WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

SPEECHES,
CONVERSATIONS AND ARTICLES

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MARXISM-LENINISM IS THE GUIDE AND LEADER OF EVERY PARTY AND NOT KHRUSHCHEV'S CONDUCTOR'S BATON

From a conversation with a delegation of the CF of Malaya

January 23, 1955

After greetings are exchanged and the guests seated, comrade Enver Hoxha opens the conversation:

Our Party has a high regard for your party because it is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. Its internationalist solidarity has been a great assistance to us, especially since the Moscow Meeting in 1930. The Communist Party of Malaya has fought and is fighting under difficult conditions against Japanese and British imperialism, and Malayan reaction as well as against modern revisionism. We have made, are making and have to make still great efforts against these enemies. But Marxism-Leninism, which guides our parties
will defeat the enemies and with struggle and effort we shall overcome all the difficulties.

The modern revisionists have created very serious difficulties in the international communist movement, and in the development of events in the world, in general, because modern revisionism developed in the USSR, one of the main powers of the socialist camp, as well as in the communist and workers’ parties of Europe, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania. Besides this, modern revisionism has captured the leading positions in the parties and socialist states of Europe, apart from Albania. In these countries modern revisionism has state power in its hands.

Within a period of ten years, modern revisionism has managed, to some degree, to orientate the policy of these states towards dependence on US imperialism, to wage a savage anti-Marxist campaign against the Communist Party and the People’s Republic of China, against the People’s Republic and the Party of Labour of Albania, and against all other Marxist-Leninist parties. The revisionists waged this struggle, but of course, they did not achieve the success they had hoped for. On the contrary, during this short period they have been under serious attacks from the Communist Party of China headed by comrade Mao Tsetung, from our parties, and all the revolutionaries of the world. Now, in the opinion of our Party, we can say that Khrushchevite and Titoite modern revisionism have been exposed, but have not yet lost their power and influence. Nevertheless, in general, modern revisionism has been exposed, and in the international communist movement, it is facing a difficult situation. Now, modern revisionism is on the decline. Splits have developed in the ranks of the modern revisionists; that unity of opinion, that existed at first when they launched the open struggle against Marxism-Leninism, exists no longer.

The modern revisionists did not and could not have a sound political basis, either internally or internationally, because the principles on which they have developed and continue to develop their policy are anti-Marxist. The policy which they follow was and is a capitulationist one, accompanied with great demagogy. N. Khrushchev has exerted great influence through his demagogy in order to give the impression that the Soviet Union and the socialist camp had attained such a level of development and colossal strength, that it was possible to cope with the hostile activity of the imperialists through words alone. The purpose of this demagogy was to cover up the betrayal and hostile activity of Khrushchev and Co. But they made their calculations and worked out their plans without taking into account the counter-attack of the Marxist-Leninists. Therefore, when the counter-attack by the Communist Party of China, our Party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties began, this whole revisionist-built “castle”, founded on their demagogy and the holy alliance on all matters with imperialism, was shaken.

It is a fact that Khrushchev’s downfall is a result of the struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninists. This has put modern revisionism in a diffi-
cult situation and obliges it to try to find a way out. One of the current methods of the fight of the revisionists against us is to try to stop the polemics and struggle. Thus, what they want is that the Marxist-Leninists should no longer attack the treacherous views and stands of the modern revisionists. Their desire and aim is to stop the polemics, because they have seen that the struggle of our parties is soundly based, has exposed them badly, has not ceased, and has not left them free to act and realize their plans. Wherever they have acted they have exposed their real features as anti-Marxists and counter-revolutionaries in the eyes of the communists and the peoples of the whole world. Therefore, all their efforts now are aimed at making us cease the polemics.

The modern revisionists must understand clearly that, before we can even think about whether or not to cease the polemics, all the modern revisionists must first admit and state publicly that they have been wrong in their entire line. They are not doing anything of the kind and they are not going to do so. Therefore, the struggle against them, the struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists, continues and will continue uninterruptedly, in favour of Marxism-Leninism.

The modern revisionists are insisting on holding a meeting. They are pressing for this especially to deceive and appease international communist opinion, to say to the communists everywhere that we are allegedly holding talks, with the aim of achieving a certain quiet in which they can con-

tinue their work of betrayal more easily. We know that they are traitors, and as Lenin teaches us, we must make a clear division between us and the traitors, as Lenin did in his time. This resulted in the strengthening of the international communist movement in the world. Therefore, by following the correct line of our parties, we settle accounts with the modern revisionists, and this will bring about a further strengthening of the international communist movement. This is a law. The modern revisionists want to hold the meeting, but we do not agree to go to any meeting on their terms.

Therefore our Party, like your Party, the Communist Party of China, etc., refuse to participate in such a meeting. As we see it, a real meeting has one aim — to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement. This means that our parties should always proceed in a correct Marxist-Leninist way on all the national and international issues of the communist movement and world problems.

But how can we reach agreement with the modern revisionists, with these traitors, when they have made common cause with US imperialism and all world capitalism.

In the desperate situation it is experiencing, US imperialism, in close alliance with its agency, modern revisionism, is making every effort to attack the peoples' liberation struggles, our parties, and the entire Marxist-Leninist movement. Can we remain silent about the actions and aims of these sworn enemies?
No, our Party is of the opinion that the fight against modern revisionism, in the first place against the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists, must not be halted, and their proposals about meetings should not be accepted. Like your Party, and many others, our Party will not take part in the meeting which they propose to hold in March. This is an absolutely correct stand. With this stand we expose and hinder the realization of their aims. Our refusal to participate is part of the struggle we are waging against modern revisionism. This is the first point.

Second, the uninterrupted ideological and political struggle we are waging against the modern revisionists for the destruction of their plans (because they have other plans, which we shall see during their efforts to put them into practice) will inflict defeats on them. This is natural. But what kind of defeats? Like that which they suffered with the removal of Khrushchev, which is a great loss for revisionism. Basing itself on the international events that were unfolding, on the blows and defeats inflicted on the Khrushchevites, and the weakening of Khrushchev’s position, 10 days prior to his downfall, our Party published an open letter to the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. Through this letter we informed them that we would have no more to do with the Khrushchevite clique, and we called on the Soviet communists and people to see what this renegade was. His fall was a defeat for modern revisionism, while for the Marxist-Leninists it was better than his death, because if he had died the revisionists would have made a hero of him.

We are confident that such defeats will befall them in the future, too. They will be apparent not only in the international arena, but also with their parties and states. Their defeats will put the revisionist cliques in difficult positions in the international arena and within their own countries. We hope that the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists, which is aimed at defeating the revisionists’ counter-revolution, will help us to create more favourable conditions to this end. We shall create and study all those conditions which constitute an important factor for the attainment of our goals. The basis of our victories for the defeat of modern revisionism is the continuation of our ideological and political struggle under any circumstances, against the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism. The 1960 Moscow Declaration says that bilateral, multilateral and other consultations should be held about international meetings of the communist and workers’ parties. We are for this point of the Declaration, and defend it even in these circumstances. However, it is known that the meeting needs great preparation. We are using this formula, and our Party has explained how this preparation should be done. To say simply that it should be prepared is one aspect, but the other, and more important aspect, is that it must be laid down what has to be done. Our Party has said what must be done and what preparations must be made.

Our Party is of the opinion that the differences are deep-going, principled, ideological and political. They are not differences between two or even four or five parties, but between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists. Our Party thinks, also, that these ideological and political differences cannot be left to be solved by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China only, as some have advocated in connection with the meeting proposed by the Khrushchevites. We do not agree with such a view because, while there are differences of a general character, there are also disagreements between parties which stem from these general differences, such as the disagreements between the Communist Party of China and that of the Soviet Union, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party of Labour of Albania, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Malaya, etc., etc.

We must not seek to iron out all of these disagreements which our Marxist-Leninist parties have with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in an opportunist manner, but we must settle them completely on the Marxist-Leninist road, because only in this manner will we defeat Khrushchevite revisionism. Our Party of Labour is of the opinion that our Marxist-Leninist parties should not give any ground in the contradictions they have with the modern revisionists. On the contrary, they should attack the modern revisionists from all sides. But how, through bilateral or trilateral joint discussions? In principle, we are for joint discussions.

What is the opinion of our Party concerning our concrete disagreements with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? Our Party has many contradictions with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our main contradictions, which all of us have with the revisionists, are in the ideological fields. But we do not forget that the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are enemies who have carried on and are still carrying on utterly anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian activity against our Party and people.

Under these circumstances, before opening discussions with them, Albania will say to them, first of all, that they have broken off diplomatic relations with Albania, and they have done this publicly. Therefore, they must first publicly admit and correct this mistake they have made by issuing a public statement, since they broke off relations publicly. If they correct things as we demand, this will be a grave defeat for the Khrushchevite revisionists in the eyes of the international communist movement and world opinion.

Second, we shall say to them that they have not only broken off diplomatic relations with Albania, but have scrapped all our economic, cultural, military, and other agreements. All of these things are facts, therefore, before we talk, these unscrupulous violations of theirs, too, must be put in order, must be corrected. If they do correct them, then this, too, will be a grave defeat for the Khrushchevite revisionists and a victory, not
only for Albania, but for the whole international communist movement.

