all the communists and peoples of the world, today, too, with a lofty revolutionary consciousness, will know how to carry out the very responsible duties with which history charges them.

In defence of Marxism-Leninism, in defence of socialism and communism, in defence of the Soviet Union, and under the great banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, the Soviet communists will unite their efforts, their powerful struggle with those of all the communists and proletarians of all countries, for the complete exposure and defeat of modern revisionism and imperialism.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

First Secretary
ENVER HOXHA

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TOGLIATI'S TESTAMENT, THE CRISIS OF MODERN REVISIONISM AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE MARXIST-LENINISTS

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October 1964

The theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, "Rinascita", in issue No. 35, dated September 5, 1964, has published P. Togliatti's last writings, which the Western press has dubbed his "testament". It consists of a memorandum "about the problems of the international workers' movement and its unity", written by P. Togliatti in Yalta (USSR), in August 1964, which was to have served as a basis in his talks with N. Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders about the problems which have arisen in connection with the calling of an international meeting of communist and workers' parties by the Khrushchev group.

The leadership of the Italian Communist Party, headed by L. Longo, who was elected as its General Secretary after Togliatti's death, hastened to publish it and to proclaim it as its own platform. "The leadership of our Party," wrote Longo in a brief foreword to Togliatti's "testament", "learned with great excitement about the document prepared by comrade Togliatti, agreed that in it the positions of our Party in regard to the present situation of the international communist movement are presented with great clarity", and adopted it as its own. Therefore we are publishing comrade Togliatti's memorandum as a precise exposition of the position of the Party about the problems of the international communist and workers' movement and its unity.

The publication of this document met with a lively response, both among the revisionist circles and in the bourgeois press. While the Khrushchev group maintained a reserved stand towards this document and was satisfied simply to publish it without comment, the imperialists and the Titoite clique hailed it and welcomed it with glee. And this because of the fact that in this document P. Togliatti not only reaffirmed the hostile anti-Marxist position of the Italian revisionists, especially towards the CP of China and the PLA, but also disclosed the differences which the Italian revisionists have with other revisionists, and with the Khrushchev group in the first place.

Togliatti's whole "testament" is pervaded from end to end by distortion of Marxism-Leninism, by efforts to replace it in theory and practice with modern revisionism. It reflects and crystallizes the line of "Italian socialism" and the theory of "Italian polycentrism."
As such, Togliatti’s «testament» has great importance for us Marxist-Leninists because the revisionists exposed themselves in it. Through this document the genuine revolutionaries can see the results of their resolute struggle up till now, which has not only seriously hindered the realization of the hostile aims of the revisionists, but has also caused them great difficulties and has made the contradictions between them even deeper and more acute. At the same time, through Togliatti’s «testament», the Marxist-Leninists can also see more clearly the plans and methods of struggle which the modern revisionists will try to use now and in the future against Marxist-Leninist parties, against genuine revolutionaries, against communism.

These cunning revisionist plans must be resolutely and unhesitatingly unmasked. The illusions which the various revisionist groups try to create about their positions must be exposed and destroyed. The genuine revolutionaries must be clear about the present and future danger from these enemies of communism. For this reason it is necessary to carefully analyze the «testament» of P. Togliatti.

The Main Aim of Revisionists is to Fight Marxist-Leninists

In reading the «testament» of P. Togliatti it becomes clearly apparent that the main aim of this document is not at all to achieve unity in the international communist movement and the socialist camp, but it is to show the methods, forms, and means which, in the opinion of Togliatti and the whole revisionist leadership of the Italian Communist Party, will make possible a more effective struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties and their positions, against their ever-increasing influence, and especially against the CP of China. Togliatti makes no attempt to conceal this, indeed in his memorandum there is a special chapter entitled precisely, «How the Chinese positions can be attacked more effectively». And this is because the revisionists see that their positions are becoming weaker, that nobody is fooled by their demagoguery any longer, that revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, groups, around which the revolutionary masses of the working class and the people are uniting, are being formed everywhere.

In fact, as is expressed in his «testament», P. Togliatti is greatly concerned about the fact that things in the revisionist herd, in its struggle against Marxism-Leninism, are not going well, and he sees the main cause of this situation in the «wrong», «dogmatic» and brutal tactics of N. Khrushchev and his group. He writes: «The plan which we proposed for a powerful struggle against the incorrect political positions and disruptive activity of the Chinese communists was different from that which was followed in fact... A different line was followed and I do not consider the results completely satisfactory.»

The Togliatti revisionists are among the most
cowardly, but, at the same time, the most consistent revisionists. Therefore they demand, as their dead leader clearly states, that the open polemics against the Chinese and other «dogmatists» (read: against Marxist-Leninists) must be carried on unceasingly.

With this the Italian revisionists show themselves to be, as they are in fact, sworn enemies of Marxism-Leninism. They express themselves as firmly opposed to any cessation of the open, public struggle against Marxist-Leninists, even temporarily and for the sake of appearances, because otherwise they cannot carry out their treacherous mission. At the same time, they are telling Khrushchev with this that his demagogic manoeuvres that the «polemics must be stopped» are completely in vain and deceive no one, that the polemics cannot be stopped either by the revisionists or the «dogmatists».

On the other hand, however, P. Togliatti demands that the main direction of the polemics must be shifted. Faced with the bitter experience of the unfortunate results of the propaganda of the Khrushchev group, allegedly in defence of principles of «creative Marxism-Leninism», he demands that they refrain from theoretical polemics with Marxist-Leninist parties that touch on the vital problems of principle of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the activity of the communist movement, and that the discussion should be orientated completely towards the confused, unprincipled, and uncontrollable petty daily struggle around the current internal problems of the country, in which, according to Togliatti, the propaganda of the Chinese and Albanian «dogmatists» is «completely disarmed and powerless» and has «no effect at all».

With this proposal P. Togliatti is launching a very dangerous idea. In the polemics, with the Marxist-Leninists over major questions of principle, as P. Togliatti himself is forced to admit, the modern revisionists have suffered utter defeat, their demagogy has failed and they are not in a position to denigrate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. The polemics of principle is certain disaster for the revisionists, because it is demonstrating openly to the masses of communists and working people the revisionists' flagrant deviation from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, is bringing to light their real features as renegades.

Consequently, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists everywhere are organizing, creating new groups and parties, which are fighting with determination against revisionism in defence of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. P. Togliatti is afraid of this situation and perspective. Therefore, to avoid the complete exposure of revisionism, he demands that the polemics must be shifted from questions of principle and concentrated on discussion of second rate matters, on day-to-day problems. What Togliatti means by this is: let everybody stick to his own ideological views and let there be no polemics over these matters of principle; the communists should not concern themselves about the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism; the process
of the creation of new revolutionary groups and parties should be hindered in every way: the revisionist renegades should be left in peace in their activity so that they will have fewer problems and headaches in putting into practice their opportunist line, the line of giving up revolutionary struggle, the line of the liquidation of revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, the line of alliances with the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

But for all the efforts of Togliatti and Co to divert and quell it, the great polemics which is going on today between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism must never be stopped. This polemics, will cease only when modern revisionism has been totally destroyed. The Marxist-Leninists consider it their lofty internationalist duty to carry this ideological struggle, which has vital importance for the fate of the communist and revolutionary movement, through to the end.

P. Togliatti is dissatisfied, not only with the way in which the Khrushchev group has conducted the polemics against the Marxist-Leninist parties, but also with the practical steps which it has undertaken to put its treacherous revisionist policy into practice. «The Chinese attack» (read: the principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties), he says, «was replied to, in general, with an ideological and propaganda polemics, but not with a development of our policy in connection with the struggle against the Chinese positions.» As «positive» but «inadequate» steps in this direction, Togliatti mentions the signing of the notorious Moscow Treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear tests and the visit of N. Khrushchev to Egypt. He demands that similar «practical» steps be taken more often, both by the Khrushchevite revisionists and by those of other countries.

Thus, Togliatti and his Italian revisionist comrades, who have capitulated completely to the atomic blackmail of imperialism, are appealing to the Khrushchev group to reject any «senseless hesitation» and to proceed more quickly down the road of rapprochement with, and capitulationist concessions to, the imperialists, as they did on the occasion of the signing of the tripartite pact over nuclear tests. But the policy of capitulation to imperialist blackmail, of unprincipled concessions to the imperialists and deals with them, has not led to the lowering of international tension and has not averted the danger of war as the revisionists, who are scared stiff, think, but, on the contrary, has whetted the appetite of the imperialists and increased their aggressiveness, as is shown by the aggressive actions of the US imperialists in South-East Asia, their ceaseless provocations in West Berlin, the increase in their piratical acts against Cuba, and so on, during these recent months. Indeed even Togliatti himself is obliged to admit in his memorandum that the international situation is worse now than it was two or three years ago.

In his «testament» Togliatti urges the revisionists, wherever they happen to be, to step up their efforts against the Marxist-Leninist parties and their authority and influence in the world.
He is especially worried about the ever-greater influence of Marxist-Leninists, particularly of the CP of China, in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, or the «third world», as Togliatti calls these zones. Therefore he recommends that the revisionist groups must intervene more actively in these zones, with the aim of combating the positions of Marxist-Leninist parties there and liquidating their influence. He proposes «... an international meeting called by a number of western communist parties, with a wide-range of representatives of democratic countries of the 'third world' and their progressive movements, for the purpose of working out a concrete line of collaboration with and aid for these movements. This would be one way to combat the Chinese with facts and not just with words».

Why are P. Togliatti and his henchmen so worried about the situation in the so-called «third world»? Is there not a powerful, anti-imperialist national-liberation movement developing in these countries? Or perhaps this is just what is worrying them? Now the whole world knows that the CP of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties are the true and most resolute supporters of the national-liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, dauntless fighters against imperialism for the peoples’ freedom and independence. Therefore, to rise in opposition to the line which these parties follow, to try to eliminate their influence among the peoples who have risen in struggle against imperialism, as P. Togliatti demands, means, in fact, to rise in opposition to the peoples’ anti-imperialist liberation struggle. And the facts prove that the aim of the line of all modern revisionists, from Tito to Khrushchev and Togliatti, has always been to use various pretexts and manoeuvres to hold back and paralyze the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples against imperialism. It is precisely P. Togliatti who has declared more than once that «the colonial regime has almost completely collapsed», and that «spheres of influence of imperialism no longer exist in the world». It is precisely the Italian revisionists, headed by P. Togliatti, who have preached collaboration between socialist countries and the «leading classes of capitalist countries» for the creation of an order «in which all the aspirations of mankind and the peoples for freedom, well-being, and independence can be satisfied». It is precisely they who have sought «common initiatives» between states with differing systems, especially in Europe, «to carry out joint intervention so that the progress of less developed regions will be assisted». That is how P. Togliatti understands «assistance» for the peoples who are fighting imperialism!

Continuing his idea on how the Marxist-Leninist parties can be combated more successfully, in his «testament», Togliatti expresses reserves about whether a meeting of communist parties, which would have the aim of condemning and excommunicating the CP of China, the PLA, and other communist parties and the definitive splitting of the communist movement, is useful and opportune. The Togliattists consider such a tactic of the re-
negade group of N. Khrushchev wrong and very harmful to the revisionist cause.

P. Togliatti considers the calling of a meeting to carry through and sanction the splitting of the communist movement very dangerous, because it would enhance the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the revisionists throughout the world, would accelerate the process of differentiation in the ranks of the world communist movement and the unification of the Marxist-Leninist forces, and would thus bring the inevitable end of the revisionists closer. «The danger would become especially serious», writes P. Togliatti, «if it came to the point of the splitting of the movement, with the formation of a Chinese international centre which would create its 'sections' in all countries. All the parties, and especially the weakest ones, would tend to devote the greater part of their activity to the polemics and struggle against these so-called 'sections' of a new 'International'... It is true that even today, the factional efforts of the Chinese are taking place on a wide-scale and in almost all countries. We should avoid turning the quantity of these efforts into quality, that is, into a true, general, and sanctioned split.»

As a veteran of the Comintern, Palmiro Togliatti well knows the strength of the organization of the Marxist-Leninists of the world and he is very much afraid of it (he calls it the creation of a «new» «Chinese», International with «sections», that is, Marxist-Leninist parties, in all countries). Although he tries to belittle the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups that are emerging, moulding themselves, and becoming stronger everywhere in the world, he is very much afraid of them, foreseeing the grave danger looming for modern revisionism. With this he wants to tell the Khrushchevites, who rely on their arrogance, who are intoxicated and blinded by their «economic and military potential», who rely blindly on the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, not to forget the lessons of history, the lessons of the experience of the international communist movement, not to forget the ignominious defeat which the Third International inflicted on the opportunists and revisionists of the Second International. Hence, Togliatti is telling Khrushchev and his supporters: give up this «meeting», refrain from a definitive split, because we are hastening our own catastrophe, and we can avoid this catastrophe by acting differently!

These two different tactics of the revisionists are dictated by the different conditions in which they are acting. N. Khrushchev and his group, who have seized state power in the Soviet Union, think that they can cope with the crisis, which a complete split in the communist movement would cause, by using harsh police methods, persecution and oppression against the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who are rising and will rise against the revisionists’ treacherous line. While the Togliattists, who perform in a capitalist country and do not have state power in their hands, and consequently cannot prevent the acticity of Marxist-Leninists with such methods, oppose the extremist methods
of N. Khrushchev for a complete split in the communist movement, hoping thus to avert the catastrophe, and with other, more flexible and «Democratic» methods, to paralyse the organization and struggle of revolutionary communists.

But neither the brutal methods used by N. Khrushchev and his group nor the «refined» tactics which P. Togliatti proposes can stop the inevitable process of the gathering and organization of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces, cannot avert the complete and final defeat of modern revisionism.

The Togliattists come out against the aims of N. Khrushchev and his group for a final break and cutting off of all relations with the PR of China and other fraternal socialist countries for another reason, too. They are frightened by the ultra-reactionery tendencies which are becoming more pronounced every day, both in the USA (Goldwater) and in Western Europe. «We think that we ought to bear this situation in mind in our whole attitude to the Chinese communists», writes Togliatti in his «testament». «The unity of all the socialist forces in joint action, overriding the ideological differences, against the most reactionary grouping of imperialism, is an absolute necessity. The exclusion of China and the Chinese communists from this unity is unthinkable».

From what P. Togliatti says, it emerges that what he is concerned about is not in the least the fact that the communist movement and the socialist camp have been disrupted, nor the finding of ways to overcome the profound differences of principle which have emerged in their ranks. No, he demands that the polemics against the Marxist-Leninist parties must be carried on ceaselessly, indeed, as we have shown above, he even recommends more effective ways and means to struggle against them. But he is afraid of the «madmen», proposes that a more flexible, more cautious course should be followed, that in view of the difficult days that may come in the future they should not «burn all their bridges» with People's China, 700-million strong. This is a typically opportunist stand à la Italian bourgeoisie, which has a tradition of swapping its alliances and its «shirts» at decisive moments, as readily as a king of old would change his wives.

Togliatti's assertions that he is allegedly concerned about the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism, as well as his proposal of coordinated actions together with the PR of China in this struggle, are demagogy from start to finish, calculated to deceive people. What unity and collaboration on the basis of the struggle against imperialism can there be with the modern revisionists, whether Togliattist, Khrushchevite, or Titoite, who have not only rejected the struggle against imperialism, especially against the main citadel of world reaction — US imperialism, but have even tried, and still try in every way, to prettify imperialism and its chiefs, to spread pacifist illusions about it, to turn the peoples from resolute struggle against it, and indeed, have gone so far as to conclude scandalous agreements with the imperialists and various reactionaries, contrary
to the vital interests of the socialist countries and peace? There can be unity and collaboration in the struggle against imperialism only with the Marxist-Leninists and with all the forces that genuinely take an anti-imperialist position, who demonstrate this with deeds and not just with words, but never with the revisionists who are the offspring of imperialism and in its service.

P. Togliatti Wants the Further Degeneration of Socialist Countries and Communist Parties

The final notes of P. Togliatti are a clear expression of the differences which exist between various revisionist groupings in connection with the courses and rates of development of modern revisionism in theory and practice.

Togliatti heaps criticism on the Khrushchev group and its followers because they are proceeding at a very slow pace on the course of the «democratic and liberal transformation» of life in the socialist countries. He demands that they should proceed more rapidly, more openly, with greater determination, on the course of the degeneration of the socialist order.

P. Togliatti again raises the old question which he, together with the renegade Tito, had raised in 1956, at the time of the counter-revolution in Hungary, about the «origin of the cult of the individual of J. Stalin». He writes that, «...generally speaking, the problem of the origin of the cult of Stalin and how it was made possible is considered unsolved.» People in the West, and many communist sympathizers among them, says Togliatti, do not accept that it can all be explained «simply with the grave personal vices of Stalin. Efforts are made to track down which might have been the political mistakes which contributed to the birth of this cult».

It is obvious that in raising the issue of the sources of Stalin’s «cult of the individual» in this way, P. Togliatti is demanding fundamental changes in the very foundations of the socialist order, in the main principles of the organization of this order and the policy of the socialist construction, that was followed in the Soviet Union in the time of Stalin’s leadership.

But what does Togliatti want concretely?

This comes out very clearly in an interview which he gave to the correspondent of the American magazine «Time», immediately after the elections of April 28, 1963, in Italy, which was published for the first time after the death of Togliatti* as a document which includes many of the theses developed later in the Yalta memorandum of P. Togliatti. In the interview Togliatti, in a completely open manner, criticized the policy of the nationalization of capitalist industry, the collectivization of agriculture, and the leadership of a single party, etc., in other words, the fundamental line of socialist organization and construction which was followed during the period...

* See «Unità», September 18, 1964.
of Stalin's leadership in the Soviet Union. He demands that such a line must be rejected and that "Stalin's mistakes must not be repeated".

It is not in the least fortuitous that in his memorandum Togliatti demands the organization of "public discussions" from time to time in the socialist countries, in which "leading figures who have varying viewpoints" about the problems of socialist construction should take part and express their "original" opinions in regard to the ways and methods of development of the socialist economy. It is not hard to see what P. Togliatti is driving at. It is known that such "discussions" are being held now in the Soviet Union in connection with the ways to introduce the principle of "profit" into the Soviet enterprises, a thing which constitutes a step towards the application in the Soviet economy of the experience of the Tito clique about the so-called "workers' self-administration". This is the road to the capitalist degeneration of the socialist economy. And P. Togliatti issues the call for more rapid and bolder advance precisely down this road.

But in the first place and above all, for P. Togliatti, for all the Italian revisionists and those who, openly or secretly, tag along after them, the "process of de-Stalinization" in the countries where the revisionists rule is not satisfactory and is not being carried out as rapidly as they would like. "The problem which commands the greatest attention today, in regard to both the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries", he says in his "testament", "is especially that of overcoming the regime of restriction and suppression of democratic and personal rights which was established by Stalin... The general impression is that there is a slowness and resistance to returning to the Leninist norms which ensure extensive freedom of expression and discussion, inside the Party and outside it, in the field of culture and art, as well as in the political field."

Thus, with the process of "de-Stalinization", Togliatti means the radical transformation at accelerated rates, in theory and practice, of the regime, of the system, of the internal and foreign policies of the USSR and the other socialist countries of Europe, with the aim that these countries should be turned from the right road of the construction of socialism on a scientific Marxist-Leninist basis, to countries with a liberal, social-democratic, state-capitalist order. In other words, Togliatti demands that the road which N. Khrushchev and the 20th Congress of the CPSU opened towards the degeneration of the Soviet Union from a socialist country to a bourgeois liberal country, must not be interrupted, the process must not be slowed down, but on the contrary, accelerated.

According to the Italian revisionists, for this process to advance, the Soviet system which allegedly gave birth to "Stalin's cult of the individual" must be completely discredited, both politically and ideologically, Stalin, who allegedly "perverted Marxism-Leninism", "created the most savage dictatorship known to mankind", who caused "great harm" with the "unnecessary" and
«barbarous» class struggle, and who «made the Soviet Union a fearsome spectre to the world bourgeoisie, to social-democracy», etc., must be discredited.

In reality, the Khrushchev group and its followers are completely at one in principle with P. Togliatti, and are proceeding precisely on the anti-Soviet road he preaches. The fact is that in the Soviet Union, in the context of «liberalization» and «democratization» of the social order, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party are being liquidated. It is known, also, that in the Soviet Union and in some countries of people’s democracy, the doors have been opened wide to the spread of all sorts of anti-socialist and decadent bourgeois trends in the field of culture and art. These things are no longer a secret to anyone. But to advance on this course with rapid steps is something very delicate and accompanied with a number of negative consequences for the revisionists themselves, and this is what forces N. Khrushchev and his group to show more restraint and caution than P. Togliatti would like.

They are obliged to show more caution and restraint because to go at the gallop down the road of liberal-bourgeois degeneration of the socialist order would quickly expose them to the masses as the renegades from socialism who are restoring capitalism, which they are in fact. Apart from this, it seems that the Khrushchev group is afraid to allow the extremist revisionist elements much rope by giving them complete freedom of speech and action, because they will bring troubles upon their own heads, as has occurred in fact with a number of writers in the Soviet Union who began to demand an accounting even from Khrushchev himself over the so-called «crimes» of the Stalin era. In the final analysis, the Khrushchev group and its revisionist followers in other countries cannot be for unrestricted «liberalization», because such a thing would face them with the problem of freedom of speech and action also for the sound revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist elements, who oppose their revisionist line. But it is known that the Khrushchev group and its supporters have established the most severe censorship and the harshest police regime against Marxist-Leninists.

Naturally Togliatti and the Togliattists hail the steps undertaken in the USSR and a number of other socialist countries for the degeneration of the socialist order and the widespread introduction of bourgeois ideological influences as «very positive». However, according to them, this process is being carried out very slowly, with zigzags, and stops and starts, and is encountering the resistance of «the old»; they need matters to go more quickly on the road of the complete liquidation of the «harmful consequences of the dictatorship of the proletariat», on the road of the capitalist degeneration in the socialist economy, in the field of culture and art, and all other fields. They want the process of degeneration in the CPSU, which has now become a «party of the entire people», to advance more rapidly, and demand that it should become completely a party of the type of the
Italian Communist Party, without rules, without discipline, «free», «democratic», with factions and tendencies of every kind included in it. In a word, Togliatti recommends to the Khrushchevite revisionists that the reforms undertaken for the liberalization of the party should be taken further, that the CPSU and the parties of the republics which form it should have great freedom (even the present «dogmatic» forms which the Khrushchevite revisionists use must be rejected) and the best of all possible blessings would be if they went even from the old «dogmatic» system of one party to the multi-party system. According to the Togliattists, this would be the culmination of «socialist democracy» (they don't quite say that «Lenin had long dreamed of this», but that Stalin had hindered the realization of this «dream of Lenin's» for years on end! But they may get around to saying it one day.).

Togliatti and all the Italian revisionists, who perform in a capitalist country, don't want to take account of the special conditions and difficulties which the Khrushchevites and the other revisionists run into which stop them going full tilt down the road of degeneration. The Togliattists want the process of degeneration in the Soviet Union, and consequently also in the other socialist countries of Europe, to be speeded up, because only in this way will the capitalist world no longer be afraid of the USSR, of socialism, of communism, because only in this way will the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals be convinced that the «devil is not as ugly as they say», that socialism is not so unacceptable to them (and even if up till now there have been things in the socialist countries unacceptable to the bourgeoisie, these have been the «distortions» of Stalin!). Hence it is possible to talk about building a «new system of world socialism» with «Marxists», with «Socialists», with Social-democrats, with Christian-democrats, with capitalists, on the «peaceful» road, without class struggle, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without destroying the old state power of the bourgeoisie, but by means of «structural reforms», on the parliamentary road, acting according to the laws of bourgeois constitutions etc., etc.

But, since the principles of transition to «socialism» in such «democratic» and «peaceful» ways were accepted at 20th Congress, the Italian revisionists argue then they should be applied in a consistent manner, not only in words but in deeds, and it devolves on the Khrushchevite and other revisionists to set the example for the whole world, to remove the «democrats»' fears by proving that they are wiping out the «spectre of Stalinism» in deeds and have changed the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries into social-democratic paradises, into countries of «popular socialism», acceptable to all the democrats of the world!

P. Togliatti also expresses dissatisfaction and pretensions regarding the problems of the development of revisionism in the Western countries. «We have always been of the opinion,» he writes, «that it is not correct to present the workers' and communist movement of the Western countries
always in optimistic colours. In this half of the world, even although there has been some progress here and there, our development and our strength, to this very day, are inappropriate to the tasks before us."

This is a truly interesting admission. It is known that in the overwhelming majority of these countries, the leadership of the communist parties is in the hands of revisionist elements who proceed on the same opportunistic and anti-Marxist course advocated by Togliatti, Tito, Khrushchev and Co. Togliatti's admission shows what a pretty pass the trend of modern revisionism has brought the communist movement.

And what does P. Togliatti want? What does he recommend to pull the communist movement of the western world out of this unpleasant situation? The most elementary logic demands that the first decisive step in this direction should be the rejection of the revisionist anti-revolutionary line which has dragged the prestige and authority of the communist and workers' parties in the West down to ground level and has led to the alienation and isolation of the communists from the masses. However, P. Togliatti recommends precisely the opposite: he demands that they go even further down the revisionist road of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. "In general," he writes, "in compiling our policy, we set out, and we are convinced that we should set out, from the positions of the 20th Congress. But today, even these positions require deepening and development."

Concretely he demands that all the forces and efforts of the communist and workers' parties in the Western countries should be directed towards the "peaceful" and "legal" forms of struggle, following the example of the so-called "Italian road" to socialism (the demand for the working out and putting into practice of an "overall plan of economic development" in the interests of workers to "be counterposed to the capitalist program" which is in the interests of big monopolies, for the "democratization" of the management of economic life in the capitalist countries, etc., etc.). "For example," writes P. Togliatti, "a more profound judgment on the theme of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism impels us to define more precisely what we mean by democracy in a bourgeois state, how can the limitations of freedom and democratic institutions be expanded, and what will be the most effective forms of the participation of the masses of workers and working people in economic and political life. The question arises of the possibility of the working class winning positions of power within the framework of a state which has not changed its nature as a bourgeois state, and consequently, whether the struggle from within for a progressive transformation of this nature would be possible. In countries where the communist movement has become strong, as in our country (and in France), this is emerging as the fundamental question in political life today."

We have had occasion previously, especially in the article, "About the Theses for the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party," publi-
shed in «Zeri i popullit» on 17 and 18 November, 1962, to dwell in detail on the analysis of the so-called «Italian road to socialism», and to prove that it is characterized by flagrant departure from the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that it is an utterly opportunist and revisionist «road» identical with the preachings of Bernstein, Kautsky, and other opportunists of the past, of the Right-wing socialists, the Tito clique, and other renegades of the present time. And it is precisely the further deepening of this treacherous line of negation of the revolution, of weaning the communist parties and masses of working people away from revolutionary struggle, that P. Togliatti recommends as the way out of the crisis into which modern revisionism has led the communist movement in the West!

Togliatti also wants them to renounce anything that might hinder the alliances of the revisionists with the liberal bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals, the Christian-democrats, the Social-democrats, and all their other «allies» on the «democratic Italian road to socialism». He mentions as an example the absolute need to renounce the «old atheist formula», in other words, the principled struggle against religion and the reactionary policy of the Vatican, as well as the struggle for the principles of Marxism in the fields of culture, art, science, and philosophy.

In fact this is the line of the political and ideological degeneration of the communist and workers’ parties in the Western countries, of turning them into parties of the social-democratic type. To complete the picture, we shall add here that at the same time the leadership of the Italian Communist Party headed by P. Togliatti has long been following the policy of the organizational degeneration of the proletarian party, changing it gradually from a militant, organized and disciplined revolutionary vanguard of the working class, into an amorphous organization, with no clear-cut limits, without a sound party discipline, which anyone can enter or leave as it pleases him, and where the supreme duty of a party member is considered to be that he gives his vote to the Communist Party in the parliamentary or other elections which are held in the capitalist countries.

Thus, willy-nilly, the Italian revisionists regretfully admit that their road of betrayal has brought them no gains. On the contrary, not only are the revisionist parties in the capitalist countries far from taking power through the «parliamentary» road, but they are even losing those seats which they had in the past in the bourgeois parliaments. Not only are they quite unable to consolidate their old alliances and create new ones with the Socialists, the Christian-democrats, the Social-democrats, etc., but those they have had have fallen apart. By means of their «structural» reforms and covering under bourgeois constitutions, they have not only «failed to marry the priest’s daughter but they are not even accepted
in the village». And above all, they see that the resistance of opponents within the party is increasing from day to day, and that outside the party, Marxist-Leninist groups are being formed which are growing and becoming stronger and will turn into new Marxist-Leninist parties. For the revisionists the outlook is very gloomy because they can see their utter defeat as a not distant prospect.

With this situation in mind, the cry of alarm which Togliatti sends out to the other revisionists, especially to the Soviet revisionists headed by N. Khrushchev, is quite understandable. He demands that the tactics of the struggle against the «dogmatists» must be changed, and at the same time, demands the speeding up of the degeneration of the socialist countries and further rapprochement with the bourgeoisie and imperialism. According to Togliatti, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries ought to provide the «good example» of the complete liquidation of the «Stalinist anomaly» and the creation of a «democratic» and «liberal» socialism of the type that the Right-wing social-democratic chiefs advocate, which they even claim they have achieved in a number of European capitalist countries!

Thus, for the sake of the triumph of the «Italian road to socialism», for the sake of their alliances with the bourgeoisie, the Social-democrats, the Christian-democrats etc., Togliatti and all the Italian revisionists demand that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries must be sacrificed, that the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the people’s revolutions in the other countries, achieved through the struggle and bloodshed of the peoples, must be liquidated. This is a great anti-Soviet and anti-socialist plot, which reveals the real, traitorous features of the Togliatti revisionists.

However, as was inevitable, these demands of Togliatti have run into opposition from the Khrushchev group, which now finds itself in a difficult situation. It has gone a very long way down the road of betrayal and is not willing nor able to turn back, because such a thing would mean utter defeat and complete liquidation for it. But neither can it advance at the accelerated rates that Togliatti demands, because this would speed up its complete exposure and defeat. Faced with this difficult situation, the Khrushchev group opposes the line of Togliatti and tries to impose its own line on the Togliattists, by relying on the power of the «ruble» and on the military power and authority of the USSR and the CPSU.

All this shows that, although they are all treading the one path of betrayal, between the revisionists there is not, and cannot be, unity, that the differences among them are incapable of solution, but will become steadily deeper and deeper, disrupting and fragmenting the revisionist front.
«Polycentrism» and «Monocentrism» — Two Anti-Marxist Tendencies in the Ranks of Modern Revisionism

The other important question which Togliatti raises in his «testament» is the so-called theory of polycentrism, which is counterposed to the monocentrism line of N. Khrushchev and his group.

The line of the Khrushchev group is the line of banging the fist on the table, not only towards the Marxist-Leninist parties, but also towards other revisionists, the line of stern dictate to force all to obey the Khrushchev group unconditionally, and humbly approve its policy of great-state chauvinism and the «mother party». Whereas the polycentrism line of Togliatti is a typical expression of a liberal, opportunist, social-democratic policy, which wants to get rid of any imposition from the Khrushchev group, and not only for the Italian Communist Party, but also for all the other revisionists, both in the capitalist world and in the socialist countries.

As far as Togliatti is concerned, «Moscow» is no longer, and must not be, able to run the international communist movement. The authority of the CPSU should be eliminated, according to Togliatti, because this is a «anachronism», a «dangerous hang-over from the cult of Stalin». The Khrushchev group must give up its leadership and domination of the international communist movement, must give up its monopoly of keeping all the other parties tied to the CPSU, give up the privilege that it, alone, is authorized to maintain links with the small communist and workers' parties, to have meetings and contacts with them, and to give them orders and advice. Indeed he does not want to allow the CPSU and the Soviet government even the privilege that they alone should have contacts and develop policies with non-communist, nationalist, progressive government elements from the backward countries. Togliatti demands the existence of a number of centres of political and ideological leadership and activity, especially in the capitalist world. And concretely, in his opinion, these centres should be the Italian, French, and Spanish Communist Parties.

These two lines are expressed with special clarity in the differing attitudes towards the meeting of communist and workers' parties proposed by the Khrushchev group. This group has decided to call the international meeting of parties as soon as possible, not only to condemn and expel the CP of China, the PLA and the other Marxist-Leninist parties and thus sanction the complete and open splitting of the communist movement, but also to establish its hegemony, to lay down the law, and dictate its line to the revisionist parties, to subject all the revisionists to its dictate, and impose its own «charter» on them. Whereas the Italian revisionists oppose the meeting proposed by Khrushchev for the above purposes, and are doing everything they can to have their polycentrist thesis accepted, because they do not want to be subject to any dictate, do not want to tie their own hands with any sort of joint decisions, but have
the tendency to proceed without any sort of «common charter», even though it may be completely revisionist.