Third, we shall remind them that from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress they called on the Albanian people to rise in counter-revolution, to topple the leadership of the Albanian Party and State. Therefore we shall ask them: «Are you going to recognize this mistake, too?» If they admit it, then we will have dealt another blow at modern revisionism, and won a victory for our cause.

There are still other conditions like these. In a word, we say to the representatives of the State and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that before we can enter into joint discussions with them, fair conditions of equality for discussions must be provided for the State and the Party of Labour of Albania in the first place, and then we can talk about the ideological problems. If the Soviet Union does not take the necessary steps in this direction, what does it mean to us and the international communist movement? It means that the modern revisionists remain hostile to the international communist movement, and that all their attempts allegedly to come to agreement with us are only a bluff, therefore unity with them cannot be achieved.

We are unable to understand unity like some opportunists, who tell us that we should go to embrace and kiss our revisionist enemies, and in this way we can consider the disagreements over. This is not Marxist.

Therefore, for us, the aim of bilateral or multi-lateral meetings is to fight and destroy modern revisionism. If we manage to achieve true Marxist-Leninist positions in bilateral or multilateral meetings, this will mean a weakening of the revisionists’ positions. From the bilateral meetings we should go on to broader meetings. This is what we think. But while applying the Leninist principle about discussions and consultations, we are not going to cease our struggle. Our polemics against the modern revisionists will continue. The whole aim is that we must fight the modern revisionists, must not overlook all those disagreements we have with them.

The revisionists are dodging the issue of the preparatory work that we are demanding. They want us to cease the polemics unconditionally, and not raise this question any more. They are trying to organize the chiefs of modern revisionism in the countries of Latin America, to give the impression that the communist forces on this continent are a bloc with them. In Europe, they have the heads of the revisionist parties with them. Through their counter-revolutionary work they have destroyed the Marxist parties in Africa and are forming another grouping with the revisionists of this continent. They are putting all these groupings in opposition to our Marxist-Leninist course in order to display their revisionist «unity» against our correct activity aimed at the liquidation of modern revisionism, and achieving an international Marxist-Leninist meeting. Therefore, without carrying out good preparatory work, the international meeting with the modern revisionists has no mean-
the international communist movement or within each individual party. In fact, in many countries of the world today, there are two communist parties, and in other countries there are many revolutionary Marxist-Leninist groups. The modern revisionists say that the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups are traitors, while we say the opposite. This is a great contradiction within the ranks of the international communist movement.

How then will this contradiction be resolved? By embracing the revisionists and telling the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups to back down, to cease the struggle and accept the yoke of the revisionist parties? No. To do such a thing would not be Marxist, and since it is not Marxist, we do not do it. Wherever there are two parties, the Khrushchevite revisionists assist the revisionist cliques to fight the Marxist-Leninists, while our parties do the opposite: they help the Marxist-Leninists to smash the modern revisionists within the ranks of their parties. They may tell us as often as they like, that we should kiss and make up with the revisionists, but this will never happen, because this is a deep-going struggle which cannot be eliminated with embraces. Therefore, in the circumstances when the composition of the international communist movement is no longer what it was at the Moscow Meeting in 1960, the struggle for the resolution of the differences exists both within the ranks of each of these parties and throughout the whole international communist movement.

In connection with the preparation of an inter-
national meeting of parties, it cannot be done as
some advocate, that the Communist Party of China
and that of Soviet Union should decide how to
settle the disagreements. No. The question of pre-
paring this meeting cannot be settled by two par-
ties. This is not some simple matter, but a very
complicated affair.

The relations and unity between the Marxist-
Leninist parties must be guided and established
only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This mat-
ter is of colossal importance. It is the only link,
and contains in itself the independence and sovere-
ignty of the parties, the right of speech and consul-
tation, equal discussions. In such conditions great
state chauvinism or big party chauvinism is com-
bated, and there is no mother party and daughter
party. Marxism-Leninism is the only leader and
conductor of every party, it is the pivot round
which everything revolves. The basis of the unity
of all parties is Marxism-Leninism; it is their
brain not the conductor's baton as N. Khrushchev
wanted and tried to bring about.

Then there is another thing in connection with
the preparation of the meeting, and this has to do
with democratic centralism, with the organizational
and ideological spirit of the parties. For example,
if I am going to go to Moscow, or wherever the
meeting is to be held, I should have the approval
of the mass of the party I represent. To this end
the party must have full knowledge of the views
of each party participating in the meeting. There-
fore, this requires that the masses of the com-
munists in each party must have access to the
documents and materials of the other parties in
order to study them, to take a decision, and
instruct the central committee on the stand the
representative of their party should maintain at
the meeting. Our Party has informed its members
of the materials and views of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union and all the other parties, in
which the revisionists are dominant, while they
have concealed the basic materials and views of
our parties from the mass of the members of their
parties. The revisionists are afraid of the masses
of their party members, so they cannot do such a
thing. However without such preparatory work
there is no point in going to the meeting, and if
the meeting is held, this will be in vain and only
in the interests of the revisionists.

This is what our Party thought about the pre-
paration of the meeting. If such preparation is
done, then results will be achieved. But the modern
revisionists do not accept such preparation at all.
Therefore, we rightfully say that the preparation
of such a meeting requires whole years of persis-
tent work and effort. But during this time our
fight will have struck heavy blows at the modern
revisionists and caused them grave defeats. See
how Khrushchev was brought down. Tomorrow
others may follow him. But who will come in place
of them? No one knows. Perhaps others like their
predecessors, but anyhow the positions of the re-
visionists will be weakened.

These are the opinions of our Party, which we
have expressed publicly. We have expressed them
to the comrades of other parties, and now we are
telling you of them. I think that we, too, should hold discussions and meetings, not general ones, but meetings between parties like this we are holding today, with a view to thrashing out our ideas on the most varied problems. For example, we have a different view from that of the comrades of some sister party, who advise us to let the Soviets and the Chinese decide between themselves on the solution of the major differences that exist. We do not agree with this view. The Chinese comrades themselves have said that they do not agree over this view, either. We think that the correct solution of the major differences in the ranks of the international communist movement is not a matter for two parties, but for all the communist parties, which are determined to defend and implement Marxism-Leninism consistently.

On the other hand, besides the efforts they are making to hold a general meeting, the modern revisionists are holding other meetings, too. Availing myself of this opportunity, I can tell you something about the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty. Although this treaty comprises a closed circle, because it has to do only with the members of the treaty, the matters put forward by it have long been known. At the recent meeting, the members of this treaty «remembered», after four years, to invite us as one of its members. In fact they have expelled us from the Warsaw Treaty, but now their difficult situation compels them to invite us. However, the way in which they extended the invitation is completely illegal, after having trampled for four years in succession upon all the norms, jointly approved and decided in the Warsaw Treaty, which are laws for us.

In reply to the invitation and within the laws jointly decided upon for the Warsaw Treaty, we are demanding a reckoning in these terms:

First, why you did not invite us for four years on end but are inviting us only now? Why have you expelled us «de facto» from the Warsaw Treaty, and who proposed to expel us?

Second, what are the decisions that have been taken during this period in all the meetings of the Warsaw Treaty, of which we have no knowledge? As members of the Warsaw Treaty it is lawful that we should be supplied with the minutes of the meetings, in which, through no fault of ours, we have not taken part.

Third, how can we come to such a meeting, when the Soviet Union, a member of this treaty, has broken off diplomatic relations with Albania, which is also a member of the Warsaw Treaty?

Fourth, on the basis of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet Union should have supplied us with weapons and other military equipment. But on the contrary, the Soviet Union has cut off supplies of armaments to Albania, has seized the submarines from it, weakened the defence potential of Albania and compelled it to arm herself, thus placing an extremely heavy burden on the budget of the Albanian state; it has cut off all economic relations and the aid, etc., which should have been given to our country on the basis of the Warsaw Treaty. Kosygin himself, the present Soviet prime
minister, sent us a letter some years ago, in which he told us that the Soviet Union had cut off all economic, political, military and other relations with Albania, while some other members of the Warsaw Treaty have expelled the Albanian ambassadors and recalled their own ambassadors accredited to Albania. Hence, is it possible for us to come to the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty unless you, on your part, correct all these hostile anti-Albanian activities?

Fifth, we have taken decisions together in the Warsaw Treaty, one of them being the signing of the peace treaty with Germany. We ask: why has this joint decision not been implemented and who has hindered it?

Then we also have opinions concerning the agenda of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty. The agenda contains the discussion of the question of nuclear weapons, which the US imperialists are going to apply to revanchist Germany.

The Albanian Government insists that the Peace Treaty with Germany must be signed, and if this is not achieved for the whole of Germany, it should be signed with the German Democratic Republic alone, as we have decided. The tripartite Moscow Treaty on the partial prohibition of the tests of nuclear weapons should be denounced, the treacherous policy imposed by N. Khrushchev on the Warsaw Treaty should be rejected, the supply of arms by the Soviet Government to the Indian reactionaries, who are attacking the People's Republic of China and the Indian Marxist-Leninist communists, must be stopped immediately. We also accuse the Soviet Government of collaboration in the plot hatched up by the Titoites, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the US 6th Fleet, with the aim of overthrowing the people's power in Albania. We possess documents on this question. And we have demanded a reckoning over a series of other problems, too.