In his «testament», Togliatti clearly expresses these hesitations and tendencies. He says that «in our party we still have doubts and reservations about whether the international conference is opportune...», that «indeed we might even fear that the adoption of rigid general formulae may be a hindrance», that «thus we would be opposed to any proposal to create another centralized international organization». Therefore P. Togliatti suggests that instead of the international meeting «we should proceed with a series of meetings with groups of parties... in the various sectors of our movement (Western Europe, the countries of Latin America, countries of the third world and their contacts with the communist movement of the capitalist countries, the countries of people's democracy, etc.). According to Togliatti, this would be a better way to fight the Marxist-Leninist parties. «Finally,» continues Togliatti, «once our tasks and political line have been thoroughly defined, sector by sector, the international conference might be called off, if this is considered necessary to avoid a formal split», of which the Togliattists are desperately afraid, as we pointed out above.

But while expressing his opposition to a general meeting, in his «testament» Togliatti stresses: «Unquestionably, we shall take part, and an active part, in the preparatory meeting.» This apparently contradictory stand of the Togliatti revisionists is in complete conformity with their line and aims.

The preliminary, preparatory meeting does not tie the leadership of the Italian Communist Party to any sort of pledge or obligation, while on the other hand, it gives it the possibility to put forward its own platform, differing from that of the Khrushchev group, in the hope that it might find support, and even convince the Khrushchev group on a series of questions.

But such a stand by P. Togliatti and the leaders of the Italian Communist Party to take part in the preparatory meeting is also in the interests of the Khrushchev group and suits their purposes. As the Western press commented, such an «original» stand creates a precedent for those communist and workers' parties who, up to now, are wavering about whether or not to take part in the meeting of December 15, by «arguing» that you may quite well take part in a meeting with the mission of which you are not in agreement.

While they express their opposition to the splittist meeting that N. Khrushchev demands should be organized, the Italian revisionists are not in the least concerned about the problem of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp. On the contrary, like the Khrushchev group, they, too, are for the disruption, indeed for the complete break up, of the communist movement. With their completely opportunist and social-democratic views, the Italian revisionists have long since sown the seeds of disruption and are cultivating them with increasing care. They have waged, and are continuing to wage a stern struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties and insist that
this struggle must not be relinquished for one moment. The so-called «autonomy» which the Togliattists advocate for the socialist countries and communist parties means, as the writings of P. Togliatti and various documents of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party bring out, that the socialist countries and communist parties should be «independent» of any Marxist-Leninist principle, of any general law, that each of them must be «free» to adopt its own «specific» road to follow «different policies», to enter into alliances and collaborate with whoever they like and as they like. The polycentrist line of the Italian revisionists, the line of the creation of different leading centres in the communist movement, is just as blatantly opposed to the ideals of unity as the Khrushchevite line of the «single command».

The whole line of the Italian revisionists, who want to get rid of any domination from the Khrushchev group, not only over the Italian Communist Party, but also over the other revisionists, who want to break up the communist movement into separate «spheres of influence», from the one angle, shows their distrust of the Khrushchev group and their fear of the imminent danger of the utter defeat to which this group is leading them, whereas, from the other angle, it is an effort to avert this total catastrophe by creating groupings of revisionists parties, which, by means of various alliances and under various disguises, will save the face and extend the life of modern revisionism. To the «clumsy» tactics of N. Khrushchev who is endangering the existence of the whole of modern revisionism tied to the Khrushchevite chariot, the Togliattists counterpose the «refined» tactics of many revisionist centres, so that if one is defeated the others will escape.

The polycentrist position of the Italian revisionists greatly interests the imperialists, who, although they support the revisionist course of N. Khrushchev against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, want to weaken this group even more by assisting the revisionist groupings with the «cavalry of St. George» and the dollar, so that they go further in the race to win independence from the «rouble» and become dependent on the «dollar», with the aim of forcing the Khrushchevite leadership, in this way, to make new concessions to the imperialists on the road of the degeneration of socialism and the international communist movement.

It is natural that the Khrushchev revisionist group which stands one hundred per cent on the positions of great-state chauvinism and paternalism in its relations with its revisionist partners, which understands very well that the Togliattists are trying to destroy its «absolute rule» and to strengthen their own positions at the expense of the interests of the Khrushchev group, are fiercely opposed to and reject the polycentrist line of P. Togliatti and his followers. Indeed the polemic between them, with allusions sometimes more open and sometimes disguised, has even raised its head in public. Speaking about the

1 The British pound sterling.
question of calling the international meeting of communist and workers' parties, B. Ponomaryov, in a speech on September 28, devoted to the centenary of the First International, took a stab at the position of the Togliattists and their supporters and stressed that the independence of communist parties did not mean in the least that they should act according to the proverb, «Each frog croaks in its own pond». «The tendency to interpret the independence of parties as a retreat from the carrying out of common internationalist tasks», continues Ponomaryov, «as a sort of 'neutrality' when it comes to the solution of common problems, can never be considered as a sign of independence or a sign of maturity».*

The facts prove that the nearer the time of the meeting proposed by the Khrushchev group approaches, the more tempers and the differences sharpen, so much more the two opposing lines in the revisionist front come to light. But both of them are fatal to revisionism itself. The dogmatic and dictatorial revisionist line of the Khrushchev group contains within itself the seeds of the disruption of the revisionist front because it arouses the protest of the other revisionist groupings and increases their efforts to escape from the brutal dictate of N. Khrushchev and his group. This line has Icd, and is leading, to the isolation of this group from its revisionist partners. The polycentrist, revisionist and liberal line of Togliatti, which advocates the dispersal of the «single command» of the Khrushchev group in the struggle against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, also contains the seeds of the disruption of the revisionist groupings, hence of their inevitable defeat and break-up also.

Resolute and Principled Struggle against all Revisionist Trends — A Sacred Duty of Communist Revolutionaries

Togliatti's «testament» and many other facts testify clearly that the revisionists' front has been split and that this split is becoming deeper and will become deeper still in the future. The contradictions in the ranks of the revisionists are not something unusual, but entirely natural phenomena, because the revisionists are people without principle, because whether Khrushchevite, Togliattist, Titovite, or of any other brand, they are lackeys of the bourgeoisie and their theories are variants of bourgeois ideology, hence they contain the seeds of contradictions, of nationalism, separatism, and splits. There can be genuine unity of thought and action only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian internationalism, which the revisionists have betrayed and abandoned. Consequently, amongst the modern revisionists, in their over-all struggle against Marxism-Leninism, which they will always con-

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1 At that time, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

tinue obstinately, there will be forms, nuances, alliances, prompted and inspired by all sorts of general factors, temporary and chance, coordinated and disconnected, and there will be various contradictions and differing tactics.

P. Togliatti’s «testament» brings out that there are now at least two different tactical lines in regard to the struggle against Marxism-Leninism crystallizing in the revisionist camp: the «monocentric» line of the Khrushchev group and the «polycentrist» line of P. Togliatti.

These differences between the Khrushchevites and their associates and the Togliattists and their associates are not new; they came out in the open immediately after the 20th Congress of the CPSU. All the revisionists unanimously endorsed the 20th Congress. But while some of them described it as «complete» and «adequate» for that time, the Togliattists showed that they were the «most radical» revisionists and wanted and demanded that the «analysis» should go «deeper». For propaganda effect and demagogy, and from fear of a deep and immediate split in the international communist movement, the Khrushchevite revisionists acted in a more cautious manner, tried to quieten things down, but without managing to convince the Togliattists, who without making this a matter of «conflict», developed their own Right-wing views, of course, while at the same time supporting and endorsing the 20th Congress and later the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. This relative «silence» of the Italian revisionists, or, so to say, their inclusion in the general «euphoria» among the revisionists, was due to their aim of first consolidating these revisionist positions in the ranks of the international communist movement, to ensure that the «poison pill» was swallowed, and then to take further steps, in theory and practice, on the road of revisionism and degeneration.

It can be said that in the method of starting their work of betrayal the Khrushchevite renegades were more restrained, more cautious, more wily, more demagogic, while the Togliattists, in their equally treacherous work, were less cautious and more adventuristic. To «quieten down» Togliatti and company, the Khrushchev group used the French «communists» to put pressure on them, which they did in fact, and several times the «fire» of their polemic reached the ears of the public.

Although the traitor group of N. Khrushchev, which had been working secretly in the ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was aware that the revisionists’ betrayal would not remain for long without being detected, unmasked, and combated, still they showed themselves very naive. The Khrushchevite revisionists believed, especially in the beginning, that everything would go on smoothly, without any great opposition. They had great faith in their demagogy, thought that the great prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would cover their betrayal and they relied on the great economic potential of the Soviet Union, on the others’ dependence on Soviet economic credits, and their military alliances. The Soviet leaders, headed
by N. Khrushchev, also believed that their «partners» — the various imperialists, and the US imperialists in the first place, would readily agree to their «peace proposals» to «put the world in order».

But the modern revisionists were quite unable to realize any of these aims and others like them as they wished. The principled struggle of the CP of China and the PLA, in the first place, as well as all the Marxist-Leninists of the world and all progressive people seriously hindered them. And the obstacles are increasing from day to day and will go on doing so.

The modern revisionists, with the Khrushchevite revisionists at the head, have gone far down the road of betrayal: they must and will go further. But now they have been exposed in the eyes of the whole world, in the eyes of the international communist movement. The struggle of our Marxist-Leninist parties has become a great and mortal danger to them. Therefore, now they have to take serious account of our struggle which is mounting and becoming very threatening to the revisionists. The great, just, and principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties not only tore the mask from the revisionists and ruined their plans, but it also created insurmountable difficulties for them, and also led to the sharpening of latent contradictions and the birth of new ones amongst them.

Seeing that their cunning tactics have all failed, including their lies, demagogy, blandishments, and threats, their economic blockades, the breaking-off of diplomatic relations and slanderous accusation of being «nationalists», «splitters», «renegades», «agents of imperialism» etc., the Khrushchevite revisionists and their supporters see no other way than to link themselves more closely with imperialism and carry the splitting of the international communist movement to its conclusion.

In these conditions, the Khrushchev group wants to call the meeting of all the revisionist groupings in Moscow and there dictate to them its will as a renegade splitter and to incorporate them afresh in the continuation of a «more organized» struggle against revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, using all their means (including the «new weapon of extermination» which N. Khrushchev mentioned recently against the PR of China and other fraternal socialist countries). This is the desperate and hopeless struggle of a traitor clique.

The acolytes of Khrushchev are in a great dilemma. They do not want to be eliminated and quickly depart from the scene, do not want to stake everything on a gamble, but want to extend their lives and serve the international bourgeoisie longer. Therefore, differences between the revisionists are raising their head and, at these moments of a great and unavoidable crisis for them, these contradictions are becoming markedly more abrasive. The contradictions between the Khrushchevites and the polycentrist Italian revisionists are showing up as the most acute. These two tendencies are confronting and attacking each other over the Khrushchevite plan of calling the international meeting of communist and workers'
parties. The revisionists of various countries are grouping themselves around these two main tactical lines. In fact, the line of Togliatti has caused quite a disturbance in the revisionist frog pond. Some are openly supporting this line of Togliatti, some approve it in a low voice since they have rubles sticking in their throats, some others criticize parts of it, while supporting it in other directions. On their part, the Italian revisionists have sent delegations to many countries to explain their position, to win the maximum number of allies for their tactics.

It is more than clear that, regardless of what tactics are used by the revisionists of all shades, from N. Khrushchev to Togliatti, Tito and the rest of them, they all have one aim in common—to intensify the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the revolution and socialism, to consolidate the positions of revisionism and extend its life. They are trying to put out the flames of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against them, to bring about the cessation of the great polemic over principle which is going on today, to hinder the creation of genuinely revolutionary groups and parties. In this struggle and for these aims they are united, act on the one front. The differences between them are not over questions of strategy, but over questions of tactics, over how to make their struggle against Marxism-Leninism more effective and how to achieve their objectives more easily.

Having no illusions about the tactical manoeuvres of the revisionists, the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries consider the resolute and consistent struggle against all trends of modern revisionism, the struggle for the unmasking of their counter-revolutionary plans and aims as their sacred duty. In this struggle they are guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which constitute the compass and the tested weapon for every true revolutionary.

In sowing all sorts of illusions about the possibility of resolving the differences, even assuming the pose of enemies of imperialism and opponents of N. Khrushchev, the pose of fighters for unity, the modern revisionists aim to deceive the communists, to hide their real faces and aims. But these deceptive manoeuvres will not succeed.

Only the communist parties and all revolutionaries who stand firmly on the positions of the ideology of the working class are and can be genuine fighters against Khrushchevite revisionism, for genuine Marxist-Leninist unity. Revisionism cannot be fought from revisionist positions, just as genuine unity cannot be established on a revisionist basis.

In this struggle the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries also have allies, with whom they are united on a number of issues. But while uniting with them in struggle, the Marxist-Leninists do not make concessions over principles, do not hide their revolutionary line, and have the duty of making this line and these principles clear to all.

It is a different matter with those like the Togliattists and their ilk, who, although they have contradictions with N. Khrushchev and his as-
sociates, remain consistent revisionists whose main aim is the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. Regardless of the contradictions among them, all these revisionists are enemies of the revolution and communism. Undoubtedly, the contradictions amongst the revisionists are in our favour and should be exploited, because they weaken the revisionist front. The continuous, consistent, and principled struggle against modern revisionism will make these contradictions ever deeper and more acute, but the Marxist-Leninists have no illusions about the revisionists, are not deceived by their demagogy and do not fall into the traps they try to set for them.

Modern revisionism is the main enemy in the international communist and workers’ movement. The group around N. Khrushchev is the head of modern revisionism, and its most powerful detachment. From this group, which has seized the leadership of the party founded by Lenin and of the first socialist state in the world — the Soviet Union, comes the greatest and most serious danger today. Therefore the struggle against this group, for its exposure and defeat, is the fundamental task of all Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary communists throughout the world.

Apart from the Khrushchev group, the other revisionist groups, and especially the Togliattists and Titoites, also represent a great danger. Titoism is an important part of modern revisionism in power, which has behind it an imperialist great power, which directs and assists it — US imperialism. The voice of the Titoites is the voice of US imperialism, which sings in the ranks of international communism through the mouth of Titoism. By means of the direct activities of its agency, which it has bought with dollars — Titoism, US imperialism tries to sabotage and undermine the camp of socialism, to bring about the degeneration of the whole international communist and workers’ movement. N. Khrushchev rehabilitated the Tito clique, strengthened it, and somewhat reluctantly, made it a powerful ideological and political partner which is causing headaches, because now it is not only the Krushchevites but also the Titoites who lay down the law in the revisionists’ ranks. The Tito clique tries to incite and deepen the contradictions that have emerged in the revisionists’ ranks and to weaken the domination of the Khrushchev group over its partners, in the interests of its own egocentric line. The Tito clique also tries to bring about that the contradictions between the Khrushchev group on the one hand, and the other revisionist groups on the other hand, do not impel these latter to return to the positions of Marxism-Leninism, but that the dissatisfied should cry on the bosom of Titoism. Tito urges the revisionists within COMECON to gain the maximum possible economic independence from the Khrushchev group. And since he, himself, is not in a position to give the «aid» and credits, urges them to turn for «aid» to the West, to make approaches to and link up with imperialism and, on the example of Yugoslavia, «to build socialism» with the aid of US dollars!

For the Marxist-Leninists there can be no
doubt that the «struggle» of the Titoites, like the «struggle» of the Togliattists, against Khrushchev is a struggle amongst traitors for domination, for leadership, a struggle of different groups of revisionists against the people of the Soviet Union, against Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries, of whom they are afraid.

The revisionists of different groups are all part and parcel and representatives of one retrogressive trend — modern revisionism. Whether they are large or small, powerful or weak, disguised or exposed, those who march in the vanguard or those that tag along behind, they all fight against Marxism-Leninism, some openly and with all their batteries, while others throw the stone and hide their hand, according to the situation and circumstances. Sometimes they act separately, sometimes they stick together, sometimes they divide to regroup themselves in factions, which is linked with the interests of the struggle against socialism or the contradictions between them.

Togliatti’s «testament» shows clearly that the modern revisionists are determined to carry through to the end the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and all the revolutionary forces of the world. There is no other road for them. The consistent principled struggle of Marxist-Leninists has exposed their revisionist features, now they can no longer act «under the rose» but are obliged to come out in the open to defend their revisionist positions and fight the Marxist-Leninists actively. This is a great victory achieved, a victory which must be carried deeper by means of the constant strengthening of our struggle against modern revisionism, under whatever disguise or in whatever form it may present itself.

As a result of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary communists in the different countries, and as a result of the efforts of the revisionist leaders to preserve their positions at all costs by expelling sound communists from party ranks, the process of differentiation has taken place in the communist movement, new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and groups have been created. This process is still going on and will go on unceasingly. This is another great victory which has been achieved, which should be carried deeper, by defending, assisting, and supporting these new revolutionary forces unreservedly in their struggle against revisionism, against all the wily manoeuvres and cunning tactics of the revisionists to smother and paralyze the revolutionary current in the communist movement.

The resolute struggle of the Marxist-Leninists, the exposure of the modern revisionists, the defeats they have suffered and are suffering every day, in the fields of their national and international activity, have brought about the outburst and deepening of fierce contradictions in the ranks of modern revisionism. And this is another great victory for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in action, which must drive forward, deepening the contradictions in the revisionist camp. For this it is essential that the resolute struggle of all Marx-
ist-Leninists against modern revisionism of all trends must be intensified more and more.

These historic victories of Marxism-Leninism will increase and become more thorough-going from day to day. The decisive condition and guarantee of this is the principled, uncompromising struggle of all Marxist-Leninist parties and forces against the treacherous aims and activities of the modern revisionists, to bring about their complete and total defeat. Victory in this struggle inevitably belongs to Marxism-Leninism.

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THE FALL OF N. KHRUSHCHEV DOES NOT PUT AN END TO KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM

Article published in the «Zëri i popullit»

November 1, 1964

N. Khrushchev, the principal representative of modern revisionism, the renegade from the great cause of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded by V. I. Lenin, the splitter of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers’ movement, or, as the imperialists used to call him, «the man most suitable to the West in Moscow», has been ousted from the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and discharged from his function as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.¹

¹ N. Khrushchev was discharged from these functions on October 14, 1964 allegedly «because of old age and worsening of his state of health». 
The inglorious end of N. Khrushchev is a result of the resolute and principled struggle of all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who courageously fight modern revisionism from the positions of proletarian internationalism, of the struggle of all revolutionaries to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, a result of the open and merciless exposure of the activities of this renegade from communism. This is a great victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism.

In the ousting of the person of N. Khrushchev from the leading posts in the Party and the Soviet state the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries see the failure of the political and ideological course of modern revisionism formulated at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The casting out of N. Khrushchev like a squeezed lemon shows the decay of Khrushchevite revisionism, its degeneration, the irreparable discredit its pratical activities have suffered and are suffering every day. It bears the fact that complete and sure defeat is the natural result of modern revisionism. It testifies that the days are numbered for whoever dares raise his hand against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism. Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary forces have triumphed and will triumph over their enemies under whatever name or guise they may appear.

The elimination of the traitor N. Khrushchev from the political scene proves once again what our Party has always emphasized, namely, that the truth is on the side of Marxist-Leninists, that our cause is just and will triumph. Marxism is invincible. Revisionism is doomed to failure. At the time of the Statement of October 20, 1961 a few days after N. Khrushchev and his revisionist group launched their anti-socialist and anti-Albanian attacks at their 22nd Congress, the Central Committee of our Party expressed the conviction that «the fight imposed on our Party and people will be protracted and difficult. But difficulties have never frightened our Party and people. They will never bow or fall to their knees before the slanderous assaults, blackmail and pressure of N. Khrushchev and his followers. Party and people, in steel unity, will, as always, forge ahead with determination and will triumph on their right road, the road to the vic-

1. This statement of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was published in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» on October 21, 1961.

The statement was an immediate, resolute and courageous reply to the base anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian attacks made publicly by N. Khrushchev and his lackeys in the Party of Labour of Albania at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It stressed that, in face of N. Khrushchev's organized attack, the Party of Labour of Albania, «with facts and documents, will make the truth about the relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union known to the entire communist and workers' movement, as well as to world public opinion so that they may see which side is right, and will expose the anti-
tory of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism and communism*. Experience, time, and facts have proved that our Party was right, that our Party was on the right road and that on this road it scored victory over the Khrushchevite revisionists. It will march on this road, resolute and unaltering, until the complete and final defeat of modern revisionism.

The ousting of N. Khrushchev is a clear expression of the fact that revisionism is being eroded by numerous contradictions which the revisionists will never be able to resolve. It is another confirmation of the old teaching that whoever departs from Marxism-Leninism, whoever makes common cause with the enemies of the proletariat, with the enemies of the peoples, of socialism, will be unmercifully crushed by the wheel of the revolution, by the wheel of history. It is a vivid proof that whoever follows the road of revisionism, whether that of Kautsky, Tito, or Khrushchev will be utterly defeated.

N. Khrushchev is the principal representative of the revisionist line worked out at the 20th Congress and developed at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By planning and working to put this anti-Marxist line into

Marxist and anti-Albanian actions of N. Khrushchev and his group». This statement is also included in the «Principal Documents of the Party of Labour of Albania», (vol. 4, pp. 153-155. Tirana 1970, Alb. ed.). *

* «Principal Documents of the Party of Labour of Albania», vol. 4, Alb. ed.

effect, he branded himself as the most dangerous traitor to, and enemy of, Marxism-Leninism, of the Soviet Union itself, of the socialist camp, of the revolution, and the peoples.

Through this line, under the guise of the so-called struggle against Stalin's cult of the individual, or the struggle for de-Stalinization, as their Titoite friends and imperialist allies called it, the Khrushchevites opened the doors to opportunism and revisionism, to betrayal and degeneration. The Khrushchevites undermined the unity of the camp and the communist movement, thus becoming the greatest splitters known in the history of the revolutionary communist movement, made approaches to and united with the US imperialists and the other enemies of the peoples and socialism, united ideologically with Titoism, with this aggressive agency of US imperialism, and wrecked the cause of the revolution and opened all the doors to the restoration of capitalism, in the Soviet Union.

The history of the Soviet Union knows no anti-Soviet agent more frenzied than N. Khrushchev. No one has discredited and disgraced the land of the Soviets as much as he. No one has slandered the Soviet state, the Soviet socialist order more than he. By attacking J. V. Stalin and concocting the most monstrous calumnies against him, N. Khrushchev cancelled out the most glorious period of the history of the Soviet people, the period of the reconstruction of the country, of the transformation of the Soviet Union from a backward country to a powerful colossus with ad-
vanced industry and agriculture, the glorious period of the struggle to defend the achievements of the October Revolution from the imperialist enemies and renegades of every hue, the heroic period of the great Patriotic War, when the great Soviet people, under the leadership of J. V. Stalin, vanquished the most savage enemies of mankind, the German fascists, thus becoming the liberators of the enslaved peoples of the world.

Pursuing his line of betrayal, N. Khrushchev raised his hand against the thing most sacred to the Soviet people, against the guarantee of the triumph of socialism and communism, against the dictatorship of the proletariat and its Communist Party, under the demagogic revisionist slogans of the «Party of the entire people», the «state of the entire people», a blow which was aimed at causing the degeneration of the Bolshevik party into a bourgeois social-democratic party, and of the socialist state into a bourgeois state.

He belittled and poured scorn upon the heroic work, the abilities of the Soviet builders of communism, and set up America, raised and fattened on the blood of the proletariat and other oppressed peoples of the world, as a model for the Soviet Union in building communism.

N. Khrushchev pursued the line of wrecking the fraternal Marxist-Leninist unity of the countries of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. He isolated the Soviet Union from its true friends and brothers and linked its destiny with that of the most rabid enemies of socialism and peace, of the freedom and independence of peoples, with US imperialism, with the Tito clique of renegades and with all the reactionaries of the world.

As a consequence of this treacherous line, the Khrushchevite revisionists launched savage attacks against the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania, against a fraternal party and a fraternal socialist country. N. Khrushchev personally made open calls for counter-revolution to overthrow the leadership of our Party and state; the economic blockade was established against the People's Republic of Albania; and hostile plots were organized with the collaboration of the Tito clique; diplomatic relations, and all other economic and political connections were severed with the People's Republic of Albania.

From these same anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary positions N. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevite revisionists hurled themselves with the fury of the class enemy upon the Communist Party and the Peoples' Republic of China. Thus the friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples and their fraternal collaboration were destroyed.

Brutal interference, violation of sovereignty and independence, pressure and blackmail for subjugation and submission to his dictate, violation of the national interests of socialist countries, sowing dissension and organizing plots, breaching of all Leninist norms in relations between socialist states and fraternal parties, great-state chauvinism — these are the typical features of the revisionist line of betrayal that inspired all the deeds and attitudes of N. Khrushchev towards socialist coun-
tries, towards fraternal peoples, towards Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries.

His rapprochement with US imperialism and all the reactionaries and enemies of socialism and peace is the other side of the medal of the revisionist line followed by N. Khrushchev. Under the demagogical slogan of ensuring peace and implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence worked out by the revisionists, N. Khrushchev capitulated to US imperialism, to its nuclear blackmail, not hesitating in the least to betray the interests of freedom and independence not only of other peoples, but also of the Soviet Union, for this purpose. Cuba, the Congo, the signing of the Moscow Treaty, the German problem and that of Berlin, etc., remain grave indictments of the betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists, and are crimes against peoples’ freedom, sovereignty and independence and in favour of US imperialism. Under the slogan of the «peaceful way» and total disarmament, N. Khrushchev and all other modern revisionists, not only abandoned the revolution themselves, but they hampered the revolutionary struggle and movements of the peoples, the working class, and the proletariat of various countries, thus ensuring peace for imperialists, colonialists and blood-sucking exploiters.

The list of N. Khrushchev’s hostile deeds is very long. The roots of his betrayal are deep and fraught with lethal consequences for the future of socialism and the revolution. Therefore, while the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists consider N. Khrushchev’s end in disgrace, his disappearance from the political arena, as a very important victory over modern revisionism, as testimony to the failure of the political and ideological course of modern revisionism, at the same time they consider that their fight is not over.

Despite the fact that N. Khrushchev was the chieftain of modern revisionism, his liquidation as a person does not mean the liquidation of his political, ideological, economic and organizational course, which has brought so much evil and harm to the Soviet Union, to Marxism-Leninism, to the socialist camp and the communist and workers’ movement, to the cause of the revolution and of the freedom and independence of peoples, to the cause of peace. With the expulsion of N. Khrushchev from the leadership of the Soviet party and state, Khrushchevite revisionism is not dead, his ideology and policy expressed in the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is not liquidated. It has deep roots and in order to eliminate the danger, to cut off the possibility of its revival, it must be wiped out root and branch. This is the only remedy.

We should not create and nurture illusions. We should not be deceived by demagogy and disguises. Marxism-Leninism teaches us to judge not by words but by facts, by the concrete, practical attitudes towards great essential issues. For the Marxist-Leninists the fight against Khrushchevite revisionism will end when its course has been liquidated politically and ideologically, when the spirit, practice, and stand from Khrushchevite revisionist positions has been liquidated, when
every party in its policy, ideology and practice, proceeds from, and bases itself only on, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, consistently implements the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declarations, resolutely fights the common enemy, imperialism, headed by that of the United States of America, and its agents of every hue, fights persistently, as for a sacred duty, to consolidate the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the communist and workers' movement, defends the principles of proletarian internationalism and puts them into practice, supports the cause of the revolution, of the freedom and independence of peoples, the cause of peace, without reserve. Every step taken in this direction will be considered positive and will have support from the Party of Labour of Albania.

Without resolutely condemning Khrushchevite revisionism and its whole ideology and consequences with Bolshevik courage, unafraid of the anguish and threats of the imperialists, of the tears which are shed for it and the pressures of its most determined friends, who are not only the enemies of Marxism-Leninism in general, but rabid enemies of the Soviet Union in particular, any genuine return to Marxism-Leninism, any genuine return to the Leninist norms of relations between parties and socialist countries, so brutally trampled upon by N. Khrushchev, is unthinkable.

The Party of Labour of Albania, like all true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, will resolutely continue its just struggle until the final destruction of modern revisionism. Without falling victim to illusions, without falling into the trap of demagogy and bluffs, however camouflaged they may be, after the victory they have scored against the head of modern revisionism, N. Khrushchev, the revolutionary communists, will tighten their ranks, strengthen the great anti-revisionist front, raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism even higher, sharpen their revolutionary vigilance against the enemies of the people, the imperialists, and intensify the fight against Khrushchevite revisionism which constitutes the main danger in the communist and workers' movement in our days.

We are fully convinced that in this great battle against imperialism and the offspring of bourgeois ideology, modern revisionism, Marxism-Leninism, socialism, will triumph completely. The days of revisionism and betrayal are numbered and their approaching defeat will be decisive.

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THE STRENGTH OF THE SMALL NATIONS LIES IN THEIR MILITANT UNITY FOR FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

From the conversation at the meeting with Du Bois, director of the Television of the Republic of Ghana.

November 27, 1964

After exchanging greetings, Madame Shirley Graham Du Bois tells comrade Enver Hoxha among other things that she has come to Albania to take part in the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the Liberation as well as «to see the successes Albania has achieved, in order to take back to Ghana the experience of the construction of the New Albania, experience which comprises an example to us». Then comrade Enver Hoxha began to speak:

I am glad to have the opportunity of a personal talk with you, the wife of the honoured comrade Du Bois. To us, to the communists, and to the oppressed peoples, he was a valued comrade. People like comrade Du Bois will live for ever in the hearts of the people. The peoples will not forget those who have fought for their liberty, they will not forget the great activity of comrade Du Bois, his statements in which he gave powerful support to the progressive movement in the world, they will not forget his consistent defence of the cause of the black people, his struggle for the freedom of peoples and their rights to work and bread. Therefore we are happy to have the opportunity today, to meet the respected wife and collaborator of comrade Du Bois, who is also a friend of the Albanian people.

Madame Du Bois, we are very moved by your warm words about the Albanian people.

We Albanians are a small nation. Our people have always tried to have friends everywhere in the world. Although small in number, our nation has never bowed in submission to enemies, has never tolerated slavery but has fought, throughout its existence, against internal and foreign enemies who wanted to enslave it. And the woman's great contribution to all these struggles and battles throughout the centuries must not be overlooked.

As you know yourself, the woman has played, plays and will play one of the greatest roles in the life of mankind, in building a life of happiness

defence of black people's rights; he passed the last years of his life in Ghana which gave him its citizenship.

1 American Negro poet, well-known fighter for the
and progress. Unfortunately, the situation of the woman in the past was not like it is today. At that time, the woman in our country lived in darkness, ignorance and suffered double oppression, although she was, and is, just as intelligent as the men. And who was it who suffered in this way? She who is the bearer of life, who keeps the spirit of patriotism alive in the family, who works as conscientiously as, and I dare say, perhaps more so than, the men. We Albanians are proud of the women of our country who have been unyielding fighters, not only in the National Liberation war, but always, through all the centuries of wars the Albanian people have fought. Today also in the construction of socialism, the woman is a decisive factor in our country. Therefore, we are proud of our wives, mothers, and sisters, and we are happy that now, in socialism they have won their full rights, their complete freedom.

Now that our country has come out into the light, into socialism, the Albanian people are more aware than anyone else of the value of friendship, sincere friendship with all the peoples. We have sympathy for all the peoples, especially for the peoples of Africa, whose lot has been very similar to ours.

That is why we are very happy about the successes which the people of Ghana have achieved and are achieving. Our ambassador in Ghana informs us regularly about the progress of Ghana, the friendship and kindness he has found there.

After the guest from Ghana spoke enthusias-}

etically about her impressions from her stay in the People’s Republic of Albania and informed those present about the efforts and aims of the people of Ghana for the consolidation of their country’s independence and social progress, comrade Enver Hoxha went on:

For my part, Madame Du Bois, I understand you very well, and welcome your correct views.

First, it is very important that you say that the best way to the people’s happiness is that of socialism.

Second, it is also important that, when you speak of socialism, you have in mind those immortal ideas which lead the peoples on the road of socialism, that is, Marxism-Leninism.