We informed the members of the Warsaw Treaty that we would not go to the meeting without these conditions being fulfilled and we warned them that our statement must be read at the meeting, otherwise we would publish our reply so that the peoples can see what the revisionist members of the Warsaw Treaty are, and what they are up to.

All the things I mentioned are lawful rights of the People's Republic of Albania, defined under the Warsaw Treaty. In this document we have not touched at all on our ideological differences, like the question of Stalin, etc., etc. The matters we have raised are completely lawful demands of a state character.

At first glance, the matters put before the members of the Warsaw Treaty seem to be of a national character but in reality they are problems of an international character, in which the whole international communist movement is interested. We say to them that the tripartite Moscow Treaty is a fraudulent treaty designed to give the USA and the Soviet Union a monopoly of atomic weapons; it has been made to oppose the People's
Republic of China, in order to enable the Soviet Union to keep the whole socialist camp under its thumb, and impose its own will on the members of the camp through nuclear blackmail.

In the letter which we sent to the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty we demand explanations on what has been decided there concerning the Moscow Treaty. In the founding documents of the Warsaw Treaty, approved at the time of its formation, it is stressed that none of the members of this treaty is allowed to sign any separate treaty with others unilaterally, without the approval of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty. Then, we want to know, has the Warsaw Treaty approved the tripartite Moscow Treaty? If so, such a decision is invalid, because Albania has not taken part in this approval. We say this not because it pleases us to do so, but because the Warsaw Treaty itself provides that any decision to be taken there must have the unanimous approval of all the members of the treaty. On the contrary, if the Soviet Union has signed the tripartite Moscow Treaty without the knowledge of the other members of the Warsaw Treaty, then this treaty has been undermined by the Soviet Union itself, therefore the Moscow Treaty should be denounced as unlawful and arbitrary.

Or let us take the problem of nuclear weapons. We know that the members of the Warsaw Treaty are trying to make compromises with the Americans. We say to the members of the Warsaw Treaty that the peace treaty with East Germany should be signed and the Moscow Treaty scrapped, and we should declare jointly that if the USA supplies nuclear weapons to the Bonn Government then the Soviet Union will equip all the socialist countries with nuclear weapons. We also say to them that the argument that the signing of the treacherous Moscow Treaty allegedly hinders the arming of the allies of the USA with nuclear weapons, as Khrushchev's propaganda is proclaiming with great force, is nothing but a bluff, because in fact, without worrying their heads about the Moscow Treaty, the Americans are arming West Germany with nuclear weapons.

Hence, with all our strength and possibilities we are helping in the struggle against the betrayal by the modern revisionists. Our struggle against them is not over, it will continue through to the end. Our Marxist-Leninist unity is of great importance for success in this struggle. All the Marxist-Leninist parties are firmly for this unity. We should always temper this unity through the struggle of principle, because only through this struggle can our unity, alliance and common stand be cemented.

We know that there are great contradictions among the members of the Warsaw Treaty. We know from the great experience of the struggle of Marxism-Leninism that modern revisionism is an ideology of the bourgeoisie. Owing to the sources that nurture it, this ideology will undergo changes; different tendencies, in opposition to one another, which will be inspired by world capitalism and imperialism for their own interests, will emerge in its ranks.
The modern revisionists will try to find ways differing from one another, and disguise themselves in accordance with the needs and contradictions imposed on them by that capital and that section of imperialists with whom they are most closely connected. There will be and are those of the «middle course», that is, those who adopt a disguised Right opportunist stand. This phenomenon has already appeared. The «Rightists» pose as being with us, but in reality their actions are the opposite, because all these groupings and tendencies that emerge are completely revisionist. It is our duty to follow these nuances with an analytical Marxist-Leninist eye, we should not make mistakes, but should take advantage of them in a Marxist-Leninist way. The purpose of the revisionists is to combat Marxism-Leninism. But just as the struggle in Lenin's time led to the ideological defeat of social-democracy, our struggle is now causing splits among the revisionists, although they have not lost their common aim of struggling against us. World social-democracy has a tendency to assist capitalism, and it has always done so. This is what has happened and will happen to modern revisionism, too.

We shall win because we are on the right road. We shall smash all the efforts and manoeuvres of the modern revisionists and the imperialists against Marxism-Leninism, because we are a colossal force. Great China, the Communist Party of Mao Tsetung, which maintains a correct Marxist-Leninist stand and helps the Marxist-Leninist parties and the national liberation struggles of the peoples, is with us.

The guest from Malaya, taking the floor, thanks comrade Enver Hoxha for the very important outline he gave and conveys the sentiments of profound respect and sympathy of the Communist Party of Malaya for the Party of Labour of Albania, which always follows a correct, courageous, and principled policy in defence of Marxism-Leninism from the treacherous attacks of the modern revisionists. Then he spoke about the activity of the Communist Party of Malaya in the struggle against reaction and modern revisionism and expressed profound gratitude for the help and support which the Party of Labour of Albania gives the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces everywhere in the world. Finally he said that during their stay in Albania, they had visited Korça, Vlora, Durrës, the city named after Stalin, and this had left them with very favourable impressions. Then comrade Enver Hoxha took up the conversation:

We have not eliminated the name of Stalin, as the modern revisionists have done, but we always hold it high. The enemies attack us for this, but the name of Stalin cannot be sullied by the attacks of enemies. Stalin is one of the great Marxists, and the more time passes the more clearly it brings out the greatness of his work. Those who resist time and tempests are the most indomitable. They are not temporary, they remain and will always remain alive as immortal monu-
ments; the storms of ages and other natural elements have toppled them in most cases, and even buried them, but they have come out again into the light. Thus the name of Stalin cannot be blackened at all by the slanders of the modern revisionists.

But why do we defend Stalin? As is known, the modern revisionists launched their campaign against Marxism-Leninism precisely with their unprincipled struggle and slanders against Stalin, because Stalin was the loyal continuer of the immortal work of Lenin. The modern revisionists are not only against Stalin but also against Lenin himself. Their «pro-Leninism» is false. Just like the opportunists of the 2nd International, who, being unable to come out openly against Marx and Engels in their attacks on Marxism, and basing themselves allegedly on the theories of Marx and Engels, fought Leninism, hence Marxism itself, so the Khrushchevite, Titoite and the other modern revisionists, being unable to attack Lenin, attacked Stalin, because when they attacked Stalin’s work, they were attacking Leninism at the same time, on its general line, on its international line, and its line on the Soviet Union, too. Thus the purpose of the modern revisionists was to denigrate Leninism, and the initial attack was launched against Stalin.

The overwhelming bulk of the charges the modern revisionists levelled against Stalin were fantastic slanders without any sound basis, but based on tales, fabrications, and falsifications. The Marxists take into account that in such a mighty work as that carried out by the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Soviet Union, with Stalin at the head, they could not avoid making some mistakes. Such mistakes are natural and possibly were made. Who can claim that he has not made mistakes in his work? But the modern revisionists are not concerned about these mistakes, therefore they blame Stalin and Marxism-Leninism for non-existent things, which were taken up in a tendentious way, and formulated in such a manner that they managed to deceive some people, especially people with inadequate ideological formation, and to arouse doubts among them about Stalin and his work. The modern revisionists follow the principle «Slander, slander, slander because something will stick». However for us what sticks from all their slanders is simply that the modern revisionists are enemies of Marxism-Leninism, and not Stalin.

Our Party proceeds from the correct Marxist-Leninist principle that it does not meddle in the internal affairs of other parties. But there are party leaderships and leaders that transcend the limits of their own party, because through their work they have exerted a colossal influence on the development of Marxism-Leninism and world events. These parties and these leaders, with great positive or negative aspects, cannot be judged within the limits of the party from which they have emerged, alone.

Therefore, the question of whether or not Sta-
lin committed mistakes is not just a question for the CPSU but for all international communism, because there can be no Marxist-Leninist party which does not have its own opinion about the work of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the USSR and about Stalin, its main leader after Lenin, because their activity has influenced the whole international communist movement. Our Party believes that the activity of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the USSR at the time when it was led by Stalin exerted a positive influence on the development of the international communist movement and the course of international events throughout the world. Khrushchev and Co. have not sought the opinion of the international communist movement on this question. This is not a matter of some rank-and-file person, but of the leader of a great cause. The struggle against Stalin has been hatched up in a conspiratorial way as a plot by the international bourgeoisie and the Khrushchevite modern revisionists. While trying to exploit the great influence which the CPSU(B) has had, the revisionists have striven to bury the Marxist view in the international communist movement about Stalin and the party he led, as a disciple of Lenin and continuer of his work.

Who can deny the mighty work of the Bolsheviks, of Lenin, of Stalin and their party? Even the modern revisionists are quite unable to deny such a thing. In fact they are obliged to say that «socialism has been built successfully in the USSR. etc., and this is the work of the Communist Party (Bolshevik)».

But it is known that socialism is built by the masses who have to be organized for such a great purpose. The party carries out this organization. Hence if you deny the role of the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, if you claim that the leadership of the Soviet Union and Stalin, whom the Khrushchevites have discredited, were on the wrong road, how is it possible that socialism has been built in the USSR? If the leadership betrays, like the Titoite leadership, then how is it possible that socialism can be built in Yugoslavia? How is it possible that Tito, who is a traitor and anti-Marxist, can have a positive influence on the building of socialism? This Khrushchevite reasoning does not bear scrutiny.