The Ghanian people are trying to free themselves completely from the yoke of imperialism, to strengthen their country’s freedom and independence, which is of major importance. They have seen and are seeing in practice how the imperialists and their agents are making repeated attempts and hatching up one plot after another against their aspirations to freedom, independence and social progress, and this for the reason that the Ghanian people are moving in open opposition to the desires of the imperialists and colonialists.

You are quite right in saying that the general conditions of Europe are very different from those of Africa. But of course, to bring about a qualitative change needs a relatively long period of work, requires a thorough mastery of Marxism-Leninism and a creative application of it on the basis of the concrete conditions.
I want to tell you that when we began the National Liberation War the social conditions in our country were more or less the same as those you told us about in Ghana. The just aims of our Party touched the true feelings of the Albanian people, so they followed our Party right through the Liberation War and now, too, in the construction of socialism. In those conditions when, like you now, we did not have a very developed proletariat but mainly an oppressed, though heroic, peasantry, when we, too, were a semi-colony, when the bourgeois class had just begun to take shape, our Party, with its clear program, carried the work on, liberated Albania, and set it on the road to socialism. Hence, in your country, too, there are the conditions and possibilities to achieve this goal, because the great ideas of socialism are spreading to all the continents and reaching all the peoples. The force of Marxism-Leninism is immense, colonialism is being destroyed to its very foundations, imperialism is experiencing a very grave crisis today, hence the conditions are favourable for socialism to triumph. Socialism will achieve successes everywhere, for the peoples want it, they dream about it, for it is linked with their feelings. Kings, feudals, capitalists come and go, but the peoples remain and live on through centuries. They triumph. The others are transitory and will disappear. Of course this will be attained only with all-round efforts, with struggle, because the imperialists will never, willingly, lay down their arms.

The unity of the peoples in their fight for freedom, independence and social progress is indispensable. If we consider this question from the Marxist angle, unity is one of the main weapons of proletarian internationalism. The countries which are building socialism should help the enslaved peoples fighting for their national independence, as well as the other peoples that aspire to advance on the road to socialism, with all their might. This help should be understood properly, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

You know about the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against Krushchevite revisionism. Our Party fought Krushchev and his ideas consistently through to the end, for Krushchev was a bluffer, a dyed-in-the-wool incorrigible anti-Marxist. The aid which Krushchev gave was not as Marxism understands it, aid free of any material or political self-interest.

On the contrary, the aid of Krushchev and Co had the character of a policy of subjugation, a policy of imposition, the chauvinist policy of a big state towards small nations. The revisionists' views about the small nations are no different from those of the capitalists and imperialists. We say this with conviction, for we have suffered it on our own backs.

We shall always strive to see that the peoples of Africa, especially, and those of other continents are given sincere Marxist-Leninist, disinterested aid, with no intrigue. That is how we understand true friendship. Our Party is small, but it is, and will go on fighting courageously in this direction.
and it is not alone on this course — many other parties are fighting together with it, the peoples of the world, and among them the peoples of Africa, are fighting together with it.

The question of the big state and the small state, the big peoples and the small peoples, interpreted in the sense that the small must submit to the big ones, is a very bad disease, a hangover from ages gone by, inherited from the capitalist-imperialist world-outlook. The Marxist-Leninists wage and must wage a ruthless struggle against this point of view. People like Khrushchev and Co. may smile at you, but deeply embedded in their consciousness they have this point of view very much developed. However, at the present time even the small peoples have woken up. We well understand the importance of big peoples, otherwise we would be making a mistake. We also understand the role of big states, but anyone who is a Marxist should also have a thorough and correct grasp of the importance of other peoples, no matter how small they may be. Whoever fails to understand this problem in a Marxist way, who fails to grasp the problem of the big nation and the small nation, he is not and cannot be a Marxist. Such a person has remnants of the old capitalist world-outlook in his consciousness.

N. Khrushchev and Co. boost themselves and pose as Marxist-Leninists. But is was Khrushchev who approved the intervention of the UNO in the Congo in 1960, and this enabled agents of the US imperialism and the other Congolese reactionaries to murder Lumumba. Even now the Khrushchevite revisionists are still making other concessions to imperialism and reaction. So life, practice and struggle make things clear, sort out who is on the side of the peoples and who is against them. No matter how much they try to pose as Marxists, Khrushchev and Co. are against the peoples. Such are the facts.

They attack us Albanians, because we speak the truth. It is true that we are small in number, but we are not afraid of the attacks of our enemies, for we know that today the true words of a small people are listened to with sympathy and respect by all honourable men and all the peoples of the world. The strength of small peoples lies in their militant spiritual unity with all the peoples fighting for justice and not for intrigues, in their determination to carry through to the end their struggle for the fulfilment of their aspirations, against the aims of the imperialists and revisionists.

In the end comrade Enver Hoxha proposed a toast saying:

Let us drink this toast to the friendship between our two peoples, of Ghana and Albania, to your health Madame Du Bois, whom we consider as an honoured friend of our country; to the

1 Hero of the Congolese national liberation movement, chairman of the first government of the independent Congo, murdered in 1961.
health of the honoured President Kwame Nkrumah¹, friend of the Albanian people. I beg you, convey to him my heartfelt greetings, as well as my regret that I did not meet him when he visited Albania; for I was not here at that time.

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TWENTY YEARS OF NEW SOCIALIST ALBANIA

Speech at the festive meeting commemorating the 20th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland

(parts)

November 23, 1964

Dear comrades, sisters and brothers,
Honoured friends,

Today all our people throughout the country and all our patriotic fellow-citizens, wherever they may be in the world, are celebrating with indescribable joy; they are commemorating the most outstanding event in the long and glorious history of Albania, the 20th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland and the establishment of our people’s power...

To achieve this victory our people had to wage their heroic National Liberation War, to accomplish

¹ The coup d'état of the year 1966 in Ghana overthrew the government of K. Nkrumah.
a legendary epic, which will be remembered through the centuries.

The Communist Party of Albania, which inspired, organized, and led the War for national liberation, was founded under the difficult conditions of fascist terror, at one of the most critical moments of the Albanian people's history. The solid rock of its foundations were the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and it inherited the best traditions and virtues of our people.

On the basis of a profound, creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation of the country following the fascist occupation, and of the international situation, the Communist Party of Albania worked out a clear program of struggle and action, which included the uncompromising armed struggle against the fascist invaders and local traitors for the complete liberation of the homeland, the overthrow and destruction to its foundations of the reactionary anti-popular state power of the invaders and exploiting classes, the establishment of a genuine democratic people's power in Albania, and the carrying out of major economic and social reforms. From the day it was founded the Party called on the people to throw themselves into the struggle to put this revolutionary program into effect.

The Party never hid from the people the great difficulties of the war and the countless sacrifices which it demanded.

In this gigantic war, under the leadership of the Party, the alliance between the working class and the heroic peasantry, and all the patriotic and progressive elements, who were united in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front, was achieved. In the course of the war, under the leadership of the Party, the new revolutionary partisan army, emerging from the bosom of the people, and loyal to their vital interests, was created, grew, and became tempered as an invincible striking force. In the heat of battle, under the leadership of the Communist Party the anti-popular state power of the invaders and the traitors was destroyed to its very foundations and on its ruins the national liberation councils were set up throughout the country as organs of National Liberation War and as the nucleus of the new state power of the people themselves.

Along with the fight against invaders and traitors for the liberation of the country, the Communist Party of Albania never, for a moment, forgot the problem of the state power as the basic problem of the revolution, nor did it allow the exploiting classes, collaborators with the foreign invaders who never fired a shot, to take over the leadership and rob the people of their victory. The Party knew how to distinguish between true allies and enemies of the revolutionary war. With Marxist-Leninist determination and courage the Party liquidated the treacherous compromise at Mukje, the intrigues of the British and US mis-

1. The treacherous agreement concluded with the "Balli Kombëtar" at Mukje of Kruja in August 1943, contrary to the decisions of the National Liberation General Council and the instructions of the Central
sions with the occupying forces and the local traitors, and the plot of the Mediterranean "allied" forces to occupy Albania under the guise of "aid". It linked the National Liberation War of our people indissolubly with the gigantic liberation war of the glorious Soviet army, of the whole Soviet people, against the fascist hordes, which was the decisive external factor for the liberation of our country, too.

The clear and resolute Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of Albania was the salvation of the labouring people and the future of our country. As a result of this line not only was the country liberated from the invaders and the traitors, but all power passed completely and finally into the hands of the labouring people under the leadership of the Communist Party, a thing which made possible the progress of the country along the brilliant path of socialism.

In the fire of the National Liberation War not only did our Party and our people achieve great victories, but they became steeled and gained rich historical experience. As well as this, the example of our resolution confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings which refute the preachings of the modern revisionists, who try to extinguish the liberation and revolutionary struggles, by spreading illusions about imperialism and the bourgeoisie and by recommending all sorts of phoney prescriptions about the ways to the people's liberation.

Our experience shows, first of all, that freedom is not donated; one should not expect it to be offered as a gift by the imperialists, these sworn enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, that no illusions of any kind should be nurtured about imperialism, and its demagoguery and fine pledges should never be trusted. National and together with the Albanian National Liberation forces. The request was accepted by the General Staff of the Albanian National Liberation Army, on condition that the allied troops would leave Albania immediately after carrying out of this action. In July 1944 a British commando force landed at Himara, but suffered defeat in its first encounter with the Germans. The 12th Shock Brigade of the Albanian National Liberation Army intervened immediately, and after saving the British commando force from complete annihilation, carried on the fight and liberated Himara.
social liberation is the deed of the people of every country themselves, of the broad labouring masses, and is achieved through determined struggle and efforts on their part.

This experience shows that in order to carry out the popular revolution and consolidate its achievements it is indispensable to create the political army, to bring about the union of all patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces of the people based on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, as its nucleus. This union was realized in our country in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The experience of our National Liberation War and the subsequent development of the country after liberation also shows very clearly the indispensability of setting up a strong revolutionary people’s army, boundlessly loyal to the vital interests of the people and the country, capable of liberating the country and of defending it against any attempt on it by the imperialist and reactionary forces.

Further, the experience of our people’s revolution shows that an essential condition for the people to win and to set out on the road to socialism, is the complete destruction of the entire state system of the exploiters and the creation, from top to bottom, of an entirely new state power emanating from the people themselves, closely linked with them, and under their complete control. Our national liberation councils were a form of this new state power. The preachings of the modern revisionists that the transition to socialism can allegedly be effected without smashing the bourgeois state apparatus and with its assistance is nothing but a great mystification and betrayal.

Finally, it shows that the struggle for the triumph of the revolution, for the establishment of the people’s state power and the building of socialism, can be crowned with success, if the people are led by a revolutionary party, which relies on and faithfully carries out the triumphant teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The Struggle to Build Socialism — Another Heroic Epic of Our People

Dear comrades,

The 20th anniversary of liberation finds our homeland, Albania, a free, independent, socialist country, with a developed industrial base, with a large-scale socialist agriculture, with an advanced culture and raised standard of living, with a healthy social order, made up of friendly labouring classes, united in an unbreakable moral-political unity, with an international position stronger than ever before.

Only two decades have passed by since November 29, 1944, but the present view of new Albania, which is as different as a bright sunny day from the dark and bitter night of the past, reveals with the utmost clarity the immense significance of the turn recorded on that historic day,
and testifies to the vitality of the socialist order and the magnitude of the deed and invincible strength of our people and our Party...

The path traversed by our people and our Party in the construction of socialism has by no means been strewn with roses. It has been a difficult road, but glorious, which has required all the talents, all the determination and heroism, all the strength and persistence of our people and our Party of Labour.

To the profound backwardness inherited from the past were added other colossal obstacles and difficulties caused by the devastation of the war. Albania was in ruins. The country was threatened by famine and disease, as well as by savage imperialist and chauvinist enemies.

All those who have lived through the early years after Liberation remember, but the youth of today must never forget how, under such difficult conditions, our heroic people, old and young, responded to a man to the call of their Communist Party, took up the fiery revolutionary slogan, «Build socialism with the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other», and hurled themselves into the struggle with indescribable enthusiasm and self-sacrifice. Let me remind you, comrades, how our working masses and heroic youth tightened their belts and poured into the volunteer work brigades, they erected bridges and factories, built highways and railroads, schools and hospitals, drained lagoons and swamps, attended courses against illiteracy and schools, mastered science and technology, the management of production and the art of running the state, carried out the revolutionary transformations of the people’s state power. A great and complicated struggle was waged against the dangerous wave of petty-bourgeois spontaneity, against hangowers from the past that burdened the consciousness of the working people, particularly among the peasant masses, in order to win their active participation in the building of socialism. Like the National Liberation War, this has been another heroic epic which will never be forgotten in the history of our people.

All this road has been traversed under conditions of bitter class struggle, under the frantic assaults and plots of internal and foreign enemies. With the support of the whole people, our Party and our government crushed and liquidated the aggressive plans and provocations of the British and US imperialists, groups of spies and saboteurs, various opportunists who strove to lead the country on to the road of bourgeois development and into dependence on foreign capital, the plots of the Titoites and Koxi Xoxe and Co to subjugate our Party and turn Albania into the 7th republic of Yugoslavia, the provocations of the Greek monarcho-fascists in August 1949, the countless saboteurs sent into our country by sea, land, and air.

Once the deep economic and social transformations had been made and our country had been reconstructed, our people set to work on a wide front to build socialism according to the program worked out by the Party.

When we recall the past and compare it with
the present, we realize what colossal changes have been made in our country during these 20 years, and what struggle, what efforts, and what sacrifices our people have had to make in order to achieve them.

Today everything has changed radically. Instead of the old feudal and bourgeois relations of exploitation, socialist relations now prevail in all sectors of the economy, in town and countryside. The economic base of socialism has been built. Now the socialist sector covers 99.5 percent of total industrial production, 100 percent of foreign trade, 92.9 percent of retail trade, 82 percent of total agricultural production, 90.5 percent of the national income.

Together with the radical change in the relations in production, the productive forces of our country, too, have made a gigantic leap forward. Within just two 5-year plans Albania has been changed from the most backward agricultural country in Europe to an agricultural-industrial one, while now it is advancing with rapid strides towards becoming an industrial-agrarian country. Socialist industrialization has completely changed the face of Albania. Over 1,000 major industrial, agricultural, transport, social and cultural and other projects, have been built during this period. Total industrial production has been raised about 33 times. Industry now turns out in less than 12 days as much as the industry of the country turned out in the whole of 1938. It is enough to point out as a comparison that just the production of the Woodworking Combine in Elbasan and that of the Cigarette Factory in Durrës is greater than the industrial production of the whole country in 1938. Or that the installed capacity of the power station being built at Gjegjan in Kukës is larger than the total installed capacity of all the power plants of the country in 1938. In we take each sector separately we will see that the mining industry gives the country 26 times more production than in 1938, the electric power industry over 34 times, the engineering industry 39 times, the building materials industry 37 times, and so on. Today our industry has become a sound basis for the development of all branches of the national economy and for our further advance on the road of the construction of socialism.

The collectivized countryside has radically changed its appearance, too. Today our socialist agriculture, in which modern agricultural technique is becoming ever more widespread, produces 2.4 times as much as in 1938.

But the development of agriculture and the progress of the countryside are closely related to, and cannot be thought of apart from, that great social and economic transformation, which came about in the life of the peasants with the collectivization of agriculture. Life confirmed in the experience of our country, too, the correctness of the Leninist ideas about the collectivization of agriculture, as the only right way acceptable to the peasants, to lift agriculture out of its age-old backwardness.

A profound cultural revolution has been carried out and continues to develop at a rapid pace
in our country. Here, where twenty years ago over 80 percent of the population were illiterate, this age-old evil has not only been wiped out in general, but about one-fourth of the entire population is attending lessons at school. Education and culture have become the property of the people's masses and have been spread to the most distant corners of the homeland. For the first time in the many centuries of the history of Albénia, the Albanians have their own high schools, a national opera and professional theatres, and all those spiritual blessings that human civilization has created. The sons and daughters of workers and farmers, once crushed by the heavy burden of exploitation and surrounded by darkness and ignorance, have now taken modern laboratories into their own hands, engage in science and technology, have become engineers, doctors, teachers, agronomists, writers, artists, and so on. Over 21 times as many cadres of higher training and over 11 times as many cadres of middle school training are now employed in the different branches of the economy, compared with 1938.

Not only has the Party always attached great attention to the development and spreading of education and culture among the masses of the entire people, but in particular, it has seen to it that all our new education, culture, and art have a sound socialist and revolutionary content, that the way is blocked to the penetration of all alien influences of decadent bourgeois ideology and culture, and that our education, art and culture become a powerful weapon in the struggle to build a fully socialist society and for the triumph of the ideals of communism.