How is it possible to blacken the farsighted policy of Stalin in the international arena against the imperialists, the monopoly bourgeoisie in the various countries and world capitalism in general, who were linked in a powerful alliance for the destruction of the USSR? If ever there was an enemy to world capitalism who was resolute and unflinching to the end, from the start of his life till his death, this was Stalin above all. Nobody can deny this. It is known that the bourgeoisie and world capitalism continuously aimed all their shafts against the Soviet Union and Stalin perso-
nally, when he was in the leadership of the Soviet party and State. People consistent in their reactionary convictions and ideology, even the chieftains of world capitalism such as Roosevelt, Truman, Churchill, Eden, in their writings and memoirs speak with much respect about their great enemy. Stalin, about his skill, wisdom, determination, and his consistent struggle against capitalism. This determined stand of the CPSU (B) and Stalin, its leader, brought about that the USSR, the first socialist country in the world, emerged victorious from the war, and the socialist camp was created and strengthened. It was not the treacherous policy of Khrushchev that brought about this great reality, but the correct policy of the Communist Party of the USSR (Bolshevik) and Stalin. In his time, the International Communist movement was strengthened, the various parties were strengthened, were equipped with a correct line, and many new parties were founded. Khrushchev may prattle to his heart’s content that Stalin was allegedly incompetent and knew only how to drink! No! Reality proves that Stalin was a great Marxist. He would not betray and never betrayed the great cause of socialism as Khrushchev has done. Without a resolute Marxist-Leninist stand like that of Stalin during the period of the strengthening of nazism and fascism, the international communist movement and the different parties, would have been liquidated.

Now we are living at a time when the modern revisionists with the Khrushchevites, the Titoites and Co. at the head, have become tools of US imperialism. Their peaceful coexistence is a view preached by US imperialism and implemented by N. Khrushchev. This has absolutely nothing in common with Leninist peaceful coexistence, for which our parties — the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China, the Communist Party of Malaya, and all the real communists of the world are fighting.

We are continually observing that the exchange of experience among the Marxist-Leninist parties is very important because our Marxist-Leninist internationalist unity becomes stronger through cooperation between the parties. We know that not everything is perfect in our country — we still have many shortcomings in our work, but we are constantly striving to correct them and to make fewer and fewer mistakes. However, mistakes are made in the course of work, for they are inevitable. But on the major problems of concern to all the parties our Marxist-Leninist standpoints are identical.

We admire your party which has been fighting for years on end under difficult conditions of illegality. It has created partisan units under the leadership of the party, is linked with the people, and maintains a correct Marxist-Leninist stand towards imperialism and the intrigues of the local reactionaries. This is a great guarantee for the triumph of our cause, an integral part of our whole great cause. We sincerely wish you success in your work and ask you to tell all the comrades of the
Central Committee of your party that in the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania you have and will always have loyal communist friends, always in solidarity with you in our great common cause.

Published for the first time from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party.


From the article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

February 7, 1965

The 8th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists was held in Belgrade in December last year. The agenda included no less than nine items, and five reports were delivered — by Tito, Karđelj, Rankovich, Vlahovich and Kolishevsky. For a whole year the Titoites have been clamouring about the «historic» importance of the 8th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists, not only for Yugoslavia, but «for the development of the entire international communist and workers' movement, for the development of world society», as is stressed, among other things, in the directives of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists. The revi-
sionist group of N. Khrushchev and his followers, who promised the Yugoslav leaders that they would take part in the Congress, have joined their propaganda to present the 8th Congress as an important international event and a creative enrichment of Marxism. The US imperialists, on their part, have spared neither dollars nor praise. Suffice it to mention the statement issued by the Chairman of the US Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs, Fulbright, on the eve of 8th Congress, in which, while promising further aid, he stressed that «Yugoslavia is building a new society, and this is a social experiment from which the Americans themselves can learn a great deal». But, despite all these preparations, the echo of the 8th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists died away almost before it began. «World opinion» among which Tito hoped the Congress and his ideas would have considerable repercussions, showed no interest whatever in this Congress «of international historic importance».

The 8th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists, based on the fundamental theses of the reports of Tito and Co., was a natural extension, an addition, to the 7th Congress, a further descent down the road of betrayal, and a new call for the faithful and consistent implementation of the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists which the communists and workers' movement, all revolutionary and progressive public opinion, had unanimously condemned at the time it emerged, as the code of modern revisionism. The 8th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists was another attempt to set other parties and countries, especially those parties in which the Khrushchevite revisionists hold sway, on the Yugoslav course; it was one of those «bridges» of which Johnson speaks, which are to serve him to get the countries of people's democracy into his clutches.

The fact that the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists was the basis of all the activities of the 8th Congress should be sufficient to prove in whose interest the 8th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists was held and in which direction it «opened up new ways» for the future. Only the Khrushchevite revisionists cannot and they do not want to see this reality, because they have made common cause with Tito. These loyal followers of the course preached by Khrushchev continue to beat about Titoite socialism, Titoite Marxism-Leninism, Titoite peaceful coexistence, about the originality of the Yugoslav way, the need to analyse the new situation created by the «change of course» which the Yugoslav leaders are alleged to have made. But while the Khrushchevites eulogized the specific Yugoslav socialism from the rostrum of the 8th Congress, and some of them are falling into step behind the lone soldier of the platoon, as they used to call the Yugoslav revisionists when they «criticized» them, the Titoites, on their part, are going ahead and trying to take the whole platoon of Khrushchevite revisionists along behind their bandwagon.

Once again the Titoites stressed emphatically that they adhere unreservedly to the program
approved at the 7th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. Tito himself boasted that «fewer mistakes would have been made if we had adhered more strictly to the fundamental principles of the program», which as he pointed out, remains the «clear guide in our work». The Khrushchevite revisionists present at the Congress merely applauded that program, which their parties have unanimously condemned in official documents and collective resolutions passed by party conferences, plenums or congresses. Their attitude towards the 8th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists, their solidarity with its decisions, is further proof of their betrayal of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, of the cause of the socialist revolution, of the cause of workers, peasants and people of Yugoslavia. It was a blatant violation of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, of the essential duty of the Marxist-Leninist parties to expose the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and to combat their revisionist views. It is an open contradiction, also, to the present-day reality of the economic and social development of Yugoslavia itself, which, once again, provides irrefutable confirmation of the correctness of the collective opinion of the fraternal communist and workers’ parties in their assessment of Yugoslav revisionism and the consequences of the course it has pursued since the resolution of the Information Bureau of 1948.

The solidarity with the Yugoslav leaders shows clearly that the re-establishment of capitalism through workers’ self-administration is completely to the liking of the Khrushchevite revisionists, too, because they show special sympathy for the Yugoslav experience in this direction, and want to apply the «lessons» drawn from it in their own countries. Their contacts and unity with the Titoites can have no other meaning.

The support which the Khrushchevite revisionists gave Tito at this Congress calmed him after the shock he had suffered in the early days after the removal from leadership of N. Khrushchev, the sponsor of the anti-Marxist policy of rehabilitating Tito. In hailing Tito and his Congress, the Khrushchevite revisionists were hailing Tito’s policy, a policy which justifies and defends the aggressive activities of US imperialism against the liberty and independence of the peoples and the cause of international peace and security. World public opinion is already acquainted with the pro-US imperialist stand of the Yugoslav revisionists in various international events, such as the plots and aggressive acts against Cuba and South Vietnam, against Laos and Cambodia, against the Congo and Panama, against Cyprus and Indonesia, etc.

1. — The Titoite Clique — a Detachment for Subversion in the Service of Imperialism

The whole foreign policy of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders, which is counter-revolutionary and reactionary from start to finish, has served and continues to serve the fundamental interests of the US imperialist policy of aggression and war.
with blind obedience. This characteristic feature of Yugoslav foreign policy, as an appendage and support of the policy of US imperialists, was clearly obvious, once again, in all the reports and discussion at the Congress. Sometimes openly and sometimes indirectly, the Titoites defended the positions of the aggressive policy of the United States of America on almost all the basic issues of the times. They uttered not a single word to expose the policy of the US imperialists, on the contrary, they tried to prettify and patch it up in the eyes of the peoples, repeated their thanks for the dollars received and held out their hands for more. Tito put great stress on «Kennedy's good sense and sound judgement» which saved the world from the flames of war during the Caribbean crisis. Far from condemning the imperialist aggressors, he presented countries like Laos, South Vietnam, Cambodia, the Congo, Cyprus and others, the peoples of which are fighting imperialists and neo-colonialists, to liberate themselves and defend their independence, as «hotbeds of danger not only to their own freedom and independence but also of the outbreak of a new world war.»

In his report, Tito eulogizes the role and activity of the United Nations Organization, which, contrary to the historical reality, he praises as an «effective instrument that has prevented war and conflicts», which has «ensured peace», which is «fighting colonialism and all forms of inequality in international relations,» and so on, indirectly calling on the peoples to stop fighting for liberation because the UNO is allegedly considering their liberation from the imperialist yoke. This is an open defence of the policy and aggressive acts which US imperialism, whose will is still law in the United Nations Organization, has perpetuated against the freedom and independence of the people, against socialism and peace.

With his characteristic demagogy, Tito again tried to present Yugoslavia as a non-aligned country, to preach the policy of non-alignment and even to emerge as the foremost champion of the interests of the non-aligned countries. In order to score points he did not hesitate to formulate such bombastic and self-flattering phrases as «the policy of non-alignment is one of the most important factors which is accelerating the process of social progress, and changing the situation in the world», and so on. But in fact, the Yugoslav revisionists, notorious splitters and saboteurs of the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement, have nothing in common, have nothing whatsoever to do with the policy of real non-alignment which a number of peace-loving states pursue. On the contrary, under their leadership Yugoslavia is a country totally aligned with the policy of aggression and war of US imperialism, and harnessed to its war chariot. The Yugoslav leadership uses the disguise of a non-aligned country in order to serve the plans of the US imperialists and neo-colonialists, who are trying to penetrate whenever imperialism and colonialism are suffering defeat, especially in Africa, with the intention of prettifying US imperialism and moderating the anti-imperialist character of the struggle of the peoples.
But just as in other directions, the Yugoslav leaders have suffered defeat in this direction as well, and have been exposed as servants of US imperialism (as at the Cairo Conference), and regardless of their demagogy about their role in the policy of non-alignment, in fact they enjoy no influence among the non-aligned states.

All the reports and documents of the 8th Congress, especially Tito’s report, clearly expressed the anti-communism of the Yugoslav revisionists, their hostile attitude towards the socialist revolution, and in general, towards any revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement. With the intention of hindering the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, of quelling their revolutionary class struggle, and blunting the vigilance of the working class against the ruthless capitalist oppression and exploitation, the Titoites, with ambiguous, confusing, and demagogic phrases, which are typical of revisionists, preached the futility of the revolution, and even the harm it might cause the proletariat; made a lot of noise about the great possibilities that have been created for socialism to triumph without revolution, about the establishment of socialism everywhere spontaneously, because according to them, “socialism is more and more becoming the form of development of present-day society and social progress in general”. Consequently, the proletariat need not fight but should wait, just as the imperialists and international bourgeoisie want them to do, until “socialism becomes more and more the form of development of all society”.

From the rostrum of their Congress, the Yugoslav leaders called on the Khrushchevite revisionists to join them in intensifying the struggle against “dogmatism” in the socialist camp and the communist movement. In his report, Tito made open threats and warned the Khrushchevites against entertaining any illusions and “reaching formal compromises” with the dogmatists. After defending N. Khrushchev against the “insults” he had suffered, following his “misfortune”, Tito eulogized him for “the great role he had played with regard to de-Stalinization and in giving the citizens greater freedom of expression”, for “his great merits in preserving peace in the world”, for “improving relations with Yugoslavia” (read: for rehabilitating Tito and Co.), a role and merits which, according to Tito, “not even the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union denies.”

Inspired by the presence of the Khrushchevite revisionists at the Congress, Tito launched the slogan of “settling accounts with sectarian and dogmatic stands, of determining in practice, the anti-dogmatic platform of foreign policy, because there are still Stalinist elements”, which means to continue consistently and without hesitation the rapprochement and collaboration with US imperialism, and the struggle against the sound Marxist-Leninist forces, who, according to the Titoites, are pursuing a “Stalinist” and “war-mongering” policy. The applause of the Khrushchevite revisionists for this course and dictate of the Yugoslav leaders shows clearly how false are the “desires” and “will” of the Khrushchevites to
allegedly overcome the differences, to allegedly re-establish and consolidate unity. By night the Khruschevites strive to weave a tissue of lies to cover their demagogy about their alleged desire for the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement, but Tito tears it to ribbons in broad daylight.

Striving to render the maximum service to US imperialism and to carry out its anti-communist mission, the Yugoslav leadership succeeded, at its 8th Congress, in uniting the various revisionists with the social-democrats against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism. As a matter of fact, the 8th Congress was attended not only by numerous representatives of revisionist leaderships but also by representatives of a number of social-democratic parties. Of course, Tito had even more megalomaniac plans. He would have liked the leaderships of all those parties headed by revisionists to have been represented at the Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. This would have enhanced the international prestige of Titoism and would have enabled it to pose as the «guiding light» or the «axis» around which all modern revisionists would revolve.

But, apparently, some revisionist leaders preferred to stay away from the Congress, probably to avoid becoming even more compromised in the eyes of communists and the public. But this did not hinder the Titoites from achieving their second objective, of establishing the «bridges» for closer cooperation between revisionists and social-democrats on the basis of the anti-Marxist platform which Tito put forward at the 8th Congress, a platform which was hailed by all the foreign participants and which, as we stressed above, serves the interests of the imperialists and is aimed against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the freedom of the peoples.

Every communist and revolutionary proletarian thinks that the stand of a Marxist-Leninist party towards the Yugoslav revisionist leaders has been and still is a criterion by which to make a correct judgement of the line of this party, of its revolutionary class attitude, of whether this party is for the revolution or with the counter-revolution, whether this party is for the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement, or the disruption of them, for the integration of socialism into capitalism; whether this party is for socialism or the restoration of capitalism and its defence, whether this party is for the liberation of the peoples, or for tightening the fetters of their bondage, whether this party is for the exposure of imperialism, headed by the USA, as an aggressor, exploiter, and international gendarme, or for blessing the policy of aggression and war, for fostering pacifist illusions.

2. — Workers’ Self-administration — a Special Form for the Re-establishment of Capitalism

For ulterior motives the Yugoslav leaders deliberately focussed the attention of the 8th Congress on the task of sanctioning the process of
the capitalist development of the country, in order to clear any obstacle from the road they have set out on to the complete restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia. The so-called system of workers' self-administration was presented as the «theoretical» justification of this aim and the key problem of the Congress. And we, too, shall dwell precisely on this question.

In the reports of Tito and Kardelj and in the speeches of other prominent Titoites, the system of workers' self-administration was praised sky high in every way, and its further development at all costs was demanded. Differently from what was said and propagated previously, self-administration was no longer presented as a «special road of specifically Yugoslav socialism», but was described as the only method of building socialism, as a model of universal value for all the countries of the world which want to set out on the road to «genuine» socialist development. In short, self-administration was presented as the last world in the «creative development» of the Marxist theory on socialism, as said by the Yugoslav revisionists.

With regard to this, the Yugoslav leaders stated at the Congress that the League of Yugoslav Communists would strive to smash any opposition to self-administration, any ideas or views not in conformity with this system.

Warning all those who oppose the system of self-administration in Yugoslavia, Tito bellowed, «We must resolutely and finally settle accounts, without any rotten compromises or the slightest hesitation, with the bearers of backward tendencies who, consciously or unconsciously, get in our way. This Congress should be the Congress of the courageous and consistent clearing away of everything that is still holding us back.»

The anxiety of the Yugoslav leaders is understandable. The so-called system of self-management is nothing but a system through which capitalism is being restored in Yugoslavia. As is known, after they pulled Yugoslavia out of the socialist camp, the Yugoslav revisionists began in every way to advocate the view that allegedly there is no universal law binding on every country for the construction of socialism, that each country can build «socialism» according to its own desires. This was their first step in preparing the ideological conditions for their deviation from socialism. Later, this step was given concrete form with the implementation of the so-called system of workers' self-administration which flung the doors wide open to the peaceful development of the country on the capitalist road.

The Titoite propaganda has not devoted such great attention to any other question as it has to «workers’ self-administration» in the enterprises, since this system was put into practice. On this occasion all the Yugoslav revisionists are of the opinion that in «workers’ self-administration» they have hit on the way and the means with the aid of which they can delude the masses that this is the way to establish «collective ownership» over the means of production, «to place man at the centre of the care of society», «to liberate the
individual», «to create the direct democracy of the production», and to ensure that the «relations between people and their work have a humanitarian character», and so on and so forth. Here we shall take no account of all the glowing descriptions which are attached to «self-administration» by the Yugoslav revisionists but shall dwell on examination of the basis of this system, and the consequences it has had on the development of the Yugoslav economy, and the aims behind all the fuss and demagog which the Titoites made about this system at their recent Congress.

At the 8th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists the system of «workers’ self-administration» was presented as the only form that expresses «genuine» socialist relations, as the only basis of the socialist political and social order, as the only authentic socialism, while the genuine socialist order, without self-administration, was declared to be «Stalinist dogmatic revisionism», «bureaucratic state socialism», and so on. The presentation of «workers’ self-administration» as a form that expresses socialist relations is in blatant contradiction to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and is done with the intention of covering up the restoration of capitalism.

It is known that Marx elaborated his main idea about the definition of the character of the social order in such a way as to separate the relations of production from the other relations of social life, and on this basis demonstrated that the content of these relations determines the content and nature of the social order. On the other hand, according to Marx’s theory, each system of relations of production is a separate social organism, which has its own economic laws of operation, and is distinguished by its own economic processes and categories.

Taking the socialist relations of production as a whole, it is implicit in Marxism-Leninism that the main elements are: social ownership over the means of production in its two forms (state and cooperativist); social cooperation and mutual assistance among workers in the process of production, between the working class and the coop-erativist peasantry; distribution of the product on the basis of the quantity and quality of work contributed by each member of society. And of these, the decisive element is social ownership over the means of production, which constitutes the economic foundation of the socialist order. On the basis of these relations, the socialist order is characterized by its own economic laws and categories of development, which are the direct opposite of those of the capitalist order.