Our people, the overwhelming majority of them and not just some small privileged stratum, are better fed, better clothed and live a better life, enjoy the free of charge medical service, and so on. During these 20 years the population of the country has increased 64 percent, and the average life expectancy in 1960 was nearly 65 years.

On the basis of profound social-economic transformations, in the practical struggle to build socialism and thanks to the all-around educational work of the Party, the state and the mass organizations, important results have also been achieved during these 20 years since Liberation in the field of the communist education of the masses. Together with the new life, a new man endowed with new ideas and thoughts, with a lofty worldview and moral virtues, has emerged and is being formed and tempered. This is one of the most brilliant victories of our Party. Without this the great successes attained in the development of the socialist economy and culture would have been impossible.

The great historic victories achieved by our people under the leadership of our Party of Labour during these 20 years of the people's state power are living evidence that in the epoch of the triumph of the brilliant ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the decline of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and communism, which began with the great October Socialist Revolution, the way to socialism is open even to small and backward
countries such as Albania was. The example of our country shows clearly that it is only through socialism that these countries can win true independence, not only political, but also economic independence from imperialism, that they can attain real success in the development of their national economies and culture and secure better living conditions for their people. New Albania is irrefutable evidence of the incomparable superiority of the socialist order over any order of oppression and exploitation.

Our Heroic People And Our Glorious Party Can Never Be Conquered

Comrades,

These great victories achieved through the self-denial fight of our people under the wise and resolute Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, made it possible for our country, having successfully built the economic base of socialism, to embark on a new stage – on the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The historic decisions of the 4th Congress of the Party opened a clear and brilliant perspective in this direction, and are a great program of action and struggle for the Party and all our people for the future. In the light of these decisions, our Party and our people have been struggling with all their strength and creative abilities for nearly four years to complete the building of the material and technical base of socialism, as the main link in the complete construction of the socialist society, achieving those brilliant results which we rejoice in today.

But, just as during all our work to build the new Albania, at the present stage of the socialist construction, too, our Party and people have had, and continue to have, to wage a stern struggle against difficulties and enemies. As you know, in recent years when our country was preparing to set to work to accomplish the 3rd five-year plan, to the usual hostile activities of the imperialists, the Titoites and other reactionary chauvinists against our socialist homeland were added the ruthless hostile activities of N. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevite revisionists, which seriously prejudiced the realization of the 3rd five-year plan in many sectors.

There is no need to go into all details of this gengsterrlike anti-Albanin activity of theirs. But it is enough to remind you of what pressure they exerted to break our Party, of how they tried to have an agency of theirs in our Party, of how they called for counter-revolution in Albania at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; let us recall how they broke off all trade, cultural, and other agreements with our country, how they cut off credits and tried to set up an economic blockade; let us recall how they went so far as to sever diplomatic relations with our socialist country, how they were involved in the great plot of the US imperialists, the Titoites,
the Greek monarcho-fascists and a band of traitors against the People's Republic of Albania, taking the traitors to our people under their protection, how they struck up friendship with all the enemies of our country, what monstrous slanders they made against our Party and our people.

Our country was faced with the greatest of dangers; the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our country were in danger, our socialist victories were in danger, there was the danger that our further progress in socialist construction would be hindered, the country was threatened with starvation. But what was the outcome? All the plans of the Khrushchevite revisionists came to naught.

The sinister dreams of the imperialists, the Titoites, the Khrushchevites and their agents of halting the revolutionary impetus of our people, of blowing up our socialist construction, of forcing our working people hold out their hands to imperialism and drop into its lap, of trampling upon the dignity and honour of our Party and of our people, were turned to dust and ashes. People and Party, in complete unity, withstood all the perils, obstacles and difficulties; always met the enemies with clenched fists and dealt them one crushing blow after another.

The shoulders of our small country have had to bear heavy burdens. The shoulders of our 23-year old Party have had to bear heavy burdens. How many stones have been hurled at them by the enemy! How many unimaginable villainies has the enemy concocted against them! But, if need be, the Albanian people and their Party of Labour can and will bear even bigger burdens, for the cause of socialism, freedom and peace, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. For no one can ever conquer our people, descendants of the Pelasgians and Illyrians, the people of Skanderbeg and Naim, of Ismail Qemali and Bajram Curri, of Selam Musaj and Avni Rustemi, of Halim Xhelo and Ali Kelmendi, of Mujo Ullinaku and Qemal Stafa, the heroic people who have withstood the onslaughts and storms of centuries and have always triumphed over them. Nor can anyone ever conquer the glorious Party of Labour which sprang from the bosom of these immortal people, which was tempered in the fire of the National Liberation War, which has resisted all the onslaughts and plots of the imperialists and revisionists, a Party which has in its veins the triumphant, life-giving teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. On the contrary, from the battles with the enemies, from the encounters with difficulties and obstacles, from the fire of the revolutionary struggles on all fronts, they have always emerged, and always will emerge, stronger, more steel-like, more optimistic about their ultimate triumph.

1 Distinguished national figures, great patriots, fighters, leaders, and ideologists of the liberation struggles of the Albanian people in various periods of their history.

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Dear comrades,

Having taken this brief glance at the road traversed, at the struggles and victories up to now, seeing with pride and joy the heights to which our beloved Homeland has been raised, the respect and admiration of all are directed first and foremost towards the number one factor which made these things possible, towards our glorious people. Who else besides the broad masses of the people could have withstood the storms of ages and triumph over them? Even in the most difficult circumstances, a great revolutionary optimism and unwavering confidence in their own strength have always characterized our people. They have never left their fate and hopes in the hands of others, whoever they may happen to be. Their motto has been, «Freedom is not donated but is won». Later, another motto supplemented this, «The happy future, socialism and communism, is not donated either, but must be won». Therefore, our people have always stood up for themselves and have fought their way through history sword in hand, with rifle and pick, with pen and knowledge.

Our people have never been intimidated by foes, difficulties, or obstacles. They have never bowed their head to, nor begged for mercy from, fascist invaders, traitors, assassins, foreign agents and saboteurs; nor from the imperialists led by the US, from the Titoite or Khrushchevite revisionists, nor from the terror, hunger, blackmail or blockades, but they have always fought their way forward as they will do in the future — always forward! Such are our people!

The magnificent achievements and blessings we enjoy today are also due to the wise leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, to its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to its ability to apply it creatively at every moment under the concrete historical conditions of our country, to its ability to inspire, organize and mobilize the broadest masses of the people to mighty deeds.

It was the Party which opened the eyes of the people and kindled the flame of the revolution in the hearts of the masses; it was the Party which united, organized and guided them bravely and with consummate skill through a thousand and one traps laid by the enemy, to the victorious revolution; it was the Party that made them conscious of their supreme power and inviolate rights in the people's regime, which transformed, shaped and is tempering their socialist consciousness and which led them through a thousand and one other traps of the enemy, to the happy days we are enjoying today.

How ridiculous our revisionist enemies appear when they strive to attach to our Party the stale labels «dogmatic», «adventurist», «sectarian», and so on. But these are all fables which even those that tell them find difficult to believe, for life has proven and is proving the contrary.

Could a «dogmatic», «adventurist», «sectarian» party, as they describe our Party, loyally and creatively carry out the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the revolution and on socialist cons-
struction in the complicated international circumstances and the known conditions of our country, as our Party has done? Could a party, such as they say we are, defeat all the manoeuvres of enemies, open or covert, internal or external, of fascists, imperialists, Trotskyites, capitulators, Titoites and all modern revisionists, as our Party has done? Hence could such a party, as the revisionists say our Party is, bring the people to power and make them victorious builders of socialism, raise so high the glory of the Homeland and the international prestige of our Republic, as our Party has done?

No! These can be done only by a party, which bases itself completely on Marxism-Leninism, only by a party, which applies our great doctrine faithfully and in a creative way, only by a party which utilizes the experience of fraternal parties and fraternal countries in conformity with the concrete conditions of its country, only by a party bound like flesh to bone to its people and which has unwavering confidence in their creative ability and their brilliant future, communism. Such is our Party, a party cherished by the people as the apple of their eye, a worthy member of the great family of the world Marxist-Leninist communist and workers’ movement.

Thus people and Party are the decisive internal factor, without which there could not be a free socialist Albania.

The struggle and victories of our people and our Party are, at the same time, inseparable from the international struggle, victories and solidarity of the fraternal peoples of socialist countries, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, and all the revolutionary forces in the world...

During these 20 years since Liberation, the Peoples Republic of Albania has fought shoulder to shoulder and unreservedly with all the peaceloving peoples in defence of the cause of the freedom and independence of all peoples, for democracy and socialism, in defence of the great cause of peace and international security. In the ceaseless struggle that is being waged today between the imperialists, on one hand, and the peoples, the oppressed nations and the international proletariat, on the other, socialist Albania has been, is, and will remain firmly on the side of the people, on the side of the proletariat, on the side of the revolutionary movement, against imperialism, headed by its most aggressive and dangerous centre, US imperialism, and against all other enemies of freedom and peace.

On this memorable day of our national festival we note with satisfaction the triumphant march of the ideas of socialism and revolution. The new world, socialism, is growing, waxing strong, and scoring greater and greater victories from day to day. The ideas of socialism are penetrating deeper and deeper the hearts of men, the hearts of the peoples, inspiring them in the struggle for freedom and progress. The forces of the great anti-imperialist movement of today, of the revolutionary movement of the working class, of the national liberation movement, of the militant mass movement in defence of peace in the world,
are growing stronger and stronger from year to year. The international situation as a whole is developing in favour of socialism, in favour of the people's struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The world of capitalism today has quite a different appearance. Following the blows dealt by the «Aurora» of the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Stalin in 1917, it began its downhill slide. The militant revolutionary march of the peoples towards socialism and freedom narrowed the sphere which until yesterday was oppressed and exploited by the imperialists and colonialists, and dealt a mortal blow to the hegemony of the imperialists. Today the world of the dollar and the pound sterling is writhing in the merciless grip of contradictions. Its policy of aggression and war continues to meet with defeat after defeat. Neither the atom bomb, nor the cunning dollar diplomacy have been able to break the invincible will of the peoples for freedom, for democracy, for socialism, or to halt the furious storms of the revolutionary movements, which have burst in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Cuba and Algeria have shown the world once again that when the people decide to rise in the just war for liberation, the victory will be theirs. The just cause of the peoples, who have risen to make revolution, cannot be suppressed by fire and sword. At the present time the heroic people of South Vietnam are setting another example of lofty heroism and self-sacrifice in their patriotic struggle against the yoke of foreign imperialism and local traitors. We are completely convinced of the triumph of the cause

of the fraternal Vietnamese people. In the heart of Africa, the Congolese people are fighting gloriously against the united imperialists, and showing that the cause of freedom cannot be suppressed by any force.

But this situation and this general trend of developments, the growth of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement of the peoples, their major triumphs, do not in any way mean that imperialism has renounced its reactionary policy, that the great danger which US imperialism represents for socialist countries, for other freedom-loving peoples and countries, has lessened. On the contrary, as the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations point out, imperialism, with that of the United States of America at the head, has been and remains the number one enemy of socialism, of the freedom and independence of all peoples, the most ruthless international gendarme and exploiter, the principal danger to world peace. It has aimed and still aims to destroy the socialist camp, to suppress the revolutionary liberation movement of the peoples of the world with arms and with dollars, with bloodshed and trickery, to get the peace-loving and progressive countries under the claws of its domination. The numerous hotbeds of the hot war, the continuation of the «cold war», the feverish arms' race, the plans for setting up the NATO multi-lateral nuclear force, through which the Bonn revenge-seekers are actually provided with nuclear weapons, the strengthening of bases and aggressive military alliance, all of
these things show that imperialism is treacherous, ruthless, and eager for war.

Without renouncing aggression and provocations, the use of weapons and violence, at present, imperialism is attaching particular importance to demagogy and deception, to ideological diversion. In this direction it has skilfully used the services of the modern revisionists, of the Titoites and Khrushchevites who, on the one hand, support the imperialist policy, and on the other hand, are actively engaged in weakening and wrecking the socialist camp, the main anti-imperialist stronghold. The unrestrained propaganda of the revisionists to prettify imperialism, the arousing of illusions about its aims, the sacrifice of the interests and the sovereignty of peoples, as was confirmed at the time of the Caribbean crisis or in the Congo, the delay in signing the Peace Treaty with Germany, and the bargaining with the Bonn government to the detriment of the German people, the signing of the tripartite Moscow Treaty, the justification of imperialist aggressions and the like, all of these things have clearly proved that the revisionists and other agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie are hard at work to serve the policy of aggression and war of US imperialism. The attitude of capitulation of the Khrushchevite revisionists towards imperialism, their unprincipled compromises and deals under the demagogic slogan of «defending peace» have demonstrated openly that these people are very dangerous traitors to the cause of socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

The impending danger of the crusade of the imperialists and revisionists against socialism and the freedom of the peoples of the world is not reduced either by the death of Kennedy and the election of Johnson, by the coming to power of the Labourites in Britain, or by the fact the N. Krushchev has been thrown out of the Soviet leadership. The roots of this crusade go deep. They are connected with the reactionary nature of the capitalist system itself and its ideology.

Therefore, the peoples and all the revolutionaries are today faced with these urgent historic tasks: to intensify the struggle against world imperialism led by US imperialism, the resolute, unceasing, blow for blow fight until it is completely destroyed, to unmask its war-mongering schemes and to raise the revolutionary vigilance of all the peoples. The words of J. V. Stalin that, «Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take the cause of the preservation of peace into their hands and defend it to the end», are always valid. To this end, all the revolutionary forces and genuine fighters for peace should be united in the great anti-imperialist front. And this front will be strengthened and triumph in the battles with world imperialism by waging, at the same time, an uninterrupted struggle against modern revisionism and all the other tools who have placed themselves in the service of the imperialist policy of aggression and war, in the service of its global strategy. Without the struggle against revisionism imperialism cannot be suc-
cessfully combatted. This Leninist teaching is truer than ever, today.

In the great struggle against imperialism and colonialism, the peoples of the socialist countries and all revolutionaries should help the peoples who have newly won their freedom, as well as the revolutionary national liberation movements in the world, unreservedly, honestly and with all the means at their disposal.

But this aid should be given in a way that will serve the cause of the revolution, democracy, freedom, socialism and peace, and deal a blow to, and weaken, the positions of imperialism and reaction. It is right, for instance, and finds approval from the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries, and labouring masses, that the United Arab Republic should be helped to build the Aswan Dam, or that the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Guinea or Mali should be aided, because they are fighting against imperialism and colonialism. But the aid which the Khrushchevites give to the Indian reactionary bourgeoisie to arm them and incite them to aggression against a socialist country, the People's Republic of China, is not at all right. This is an aid which benefits imperialism and counter-revolution, an aid that strengthens the positions of the bourgeoisie and reaction. In the same way, to make common cause with the US imperialists, to dispatch troops of the United Nations Organization in order to suppress the liberation movement in the Congo, has nothing in common with support for the struggle of enslaved peoples, but on the contrary, it is a base betrayal of them.

The national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples, the struggle to break the fetters of colonialism, are great revolutionary forces in the anti-imperialist struggle, in the fight for peace. To help and support them means to fight imperialism, to defend peace.

In the future, too, our Party and government will consistently pursue the policy of peace, the policy of friendship and close fraternal collaboration in a Marxist-Leninist way, conforming to the principles of proletarian internationalism, with the peoples of socialist countries, the policy of friendship and solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, particularly with the fraternal Arab peoples, with the peoples of Black Africa, Asia, Latin America, and with all the anti-imperialist forces. Our people, resolutely and sternly, defend their sovereignty, freedom and independence. They hold the sovereignty, freedom and independence of other peoples in the greatest respect. On this basis our Party and government have been and are always willing to strengthen friendship and collaboration with all countries, including the neighbouring countries.

Our Party and people will continue to fight with determination against imperialism, particularly against US imperialism, the main danger to peace and to the freedom of the peoples, as well as against all its agents and supporters.
Our Party Has Fought And Will Continue To Fight Against Khrushchevite And Titoite Revisionism Until They Are Completely Destroyed

Comrades,
During these twenty years our Party and people have grappled not only with imperialism, but also with revisionism, with treachery, first with the Titoite clique and later with the Khrushchevite revisionists as well.