If we now confront the relations, which the so-called system of workers’ self-administration represents, with these teachings of Marxism-Leninism on socialist relations of production and the socialist order, we will, without doubt, be convinced that they have nothing in common with socialist relations of production, but, on the contrary, are characterized by all the features specific to capitalist relations and the capitalist order.

And true enough, as a result of the implementation of self-administration, the Yugoslav
economy today is comprised of an accumulation of enterprises isolated from one another, which have complete freedom of action. Each of them has the right to decide first itself the volume and structure of its production and capital investments, to buy and sell means of production, to present its products on the home and foreign markets in an independent way, to set prices of its products freely, according to the situation of supply and demand on the market. Each enterprise produces what it pleases, regardless of what others produce. No one knows what and how much of these products society needs. Labour is no longer direct social labour. The market with its spontaneous forces dominates the producer. The main purpose of the economic activity and production of the enterprises is profit. Payment for work in the enterprises is on the basis of the income and profits of the particular enterprise; no single standard exists to assess the pay earned by all the working people.

Even from this very restricted view of «self-administration» it turns out that:

instead of social ownership of the means of production ownership by individual groups has been established in the Yugoslav economy, which, on the surface, continues to maintain the form of state ownership;

instead of distribution of the social product according to the work done, distribution is on the basis of the profits and commercial ability of each enterprise;

instead of production to meet the needs of the working people, we have production for the sake of profits and the enrichment of individual persons by exploiting the working people of town and countryside;

instead of the planning and centralization of work and production on an all-society scale, we have de-centralization, unplanned development of the economy, spontaneity, anarchy, competition, the free play of prices and operation of the law of value, as the only force to regulate economic development.

From all of this it turns out that «self-administration» is a special means for the re-establishment of capitalism. Along with the development of the private capitalist sector in industry, trade, agriculture and transport, capitalism re-established in Yugoslavia has been dressed up in the cloak of «self-administration» which is a variant of state capitalism. In today’s conditions it would be an empty illusion and an absurd thing to expect that the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia or anywhere else would be achieved through the complete or partial handing over of the means of production to private capitalists, to the former owners. Indeed, even in the principal capitalist countries today, capitalism is showing a marked tendency to assume more and more the form and character of state monopoly capitalism.

The Yugoslav revisionists loudly insist and spread the view that the social and economic relations in Yugoslavia are allegedly socialist relations, since they are based on «social» property. This is an assertion which is made simply for demagogic purposes, and is in flagrant contradiction to
Marxism-Leninism and the real character of the property relations in Yugoslavia.

It is true that formally the bulk of the main means of production in Yugoslavia preserve the external appearance of state property. But this in no way means that it is social property, because not all state property can be called or proclaimed socialist common property, without exception.

Marxism-Leninism has proved and historical experience has shown that the social character of state property is entirely dependent on, and determined by, the class nature of the state, to whose advantage this property is used, and what economic and social relations are built on the basis of this property. Presenting the question in this, the only correct, way, it has been proved, both in theory and in practice, that only when the dictatorship of the proletariat exists, when the working class led by its genuine Marxist-Leninist party is in power, is state property used in the interests of the whole society, in the interests of socialism, does it assume the character of socialist social property and become a basis for socialist relations. In every other instance, when the working class is not really at the head of the state, state property cannot be considered socialist social property and socialist relations can never emerge on the basis of this property.

And in fact, if we were to consider the state property of present-day Yugoslavia, where state power is in the hands of revisionists, as social property, and the relations existing on the basis of this property as socialist relations, then we would be obliged to call the state property in such capitalist countries as Norway, Sweden and Britain, where, as we know, the level of «nationalization» is not insignificant in various branches, and where power is in the hands of social democrats, socialist common property, too, we would have to accept that we have to do with «socialist» relations in these countries, although no one doubts the capitalist nature of the economy and relations of these countries.

In all instances where state power is not in the hands of the working class led by its genuine Marxist-Leninist party, in the big nationalized enterprises, the only alternative to socialism is capitalism, the only alternative to socialist state property is capitalist state property. There is, and there can be no third way, because this is excluded by the very nature of present-day large-scale production.

Just such an instance is the state property existing today in Yugoslavia, which from the viewpoint of its real essence — of the relations of production, distribution and exchange, the purpose of production and its organization and management and the distribution of labour — represents a special type of state capitalist property and constitutes the basis for the restoration of capitalism, the basis of all the economic phenomena which are characteristic of capitalist relations.

The Yugoslav revisionists try to describe the self-administration of producers as the acme of «direct economic democracy», as a system which places «man in the centre of attention», which is
moving towards the affirmation of higher forms of human freedom, towards the ultimate development of humanism and enrichment of the individuality of man», etc., etc.

All this «democratic» phraseology in connection with the «self-administration of producers» is a re-print of the ideas of such renegades from Marxism-Leninism as Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin, and others. Kautsky, for instance, said that, «Socialism is a democratic organization of economic life». Trotsky and Bukharin proclaimed their «theory» of «workers' democracy», of «democracy in production». Views about socialism as «economic democracy» are upheld today, also, in the programs of all social-democratic parties. All these anti-Marxist views on socialism and democracy were combated, exposed, refuted by V. I. Lenin in his time.

Struggling against anarcho-syndicalists and Trotskyites, Lenin stressed that handing over of the enterprises to the so-called workers' self-administration means complete deviation from socialism. «...Any legalization, direct or indirect, of workers' ownership of an individual factory or of an individual profession for their production, or of their right to weaken or hinder the dispositions of state power, is one of the greatest distortions of the main principles of Soviet power and a complete departure from socialism».

Let us now take a closer look at how democratic an institution the «producers' self-administration» is, and to what degree the «direct producers» have also become managers of the economy within the framework of this institution, as the Titoites noisily proclaim.

In this connection, relying on articles 9 and 17 of the Yugoslav Constitution, we are speaking here of the essence of the mechanism by which the so-called system of self-administration functions. On the basis of this mechanism, the activity of the enterprise is run directly by its manager, who, completely free and independent in carrying out his function, is the first person to take direct disciplinary, or any other administrative measures. The manager has the right to annul the decisions of the «workers' council». The workers of the enterprise do not have the legal right to choose the manager of the enterprise, or even to ask for his replacement. The workers have even less say in the distribution of the gross income of the enterprise and the so-called «simple» or net income, from which the wages fund is created. The workers' council hears the manager's annual report on the work of the enterprise, formally approves the budget, decides the plan, and checks up on the work of the manager. We say formally, because in the final analysis the manager has the right to make the final decision on everything.

Comparing the rights and obligations of the workers and their councils, on one hand, and those of the manager, on the other, the conclusion is unavoidable that there is no question here of workers' self-administration, but of the free and independent activity of economic enterprises, as a result of their being set on the course of capitalist development. In reality, «workers' councils»
and «self-administration» represent a kind of club for discussion and parades of «freedom», «democracy», etc., which formally sanction whatever the manager ordains, and cover up the activity of enterprises of capitalist nature. How else can it occur that under conditions of «workers' democracy» the managers and managerial staff of enterprises receive incomes 20 to 40 times bigger than those of the workers, or bonuses amounting to as much as the wages fund for the whole collective of the enterprise? How can one speak of «workers' self-administration» when enterprises are closed and workers are left without jobs? Or, can it be that workers themselves decide to be left unemployed? Or how can it be explained that the workers of one enterprise compete with their comrades of another enterprise and strive to secure maximum profits, not even hesitating to engage in speculation at the expense of their fellow workers?

With the implementation of «self-administration», the Yugoslav workers have forfeited their greatest revolutionary victory, which no torrent of sweet words and meaningless prattle about «direct democracy», etc. can counter-balance. They have forfeited the right to guaranteed jobs and the right to equal pay for equal work. This, then, is the whole real meaning of the «direct democracy» practised by the revisionists through their so-called system of self-administration.

True socialist democracy and the truly socialist character of the participation of the working masses in the management of social production, as well as the coordination of individual and social interests, can be assured only on the basis of social ownership over the means of production, only when workers are truly the owners of these means. But it must be said that socialist democracy is the democracy of the State, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and genuine participation of the working masses in the management of production is the participation that is ensured and guaranteed by the socialist state. «Progress» from capitalism «does not proceed in a simple, direct way, without obstacles through 'ever greater democracy', as the liberal and opportunist petty-bourgeois professors think. No! Progress, that is, towards communism, passes through the dictatorship of the proletariat...»* This is what Lenin teaches. Whereas the Yugoslav revisionists reject the dictatorship of the proletariat, while proclaiming their so-called self-administration as a means of «democracy».

As owners of the means of production, the workers realize the right of ownership in the socialist order, by managing their production in their own interests, on the basis of democratic centralism and by means of the State, which is their representative and faithfully expresses their will. The organizational forms of this management, as the application of democratic centralism in the economy cannot be universal for every country and at all times. But their essence must be one and the same in every instance and in every country: the

extensive involvement and broad and active participation of the working masses in running the state and the economy, in order to speed up the growth of productive forces, to extend and strengthen socialist relations in production, to raise the socialist consciousness, to fight bureaucracy and anything that hinders the full flowering of the creative force of the people.