Revisionism, as a weapon of the ideological struggle of the bourgeoisie against communism, is not a new phenomenon. It has manifested itself eversince the first steps of the development of Marxism. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin waged determined, open, uncompromising war on revisionism and its different variants. Marxism has always emerged stronger and triumphant from these encounters.

The present-day Khrushchevite revisionism is the successor to the revisionism of former days. The revisionist group of N. Khrushchev and its followers have consistently pursued a line of betrayal towards the cause of socialism, a line which conforms to the demands and interests of the international bourgeoisie. The Khrushchevite revisionists have betrayed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, rejected its basic theses, renounced the class struggle, the revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have pursued the line of undermining the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the line of wrecking the Soviet socialist system built under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the line of degeneration of the socialist states into bourgeois states and of the communist parties into social-democratic parties. They have adopted the treacherous course of rapprochement, of shameful capitulation and submission to world imperialism. They have pursued the line of sabotaging the revolution, of diverting the people from the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation and have seriously damaged the cause of peace and the people's security.

This revisionist line, formulated at the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has inflicted great damage upon the communist movement and the anti-imperialist struggle of the people. Nevertheless, the revisionists have been unable to stop Marxism-Leninism and the revolution on their triumphant march. Revisionism encountered a great, insurmountable resistance in the resolute, heroic, and principled struggle of the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, and the fraternal parties, which took their stand on Marxism-Leninism, it encountered the struggle of all genuine revolutionaries and communists throughout the world. As a consequence of this principled struggle, the pseudo-Marxist mask was torn from the whole revisionist course of the Khrushchevites and their treacherous aims were exposed.

In all fields, in politics and in economics, on a
national as well as on an international scale, the failures of the revisionist line began to appear, one after another. Through their powerful propaganda apparatus the Khrushchev group and their followers made great efforts to cover up these failures with clamorous demagogy, tried hard to present them as victories, but without success. Moreover, the situation within the ranks of the revisionists became more complicated and aggravated: the squabbles, disputes, disagreements, usual among those who have no principles, came out in the open. This is clearly apparent whether in Togliatti’s «Testament» or in the reserved attitude maintained by many communist parties towards the Khrushchevite project for a factional international meeting of parties. The crisis of Khrushchevite revisionism came to a head, jeopardizing its whole anti-Marxist course, the existence of modern revisionism itself.

In these circumstances, the revisionists felt obliged to remove their leader from the political stage. The removal of N. Khrushchev, this dangerous traitor to and renegade from communism, from the leading positions he held in the Communist Party and the Soviet government, constitutes a great defeat, a heavy blow to the whole of modern revisionism, to its anti-Marxist ideology and policy, and a significant victory for the Marxist-Leninists.

The Albanian people and communists rightly rejoiced at this major triumph over revisionism, because in the fall of N. Khrushchev they saw once again the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of their Party, the importance of its ceaseless principled struggle in defence of the great cause of communism.

The fall of N. Khrushchev is a major triumph, but this does not mark the end of Khrushchevite revisionism, nor of modern revisionism as a whole. Regardless of the major role which N. Khrushchev has played as the leader of the revisionists, his removal has not ended the course, policy, and social and economic roots of revisionism, or Khrushchevite revisionism itself, which has caused so much harm to the communist movement, to the Soviet Union, to the socialist camp, and to the peoples’ liberation struggle. Thus, our Party of labour, like all the genuine revolutionaries, should not and will not entertain any illusions in this respect.

The fall of N. Khrushchev undoubtedly marks the beginning of a new stage in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, which will lead to the complete defeat of modern revisionism and to the inevitable triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

In this stage our communists and people must be clearer than ever about the attitude and the future line of struggle, which have been correctly defined by the Party, basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the interest of strengthening the entire international communist and workers’ movement.

Our Party has fought and will continue to fight consistently against modern revisionism, Khrushchevite or Titoite, until it is completely destroyed as a retrogressive line, as an anti-
correct all the evils which the revisionists have inflicted up till now on international communism, with their treacherous line.

First and foremost, the putting in order of the question of Stalin, his rehabilitation as a great Marxist-Leninist, regardless of any minor mistakes he might have committed, is a major matter of principle of international importance. Our Party and all the Marxist-Leninists regard the question of Stalin not as a sentimental matter, but as it is in fact, a question of line, a matter of principle.

No Marxist, no honest person believes the revisionist piffle that Stalin was «a ruthless dictator», because during these last few years all the revolutionaries and honest men have seen what kind of people the revisionists are, what their moral character is, and what they are capable of doing. It is well known that Stalin never behaved like a dictator, not even towards the opponents of Leninism, but within Leninist norms, he engaged in open, patient controversy for years on end with Trotskyites, Bukharinistes, Zinovievists and others, inside the Party and outside it. Whereas today, the revisionists fight their opponents quite differently, by police methods and not at all according to Leninist norms. It is not in Stalin’s time, nor by Stalin, but by the revisionists that anti-Leninist putschist methods are being systematically used, as a consequence of which leaders are being brought down one after the other, not only in the Soviet Union, but also in other socialist countries.

The revisionists claim that Stalin was allegedly a «murderer» and a «terrorist». Why? Because in
the time of Stalin the enemies of the revolution, traitors, and spies were done away with. And it was not Stalin that killed them, but the revolution, for the protection of the achievements of the revolution. They were tried in revolutionary courts after public debate and sentenced publicly. Whereas the revisionists behave like thieves, like conspirators, in secret. They kill by night and weep by day. They act like an international «Mafia». They opened the doors of the Soviet Union to the agents of the imperialists. They are striving to ingratiate themselves with the imperialists, byeloguardists, Trotskites, counter-revolutionaries, revisionists and traitors, by rehabilitating their men, one after the other, secretly, in offices with the blinds drawn, by deciding to set up monuments to traitors, and so on. This revisionist kitchen cannot be trusted, therefore, Stalin must be rehabilitated as soon as possible and from the Marxist position.

Stalin was neither a traitor to Marxism-Leninism, nor an exhibitionist clown. He was a great Leninist, he was a man of few words and much work for the Soviet Union and for the revolution. When Stalin spoke the bourgeoisie and imperialists did not applaud, nor burst into laughter, but trembled.

Stalin never kowtowed to the imperialists, never betrayed the revolution, nor turned it into a blind alley. Stalin was no warmonger. He did not declare war on any state, other declared war on, and attacked, the Soviet Union. Stalin defended the Soviet Homeland with consummate skill and heroism.

Stalin never made common cause with counter-revolutionaries, nor decreed the liquidation of the Communist Party as some have done who parade today as Marxists with the diploma granted them by Khrushchev and Tito. Stalin smashed the counter-revolutionaries and further tempered the great Party of the Bolsheviks.

Putting the question of Stalin in order means to defend Leninism, which was consistently defended during more than thirty years by Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. It means to defend the correct line and directions, under which the revolution, the struggle against intervention, the struggle to build socialism in the USSR, were successfully carried out. It means to defend the Soviet system, the line according to which the class struggle and the Patriotic War were waged, the triumph over fascism in the Second World War was assured, and the way was opened to the building of communism in the USSR. The question of Stalin is closely linked with the creation and consolidation of the socialist camp, and with the strengthening of Marxist-Leninist unity in the international communist movement, with the allround internationalist aid and support for socialist countries and fraternal parties. The attitude towards the question of Stalin is linked with the correct line and attitude towards peaceful coexistence, vigilance towards external and internal enemies, aid for the national liberation struggles of the peoples, the struggle against imperialism, and the struggle for peace.

It is no accident that the Khrushchevite and all the modern revisionists began their treacherous
activity by repudiating J.V. Stalin, by launching the most tendentious and ugliest calumnies and attacks against his life and glorious deeds. Repudiation of J. V. Stalin was a fundamental issue for the revisionists, for by so doing they paved the way for repudiation of Leninism, for the revision of Marxism, for betrayal. It is now clear to all the revolutionaries and men of integrity the world over that the US imperialists and modern revisionists organized and carried out a great conspiracy to wreck the Soviet Union, to attack Marxism-Leninism, and socialism itself. We publicly accuse these traitors of this conspiracy. Therefore, to put things right on this key issue of principle, to raise the prestige and authority of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, to enhance the devotion of the peoples and of the Marxist-Leninist parties towards them, our Party and all genuine revolutionaries should and will fight consistently.

In order to return to the position of Marxism-Leninism it is necessary that Khrushchev's revisionist course of alliances and overt or secret agreements with US imperialism must be fully exposed, that all the details of his treacherous foreign policy must be carefully re-examined and denounced, and steps taken to set things right.

The Khrushchevite group had Khrushchevite coexistence as the foundation of their entire policy. Experience has shown that this was used by N. Khrushchev to make approaches to and link himself with US imperialism, while betraying the interests of socialism. The fact is that Khrushchevite coexistence yielded no positive results for world peace. International tension was not relaxed; on the contrary, the threat of war and the aggressiveness of imperialism increased. Disarmament was not achieved; on the contrary, the Khrushchevite policy created more favourable conditions for the imperialists to arm themselves, while this was denied to the socialist countries. The policy of Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence failed just as the revisionist line of assuming power by peaceful parliamentary methods suffered complete fiasco.

The policy of Khrushchevite coexistence was used to bring about the degeneration of the Soviet socialist system, with the aim of «liberalizing» and «democratizing» it, to «westernize» it, and hence make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie and to eliminate the fear of the «spectre» of communism. This treacherous Khrushchevite policy was fully supported by all modern revisionists, it found the support of the international bourgeoisie, who, not without purpose, stated «that Khrushchev was the man the West trusted in Moscow». This betrayal by N. Khrushchev, his concessions to US imperialism to the detriment of socialism were sanctified as «easing of tension».

The Communist Party of China, our Party, other fraternal parties and all Marxist-Leninists have fought courageously against this treacherous policy of the revisionists. The Khrushchevites called us «war-mongers», but life proved that we are revolutionary Marxists, fighters against imperialism, resolute defenders of the Soviet Union, of the revolution and peace. Marxists are partisans
of Leninist peaceful coexistence, but not to betray socialism, not to make concessions to imperialism, not to confine this merely to relations with the big imperialist powers, but to defend socialism and the revolution, to strengthen friendship and collaboration on the basis of peaceful coexistence with all the peoples of the world. Marxist-Leninists and all the peoples are in favour of, and will strive for, general disarmament, but by totally repudiating all of N. Khrushchev’s treacherous concessions to imperialists, by imposing disarmament on imperialism, by strengthening the defence potential of the socialist countries and the newly liberated countries if the imperialists keep up their armaments race.

A return to the correct Leninist course demands deeds, not words: it is necessary to denounce N. Khrushchev’s treacherous policy and his rapprochement with the imperialists; it is necessary to condemn his adventurist and capitulationist policy in the Cuban events and to give unreserved support to the fraternal Cuban people in their fight against the aggression of US imperialism; it is necessary to denounce the tripartite Moscow Treaty as an act of treason to the Soviet Union and all socialist countries, it is necessary to conclude a Peace Treaty with Germany and to settle the Berlin problem, in the way that was jointly agreed upon long ago, it is necessary to condemn the war-mongering and aggressive policy of the US imperialists against the People’s Republic of China, that of occupation of the Chinese territory of Taiwan, that of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, etc. The Marxist-Leninists must not and will not cease their just and consistent struggle without attaining these objectives.

The Re-establishment Of The Unity of The Socialist Camp And Of The Communist And Workers’ Movement Can And Must Be Done Only On The Basis of Marxism-Leninism

The treacherous activities of the Khrushchevite revisionists have inflicted very great damage on the unity of the socialist camp. The Khrushchevites and Titoites have worked hard for the destruction and disintegration of the socialist camp, this reality of our times, this major victory of the working class throughout the world. This treacherous activity was desired and actively supported by US imperialism.

Now even the enemy knows that there are major contradictions within the socialist camp, not only between Marxists and revisionists, but also between the revisionists themselves. These contradictions have been manifested in all fields; in the ideological, political, and military fields and in the field of economic relations. As a result of the treacherous policy of the revisionists, ugly anti-Marxist trends have found favourable ground in the relations among socialist states. Such are the great state chauvinist policy and of the mother party, the policy of dictate, of speculation and exploitation, sentiments of nationalism, of gaining at each other’s expense, and so on.
Our Party and our people are well aware of the leading role of the Soviet Union in the socialist camp. We never have and never will underrate its leading role in the international arena. But the major role of the Soviet Union and its aid should always be based on Marxism-Leninism, on respect for others, on the principles of proletarian internationalism, and not on anti-Marxism, on chauvinism, on attempts to impose its will on others. N. Khrushchev and his group used the aid of the Soviet people for the purpose of subjugating the People’s Republic of Albania. And when they failed, not only did they cut off aid to the Albanian people, but they even disarmed them before imperialism.

I shall not dwell on further examples to describe the grave situation of relations in the socialist camp. It is an indisputable fact that the re-establishment of unity on the present foundations, without radically and courageously purging the revisionist injustices and policies, is unthinkable.

We are of the opinion that the whole revisionist platform, on which the relations among socialist countries are based today, should be swept aside; the economic, political, and military collaboration, as well as all the basic agreements that govern relations in the ranks of all the countries of the socialist camp, must be re-examined and put on a Marxist-Leninist course. The rights and obligations of each socialist state, and mutual aid should be defined jointly and with complete unanimity, taking into account both the interests and sovereignty of each, as well as the general interests of the socialist camp. The principles of aid for

one another should be respected, rejecting both chauvinist and nationalist aims. Aid should not be used either as a means to keep others under somebody else’s pressure, or as a means to plunder, or to weaken the one that gives it. Unity along such lines prevents commandism by the big state and creates the real strength of the socialist camp, eliminates nationalist trends and strengthens internationalism, eliminates revisionism and strengthens Marxism-Leninism, eliminates the tendency to economic and political exploitation and speculation and no longer permits any kind of pressure or blackmail. A socialist camp of this kind strikes terror into the imperialists, is the guarantor of world peace, is the greatest aid for the liberation and prosperity of the people in the world, is the guarantor of the triumph of the revolution, socialism and communism.

Our Party thinks that the aid to countries fighting colonialism, which is an important duty of the socialist camp, should also be seen in this light. This aid should be given in a fraternal way and not linked with dirty political interests. The people of the small under-developed countries of Africa and other continents want sincere friendship and not empty words. The aid which is given to peoples as charity by the modern revisionists and which is used for purposes of plundering their natural resources, has nothing in common with Marxism and internationalism, and even less so when that aid is cut off for the purpose of exerting pressure, or organizing plots to over-
throw the leaders of these people, because someone does not like them. These are the methods of colonialist capitalists. The heroic fraternal peoples of Africa and of other continents have suffered from them for centuries on end. The great state chauvinist views that the peoples of small, underdeveloped countries can be dominated by bribes and threats hold no water in the epoch of Leninism. Marxism-Leninism, justice, the people’s great strength will not allow you to act for long according to your capitalist, bourgeois, revisionist whim. The people’s history has provided great proofs of this, and day by day it continues to provide them.

Unity of the socialist camp can be achieved if the differences existing today among various socialist countries are first settled through bilateral or multilateral talks. Our Party has been and is always ready for talks of this kind, for this is dictated by the general interests of the socialist camp. But we have declared, and stress again, that to pave the way for bilateral talks in which the People’s Republic of Albania will be in a position of genuine equality and not as a defendant, the Soviet government must publicly acknowledge its mistakes and the material damage which it has caused the People’s Republic of Albania and the Albanian people through its unilateral and anti-Marxist acts. It should publicly admit that it broke off diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of Albania on its own initiative, that it suspended all credits and organized the economic blockade against our country, causing great damage to the construction of socialism in Albania; that it has interfered in the internal affairs of our country, going so far as to call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Party and the Albanian state; that it has slandered the Albanian leaders, calling them agents of imperialism, and so on and so forth.

This demand of our people and our Party is proper, Marxist, and principled. The above acts of the Soviet government against the People’s Republic of Albania are not mere “technical” errors, they have their ideological and political basis.

Perhaps, the present Soviet leaders would wish and think that, despite all this, we Albanians should go to Moscow and kowtow to them, for we are of a small country, while they represent a big country. Or perhaps they think that now that N. Khrushchev has been sacked, their conscience is clear as far as the Party and the Albanian people are concerned. It is obvious that they are gravely mistaken on both counts. Marxism-Leninism does not recognize big and small, but only equals among equals, therefore, the guilty should acknowledge their guilt. As to the other matter, it is known that what was said and done against the Party of Labour of Albania, was not N. Khrushchev’s personal doing alone, but, as the Soviet leaders themselves delight in repeating, they were collective decisions. Not only were they decided upon by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but they were also approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee, and brought before the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is also known that
in order to have them approved by the Congress, and later, so that the attitude of the Soviet leaders towards the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania should become «the general line of the communist movement», Mikoyan, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Suslov and others took an active part in the slanderous attacks against our Party and people. Therefore, the fact that Khrushchev is no longer at the head of the Soviet government does not at all affect the heart of the problem. Responsibility for all anti-Albanian acts rests on the leadership of the Soviet Union and it is up to them to correct them courageously. It is only thus that conditions of equality can be created to make bilateral talks possible and to re-establish the unity of the socialist camp.