The practice of the construction of socialism in our country to date, has elaborated many organizational forms which allow the participation of workers in the centralized and planned management of production and the economy, such as the workers’ production meetings, the technical councils in enterprises, economic conferences, meetings of innovators and rationalizers of production, the right of the basic party organizations to check up on the activity of the enterprises, and the activity and rights of tradeunions. These forms and methods assure real and effective participation of workers in the management of production and the economy, in the drafting and implementation of the production plans of the enterprise, in matters of the organization and management of the work, in setting norms of work and pay, in improving the material conditions of the working people on the job and in life, and so on.

Since the so-called system of self-administration has had very grave consequences for the Yugoslav economy and has aroused the discontent of the working masses, at the latest Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists, the revisionists of Belgrade strove with might and main to «prove» that the blame for this allegedly does not lie with the system itself, but with certain shortcomings which allegedly stem from the failure to understand and apply this system properly, from the bureaucratic, liberal, anarchic tendencies etc., which some individuals display. According to the Titoites, the system of «self-administration» could have developed much more smoothly «if there had been more goodwill, less resistance and fewer antagonist tendencies.»

These and other similar arguments about the consequences of the «shortcomings» of the so-called system of self-administration are put forward for the purpose of concealing and covering up the real causes. They show that the Tito revisionist group is deliberately leading the Yugoslav economy onto the road of capitalist development, and this is also the main source and true cause of all the evils that this system gives rise to, and which the working masses of Yugoslavia are compelled to bear.

Hence all the «criticism» and «self-criticism» which the Titoites tried to expound at the Congress on the «various abnormal and capitalist phenomena» that have arisen in the system of «workers’ self-administration» is simply their normal demagogy, a manoeuvre to soothe the feelings of discontent among workers.

Whatever the promises to perfect the system of «self-administration» and the «criticisms» and «self-criticisms» of the Titoites to correct its negative aspects, the economic laws of capitalism, on which this system is based, are doing their work. They
have led and are leading the Yugoslav economy ever more deeply into chaos, spontaneity, unrestrained competition, increased unemployment and exploitation, chronic under-utilization of productive capacities, disproportions, and so on.

3. — Economic and Social Consequences of Yugoslav «Self-administration»

The results attained during this period in Yugoslavia in the economic and social development of the country are the best reflection of the «correctness» of the principles and forms of management of the economy and of the entire Yugoslav system of «self-administration of enterprises» by the working collectives, which the revisionists are boosting so loudly. Hidden behind these «innovations» lie the revision and complete denial of the Marxist theory and the experience up to date of the construction of socialism. As a result of this harmful policy, in the life of the country there are manifestations and consequences identical to those of the capitalist economy, such as the emergence of anarchy and spontaneity, the increase of capitalist elements and speculators in the economy, rising prices and unemployment, the disproportional development of various branches and the different regions of the country, attacks on the standard of living of the working masses, and other manifestations which are evidence of the degeneration of the economy and socialist relations as well as of the capitalist development of the country, as distinguishing features of the Yugoslav order.

In reality, the enterprises subject to workers’ self-administration» are in the clutches of a definite stratum represented by the revisionist leadership which is exploiting the producers. Under the guise of «socialist» slogans and theories and with the all-round support of imperialism, this stratum has turned the common property of the people into a means to exploit the working masses and to maintain the state apparatus, which has degenerated into an apparatus of the dictatorship of Tito’s leading group.

Fierce capitalist competition characterizes these enterprises of «workers’ self-administration» which the revisionists are trying to advertise as enterprises of the highest form of socialist property and democracy in production. This competition and struggle for maximum profits which is going on among enterprises based on «workers’ self-administration» extends to the field of foreign trade, too, resulting in flooding the country with imported goods and the closing or incomplete utilization of national enterprises, in turning many industrial enterprises into appendages of foreign companies and into assembly plants, or simple processing workshops.

The economy and the internal market are characterized by spontaneous and chaotic development. Prices vary within the same city, for the identical type of commodity produced by the one production unit. Just as in a capitalist economy, in the so-called system of «producers’ self-administration», the method of destroying products in
order to keep prices up and secure maximum profits is applied, facts about which are reflected in the Yugoslav daily press. Tito himself, in his speech at Split in May 1962, was obliged to admit that, "Goods are held in the warehouses in order to have few on the market, and thus keep prices up; and the commodities not only sit there but are even allowed to spoil there." Reserves of unsold goods are increasing from year to year. Total reserves of semi-finished and finished goods at the end of 1961 reached the total valued of 1.8 billion dinars while at the end of 1962 they reached the total of 2.2 billion dinars.

Just as in a capitalist economy, the relations between Yugoslav enterprises under "self-administration" are based on the exchange of goods and money, on free competition and the spontaneity of the market. The law of value, based on private and state capitalist property, operates unhindered and in a devastating manner in the Yugoslav economy. As the Yugoslav revisionists admit, and this comes out clearly from their own press, the enterprises are free to orientate their production in any direction at all, but if such an orientation does not respond to the needs of society (expressed in the market) they bear the consequences themselves. When workers do not take into account the criteria of the market their wages fall below the limit set by law. The liquidation of an enterprise is not excluded if its production does not respond to the needs of the market."

A result of "self-management" is not only the "surplus" and elimination of goods, but also the continual closing down of enterprises and the "surplus" of labour power. From Yugoslav figures it turns out that about 500 enterprises close down every year and unemployment is rising to ever greater proportions, a thing which clearly reflects the degeneration of the economy and the fraudulent nature of the "democracy of producers" which has allegedly been established in Yugoslavia on the basis of "workers' self-administration". In February 1963 the number of unemployed workers had reached 339,000, exceeding the 1955 level about five-fold. This unemployment, as one of the gravest social problems, is inseparably connected with the new "discoveries" and "new ways" to "socialism", based on "workers' self-administration". While industrial production in 1962 was double that of 1965, unemployment increased nearly three-fold over the same period. The increase of unemployment in Yugoslavia shows clearly that the economic development in that country can be explained by its close connection with the economic development of the capitalist world, within the framework of its laws and phenomena, a thing which even the revisionist propaganda cannot conceal. The Yugoslav economic press itself stresses that "during the crisis of overproduction in 1961 and 1962, unemployment rose to 9.4 per cent, and this was a direct consequence of the crisis itself." Unemployment, as a chronic disease, is a serious blow to the standard of living of the working masses. From official Yugoslav figures it turns out that in 1962 nearly 80 per cent of the unemployed were under 39 years of age, whereas from the point
of view of their level of qualification, about 17 per cent were skilled workers.

Unemployment is a fellow-traveller of the capitalist mode of production and an insoluble problem for it. Even in the new Constitution of the country, the revisionists were obliged to admit the existence of unemployment as a normal phenomenon, and moreover, they have even formally envisaged guaranteed «assistance» for the unemployed, according to the American system. And what does this assistance that the revisionists «guarantee» the unemployed really represent? From what the Yugoslav press itself writes, it is clear that, first, only a very small number of workers benefit from this «assistance», and second, that through this «assistance» the workers can not secure even the minimal means of subsistence. Let us refer to just one example. The newspaper «Borba», of October 30, 1963, is compelled to admit, among other things, that «in Kosova and Metohia today, there are 43,643 persons without any means of livelihood. Only 8,567 of them receive 'assistance' from the commune (an average of about 40 dinars per day)... The assistance given is mostly symbolic». As to what criterion is followed in granting this assistance, this is explained among other things in the April 5, 1963 issue of the newspaper «Borba». «There are now 15,461 unemployed workers in Zagreb, whereas only 1,368 of them are receiving assistance. One main condition to qualify for assistance is that the total income of the unemployed person or of any member of his family should not exceed 5,000 dinars». As can be seen from this,

not even one unemployed person in five benefits from such «assistance». If we examine what a man can buy in the Yugoslav market with the 40 dinars he receives each day as «assistance», with which he must sustain himself and his family, it turns out that he can buy 50 grams of spinach, or half a packet of the poorest cigarettes. To buy a kilogram of meat he must save up his «assistance» for 20 days. With one day's «assistance» he can make one trip on an urban bus. With 8 days' «assistance» he can buy 1 kilogram of lettuce. To buy 1 kilogram of onions he must have up his «assistance» for three days. With a day's «assistance» he can buy one egg if he can add a few more dinars to that sum. To pay for one month's maintenance of a child at kindergarten or nursery requires more than a whole year's assistance.

The so-called «assistance» and dole for the unemployed are widely advertised in the propaganda of capitalist countries. The revisionists may be bold enough to promise «assistance», for purposes of propaganda, but they cannot dare promise to abolish unemployment. The fifth meeting of Yugoslav economists held at Novisad from December 13 to 14, 1963, remarked that for the new seven years, Yugoslavia will continue to rank among those countries which are characterized by inadequate utilization of the labour force. The economic press of Yugoslavia writes in 1963: «The unemployment of a considerable number of the population is the cause of the low standard of living and poverty of a considerable number of the population of our socialist society. The main charac-
teristic concept of job starts lies in the considerable reduction of the percentage of people starting work over the next seven years.»