A serious crime with dangerous consequences stemming from the Khrushchevite line is the rehabilitation of the Tito clique. It has been proven over many years, with concrete facts, not only theoretically, but in practice, that the Titoite clique is the most aggressive and dangerous agency of US imperialism, specialized in fighting the communist movement and the socialist countries, as well as in sabotaging the anti-imperialist movement of various peoples. Our Party has been fighting this clique of traitors for nearly all of its 23 years of existence. On their backs, our Party and people have tested the entire arsenal of the Yugoslav specific socialism: intrigues, sabotage and espionage, plots, slanders, provocations on the border, and so on and so forth. But faced with the vigilance and determination of our people all these revisionist-chauvinist weapons have failed. The anti-Albanian acts of the Tito clique have not been able to destroy the sentiments of friendship, which link the peoples of Albania and Yugoslavia, sentiments which were strengthened, particularly during the National Liberation War, in the common fight against fascist invaders. On the occasion of the national day of Yugoslavia, our people send their revolutionary greetings to the fraternal Yugoslav peoples and wish that the ideals for which they fought may triumph.

The Khrushchev group have tried time and again to shift our Party from its positions of principle, to force it to give up the struggle against Titoite revisionism, under the pretext that this was allegedly required by the needs of the struggle against imperialism, since Yugoslavia, it is claimed, has forty divisions of soldiers, that a change is allegedly being made in Yugoslavia and the Titoites are allegedly giving up many of the theses of their program, that we should not enhance their value before imperialism by talking about them, and that, after all, polemics would continue about certain matters of principle about which differences exist, and so on and so forth. But our Party did not fall into the Khrushchevite position, it did not retreat from its course despite threats and the epithets such as «hot-blooded», «sectarian», and so on, that Khrushchev applied to us. Experience showed who was in the right. Khrushchev went to Belgrade and kowtowed to Tito, renounced the so-called «overriding interest», gradually rehabilitated Titoism, ap-
proached and embraced this enemy of socialism, while launching his attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania, and the Communist Party of China, which faithfully followed the teachings of Leninism and fought to unmask the Titoite clique.

By rehabilitating Titoism, the Khrushchev group paved the way and created the necessary conditions for these agents of US imperialism to sabotage the socialist camp and to drive the socialist countries towards degeneration and rapprochement with imperialism. Our Party, which considers the weakening of vigilance and slacking of the fight against Titoism as a serious menace to the future of socialism, will not cease its fight to expose the Tito clique. We are absolutely convinced that the communist movement and the socialist camp cannot grow stronger and forge ahead without courageously and resolutely combating the most skilful and dangerous agency of US imperialism, without implementing the recommendations of the 1960 Moscow Declaration about the need for consistent struggle against Yugoslav modern revisionism.

It is the view of our Party that conditions to advance on the genuine Marxist-Leninist road can be created only by rejecting and correcting the revisionist line on these fundamental issues with Bolshevik courage. Lenin and Stalin teach that the seriousness of a revolutionary party is expressed in the attitude it maintains towards its own errors. And this demands not deceptive formulae, but facts and concrete deeds. Our Party will welcome any positive steps that may be taken in these directions.

This is a principled stand which conforms to the whole Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

We Albanians have often been accused by the revisionists of being «hot-blooded» and even «obstinate», but we are convinced that we are not like that. We act like Marxist-Leninists. As a matter of fact, those who make this accusation have apparently forgotten that under the leadership of N. Khrushchev, they did not show themselves in the least correct and cool-headed with the Party of Labour of Albania, but behaved unjustly, hurling the most violent slanders and assaults against it. Apparently they have forgotten that, although it was altogether in the right, the Party of Labour of Albania never retaliated to their assaults and slanders, but restrained itself. If they speak of debts, they should have it brought home to them that it is they who are indebted towards the Party of Labour of Albania, and not vice-versa. This is the case with obstinacy, too. Yes, we are obstinate and make no concessions over principles. We do not trust empty phrases and demagogic Khrushchevite promises. And we consider this correct. Nevertheless, we call on those who have been wrong to be strong enough to return to the right road. They will have all our support and they will see that we are not at all obstinate. The change cannot be made by hoping that with the downfall of N. Khrushchev everything will be put in order. The change is prepared and won through a revolutionary struggle, by frankly exposing and condemning the treachery of N. Khrushchev and his group, because the errors cannot be corrected by protecting
N. Khrushchev, by keeping the matter confined within the Party, as all the modern revisionists are trying to do. This is an effort to defend the betrayal, because pointing out the betrayal of N. Khrushchev would prejudice and expose the entire revisionist course on all the cardinal issues we have spoken about.

The Party of Labour of Albania, like all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, will fight with courage to score further victories over revisionism. Our fight and the open, principled polemic will continue unceasingly until the Khrushchevite positions have been repudiated in their entirety.

The period which the international communist movement is passing through is a period of difficulties and profound differences. Today the question of unity in our movement is quite rightly worrying all the honest communists in the world. All the revisionists are talking about unity, all the revisionists are trying to seize hold of the banner of unity. Our Party is of the opinion that the slogan of the struggle for unity is not a simple one, which may be used for tactical purposes, but constitutes a very serious key-problem of principle, both for the present as well as for the future of international Communism.

Some time ago, under the slogan of unity, the Khrushchev group planned the calling of an international factionalist meeting which, far from serving unity, would, in fact, have served disruption. But this failed. Recently the Khrushchevite plan has been brought up again, accompanied by a general hue and cry that a meeting of international communism is allegedly imperative at the present moment.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been and still is in favour of a meeting of international communism, but a meeting that would effectively serve to strengthen the unity of our movement. Unity is lacking at present in the international communist and workers' movement as a result of the divisive activity of modern revisionism. This is the fundamental evil. Therefore, the importance and the duty of the meeting of international communism is to eliminate the differences, to establish true Marxist-Leninist unity. Its purpose cannot be to draw up a new document filled with rubber-stamped formulae, nor to formally proclaim the achievement of some sort of unity which, in a few months' time, would certainly be disturbed again by new differences and by the revival of public polemics.

Our Party is of the opinion that in order to achieve genuine Marxist-Leninist unity and to eliminate the differences it is essential first to take serious steps and exert great efforts to prepare all the necessary conditions for the success of an international meeting.

Moreover, in order to attain positive results in the international meeting, it is essential to first settle a number of important issues of principle, in addition to those already mentioned before.

Through their anti-Marxist attitude and acts, the revisionists have created many distorted concepts on the meaning of unity itself, and on the role and duties of the various parties in preserving
and strengthening it. Thus, in practice, the existence of the «conductor», of the «mother» party, which is «infallible» and can solve everything, while the other parties should tag along behind it and can err; the existence of the opinion that only one party is capable of interpreting Marxism, while the others cannot, and so on and so forth, all of these, although they have never been written, have become like «sacrosanct» rules. As a result of these rules and the so-called liberalism which revisionism has created, tendencies to «autonomy», not from the conductor, for the revisionist leaders are bound to it hand and foot, but from Marxism-Leninism, from proletarian internationalism, have sprung up and are gaining strength.

Without categorically rejecting these anti-Marxist, revisionist and chauvinist views, and without dotting the i’s on these matters, any attempt to establish solid unity in the international communist movement is sheer formality and will bear no fruit.

Marxism-Leninism is a guide to action for every revolutionary party of the proletariat

Marxism-Leninism is a great and universal truth. It is not a dogma, but the truths of Marxism-Leninism cannot be misused according to the whims of this or that person or group hiding behind the correct slogan, «To apply them according to the time and place». Marxism-Leninism is the guide to action for every party. Every party can and should apply Marxism-Leninism in the conditions and circumstances of its own country, but the compass shows the cardinal points unerringly. But if you try to make it show the north in the south and the west in the east, no matter how loud you may shout that you have a compass in your hand, it may be anything but a compass. This is also the case with the correct application of the universal laws of Marxism.

The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin cannot be the monopoly of certain parties. They are the heritage of mankind, of the communists the world over. There are parties or persons who try to speculate for anti-Marxist ends with the fact that Marx and Engels were of German nationality, or that Lenin and Stalin were members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From this fact, these parties and persons claim that whatever they and their leaders say, regardless of the fact that they talk revisionist nonsense, is allegedly the law of truth and an authentic interpretation of the ideas of the classics. This view should be discarded, for it is an anti-Marxist concept.

In order to lay the groundwork for solid unity in the communist movement it is necessary to discard the idea cultivated by the revisionists of the necessity for a «conductor», or of blindly following the line of one party: Our Party is of the opinion that Marxism-Leninism is the sole conductor of the communists, it guides them, it and the principles of proletarian internationalism unite them in their great struggle. Loyalty to Marxism-
Leninism and solidarity with fraternal parties, with comrades and friends, who are also loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the great cause of socialism and communism, is a sacred duty of each revolutionary party. Our Party stands firmly on these principles. At the same time, and respecting the Leninist norm, every party should courageously criticize the errors and faults of another fraternal party. Our Party has done and will do this, always in a comradely way and without hesitation. It has criticized and will criticize those parties or comrades who, in its opinion, are mistaken, and it will fight without mercy and to the last against those who betray. Towards those parties and persons who recognize their mistakes, who correct them and give proof of this, we shall always behave as Leninists.

While recognizing these rights of our Party, at the same time, we recognize the right of every fraternal party and every communist to behave in the same way towards us, when they think that our Party makes mistakes. If differences are not resolved, the best judge to show who is right is practice, time, but not time full of «calm», «silence» and «indifference», but time full of polemics based on facts, on documents, revolutionary and constructive polemics, not slanders and lies.

Without proper understanding of, without accepting and without creating real effective conditions for exercising these rights of the communist parties solid unity cannot be re-established. In principle and in words these rights and duties are recognized even today, but it is a fact that when our Party used them at the Bucharest Meeting, or at that in Moscow, all the thunder of the group of N. Khrushchev and his followers came down upon us.

Life has shown that every communist party, small or big, makes mistakes. Therefore, the party that errs, be it small or big, should be subjected to criticism, should admit its mistakes in order to correct itself. This is the only Marxist way. To refrain from criticizing one or the other, this is opportunism, and does a lot of harm; to fail to criticize the small party is incorrect; to criticize the small party and to forget the bigger one is servility; to hush up the mistakes of the bigger party and refrain from criticizing them, constitutes the greater evil, for a big party pursuing an erroneous line causes immense harm.

True unity requires comradely relations between parties, because each party needs the support and experience of another party. The experience of each party is a great heritage of all and should be utilized by all. But no pressure at all can or should be exerted by one party to impose this or that experience on other parties. This by no means excludes comradely advice, or criticism of him who violates principles.

Without clear definition of the norms of relations between parties, there can be no assurance of attaining the unity which true revolutionaries and Marxists desire. It is clear that when we, Marxist-Leninists, speak of unity, we imply unity on a Leninist basis of principle, and not on a revisionist basis of compromises. We want, we are
in favour of, and fight for, a unity in which there is place neither for revisionism, nor for dogmatism. True unity can be achieved and strengthened only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and with the joint efforts of all fraternal parties. It cannot be achieved either through meetings and talks between two parties alone, or through talks between leaders who do not express the real opinion and will of the mass of their members. The only effective unity is that which is established between peoples, between parties, which are intimately acquainted with one another's sentiments, views, and aspirations.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have tried their utmost to keep the peoples and communists apart from one another, to keep them in the dark and in complete ignorance about the contradictions, about the views of their comrades and brothers on the other side of the barricade. Therefore, our Party has always been and continues to be of the opinion that the first step to take, prior to the meeting of leaders, is to fully inform the parties and communists about the ideological differences, not according to the whims of primed «agitators», but on the basis of the main materials of fraternal parties, designated by the parties themselves, which should be circulated among all communists. Only in this way can the party itself pass judgment, can it decide and tell its leadership what it should do. Solemn promises about the application of Leninist norms are not what is needed now, but putting these norms into practice.

Our Party is of the opinion that a line of action of this kind creates favourable conditions for resolving differences, helps to re-establish unity and paves the way for a successful meeting of international communism. Our Party will continue to fight consistently for such a meeting, for a militant Marxist-Leninist unity, in the future.

True unity of the communist movement will be achieved through the resolute, principled struggle of Marxist-Leninists. The victory they scored in ousting N. Khrushchev will undoubtedly be followed by other major victories. The Marxist-Leninist forces are increasing rapidly. Our Party wholeheartedly welcomes the creation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties of Belgium, Australia, Brazil, Ceylon, and others. We greet all the revolutionary communists who have joined anti-revisionist groups like those of Italy, France, Austria, England, the Netherlands, the revolutionaries of Spain and Portugal, those of Chile, Columbia, and other countries. Our Party greets all those communists who are fighting for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties, where the revisionists are in the leadership. The revolutionary activities of the parties and groups that have been set up, have seriously shaken the ranks of the modern revisionists. The outlook for the struggle and victory of the revolutionary communists is very good. The future belongs to them while the revisionists are doomed to failure.

The Party of Labour of Albania will strengthen its Marxist-Leninist unity with the Communist Party of China and with the other fraternal parties which stand loyal to the revolutionary positions...
of Marxism-Leninism, the militant unity in defence of the purity and principles of the great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Our Party considers it its internationalist duty to strengthen its collaboration and solidarity with all the revolutionary anti-revisionists. It will support the comrades, brothers and co-fighters for our great cause with all its strength.

In this new phase in which the struggle against revisionism has entered our Party is more than ever convinced of the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line and is fully confident of the inevitable victory over the most ruthless enemy of mankind, US imperialism, and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, over the Khrushchevite, Titoite revisionists and those of any other brand.

After speaking about the brilliant perspective of the PR of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha said in conclusion:

We are building socialism under conditions of cruel encirclement by imperialism and revisionism. The defeats they have suffered so far notwithstanding, our enemies continue to dream of violating our independence, of overthrowing the people’s state power, and of robbing us of the achievements we have attained at the cost of so much bloodshed and sweat. Therefore, the sacred duty of every honourable Albanian is, as it has always been, to continually sharpen his vigilance towards the imperialist and revisionist enemies, to reinforce the defence potential of the Homeland day by day and never for a single moment forget the slogan of the Party, «We must build socialism with the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other». Every working man, wherever he may work or live, should consider himself a soldier of the people, a resolute defender of the freedom, independence, and socialist victories of the Homeland.

But, as heretofore, the key to all our achievements has been and continues to be, the steel-like unity of the people with the Party. To carry the cause of socialism ever forward, the number one duty for everyone is to guard the monolithic Party-people unity like the apple of our eye and to make it ever stronger. Our strength lies in the Party-people unity; on this are based the hopes and brilliant future of the new Albania.

At the same time our people are convinced that in their struggle to realize the prospect of their brilliant future, they will always have, as they have had so far, countless friends and comrades beside them who will help them in a fraternal, internationalist way.

Dear comrades,

The glorious path our people have traversed under the leadership of the Party gives them a sense of legitimate pride. But they have never allowed themselves to become intoxicated with success, and even less now, when so much still remains to be done, are they going to rest on their laurels. The years of the war and the constructive
work of the last twenty years have endowed our people with colossal experience and have made them as strong as steel. They have never had any illusions that socialism could be built easily, that they could wait for it to be donated by others. They have never turned tail on enemies, obstacles, difficulties or dangers when this great and just cause was in question, but have gone into battle and have vanquished them. This will be so in the future, too. Our people are invincible, they possess inexhaustible energies and great revolutionary spirit; there is no and there will never be, now or in the future, force, obstacle or difficulty that can stop their triumphant march forward towards communism. On this glorious 20th anniversary they are re-grouping their forces for the new start towards fresh battles, towards fresh, inevitable, ever more majestic victories. With such revolutionary people led by the Party of Labour, the new Albania has not only lived, fought, and won through these twenty years, but it will live, fight, triumph and flourish through the centuries.

Long live our valiant, hard-working and freedom-loving people!

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania, leader and organizer of all the achievements of our people!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

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