The capitalist mode of production is characterized by the incomplete utilization not only of the labour force but also of productive capacities. Chronic and irrational utilization of productive capacities is a phenomenon typical of the Yugoslav economy. The Yugoslav leaders themselves are obliged to admit that the productive capacities are utilized only up to 50 per cent. «We must utilize the existing capacities not just to the extent of 50 or 60 per cent, as occurs at present», said Tito at the 6th Plenum of the CC of the League of Yugoslav Communists. The disruptive action of the spontaneous laws of the capitalist economy, the disproportional development of different branches, especially between branches of the extracting and processing industries, the decentralization and negation of the management of the economy in a planned way, the thirst for profits of enterprises based on «self-administration» give rise to such typical capitalist phenomenon in the Yugoslav economy as chronic under-utilization of productive capacities. Thus, the economic relations among enterprises, which are based on the principles of «self-administration» are not of a socialist character. These capitalist type relations are characterized by greedy, speculative struggle to extract maximum profits.

The degeneration of socialist relations into relations of the capitalist type is reflected, also, in the violation of the socialist principle of distributing the social product according to the quantity and quality of the work performed by each producer. Under the conditions of «workers' self-administration», the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done is not practised because, on the one hand, the free play of the prices of products on the market exists, and on the other hand, because there are no uniform rates of pay.

Distribution in the enterprises based on the principles of «workers' self-administration» is not on the basis of the law of the quantity and quality of work done, but on the basis of the state of the market and the abilities of individual managers in commerce and speculation. The unhindered action of the law of value creates all the objective conditions for the exploitation of man by man, the exploitation of one group of workers by another. Last February, even the President of Yugoslav Trade Unions V. Tempo, was obliged to admit that «even a superficial analysis would show us that the present relations of prices not only distort the principles of distribution according to work done, but also exert a bad influence on economic development, on people's consciousness and on their political activity.»

There is marked inequality in the wages of workers of different enterprises which results not from differences in the productivity of labour, or the better results of the work of one enterprise as against another, but from the profits derived through commercial speculation, through exploiting the state of the market, through the mechanism
of the price structure and the unhindered operation of the law of value. According to official data from the Yugoslav yearbook of statistics, it turns out that the monthly personal income (September 1962) of a worker in the tobacco industry was three times as high in Slovenia as in Macedonia and about four times as high as in Montenegro. The income of a worker in the enterprises of the timber industry was 60 per cent higher in Slovenia than in Macedonia and Croatia. During the same month the number of very low paid industrial workers in Slovenia totalled about 4 per cent, whereas in Macedonia nearly 38 per cent, and in Croatia 14 per cent*.

Thus, on the basis of «workers’ self-administration», exploitation has emerged and is developing, one group of workers is set against another, and thus every trace of the socialist principle of distribution according to work done is being eliminated.

Violation of the socialist principle of distribution according to work done is very marked even within the same collective, for specific categories and groups of people. In the enterprises under «workers’ self-administration», the relations between managers and a specific group of bureaucrats, on one hand, and workers who create the material blessings, on the other, are, in fact, relations between exploiters and exploited.

Although, formally, rates of pay are decided by the so-called workers’ councils, the managers and the privileged administrative personnel have the final say in these councils on the issue of deciding wages and salaries. There is no unified, centralized policy, under strict control, for determining pay regulations and rates of distribution. Practice and the rules established by certain leaders of enterprises aim at increasing their incomes at the workers’ expense, a thing which gives rise to great disproportions in their pay levels. In May, 1962, Tito himself was obliged to admit that «the highest pay is up to 20 times greater than the lowest pay in the same enterprise». As regards the internal sharing of profits and the level of bonuses, it has happened that the managerial staff have received as much as 40 times more than the workers. Thus, as the Yugoslav newspaper «Borba» of February 8, 1964 reports, at the «Sljeme» combine in Zagreb, the annual bonus of 850,000 dinars was shared among only 8 persons (no worker or clerk among them), of whom the director alone received 200,000 dinars. Thus, the director received as much in the form of a bonus as would take an ordinary worker a year and a half to earn in wages. The appropriation of a large part of the income of the enterprise by the director and the other managerial personnel, and their rapid enrichment by blatantly exploiting the fruits of the efforts of workers, is one of the principal forms for the creation of the new bourgeois capitalist element in the conditions of the so-called self-administration.

As a result of the establishment of the system of «workers’ self-administration» and of «democracy of production», the socialist relations are eli-

minated, the exploitation of man by man and other elements of the capitalist economy emerge and develop, and living standards of the working masses are hard hit. While the labouring masses in Yugoslavia live in poverty, a new social group is appropriating and exploiting their labour on the basis of privileges legalized by the system of self-administration. The revisionists themselves cannot conceal the fact that the growth of privileges for a certain group of people, as V. Bakarich points out, «is getting to the point of giving rise to the creation of a new class.»

Thus, the establishment of «workers’ self-administration», «democracy of production», and «independent distribution of products» have put the Yugoslav economy on the course of capitalist development, increasing exploitation of the working masses and the replacement of socialist relations of production with capitalist relations. The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia includes all fields of social activity. The same capitalist phenomena as those we spoke about in industry are apparent, in different forms, but with all their force and severity, in agriculture, trade, transport, culture, art, and everywhere. The process of the re-establishment of capitalism has led inevitably to Yugoslavia’s becoming dependent on the «aid» of US imperialism. Yugoslavia has received «aid» from the capitalist countries amounting to about 5.5 billion dollars, of which about 3.5 billions have come from the US imperialists.

Through the so-called aid, US monopolies, in the first place, and the capital of other imperialist countries are penetrating deeper and deeper into the Yugoslav economy and are drawing immense profits from its exploitation. Far from hindering or opposing such a thing, the Yugoslav leaders are supporting it with all kinds of measures (such as lifting the monopoly on foreign trade, and restrictions on foreign currency, and so on), which open the doors of the Yugoslav economy to foreign capital and facilitate its expansion. Moreover, they go even further. Under the pretext of the «international division of labour» and the struggle against «shutting the economy away in its own shell», the Titoites are trying not only to justify their action of opening the doors of the economy of their country to foreign capital, from the theoretical viewpoint, but to present this as a natural, inevitable process for the economy of every country. The consequences of this course in regard to the US imperialists’ aid and the opening of doors to foreign capital are extremely grave for the Yugoslav economy and completely to the advantage of US monopoly capital.

By means of this «aid», the Yugoslav market is continually at the mercy of imperialist dumping, through which foreign monopolies, particularly those of the USA, secure profits by exploiting the working masses of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav economy has been turned into a market for profitable investments of US capital. Many industrial enter-

* Discussion at the meeting of the committee of the League of Communists of the city of Zagreb, September 1964.
prises in Yugoslavia are, in fact, assembly shops belonging to foreign capitalist monopolies, because they produce on the basis of licenses from these monopolies and are dependent on the semi-fabricated materials and spare parts which these monopolies supply. As a result of dumping by monopolies and foreign investments, the Yugoslav economy has become more and more unbalanced, while industry has received severe blows from the very powerful and unrestricted competition of the industry of imperialist countries. It is the smaller enterprises, first of all, which have been hard hit by this competition, and under the double pressure of foreign monopolies and the big local enterprises, they have been compelled to cease their activity, to close their doors and turn the workers out on the street. As a consequence, the labour market is expanding and the foreign monopolies are buying cheap labour power and exporting it to their own countries in order to exploit it mercilessly. Finally, the Yugoslav economy has been turned into a base from which the capitalist monopolies and imperialism are supplied with strategic raw materials.

The infiltration of foreign capital and the links it establishes with the big Yugoslav industrial enterprises in their competitive struggle against the minor enterprises have greatly accelerated the creation of monopolies. The creation of monopolies in the Yugoslav economy is now an established fact. In certain branches of Yugoslav industry 4 or 5 of the biggest enterprises have monopolized from 80 to 100 per cent of the production in that branch, and exert a major influence on the entire economy of the country. Taking advantage of their monopoly situation, these enterprises dominate the market, dictate high selling prices, exert pressure on other enterprises in order to ruin them, and realize very great profits by exploiting the working class and all the working people of the country. These enterprises are showing an ever increasing tendency to make approaches to, and link up, with foreign capital, a thing which is supported both by the revisionist leadership and by imperialism, since both sides are equally interested in making the maximum profits possible at the expense of the working masses.

Since the aim of monopoly enterprises is to secure profits and can never be to protect the general interests of the national economy, or of individual provinces of the country, the disproportion between branches and inequality in the economic development of the different republics and regions has become even more marked in Yugoslavia. On this basis, chauvinistic sentiments have increased and the wave of bourgeois nationalism has engulfed the various nationalities of Yugoslavia.

This is the real meaning and purpose of the «aid» which international imperialism, particularly US imperialism, is giving Yugoslavia. This is why imperialism is not only lavishing praise on the Yugoslav specific socialism but is also financing and assisting it unsparingly with all its means.

The facts show that the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia is a clear and undeniable
phenomenon. Proceeding on the course of capitalist development, the Titoite leadership is trying to hide behind a smokescreen of demagogy about "workers' self-administration", so that it can play its role as an agency of imperialism more effectively.

4. The Aims of Revisionist and Imperialist Propaganda in Spreading Self-administration

The focussing of the attention of the 8th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists on the so-called system of workers' self-administration as well as the big fuss made about it was by no means accidental. On the contrary, it had a definite purpose, to defend and justify "theoretically" and to spread the views of the Titoite revisionists on reactionary bourgeois socialism beyond the border of Yugoslavia, to disseminate their line of the restoration of capitalism, and to teach the whole world how society should be transformed through peaceful evolution.

At the Congress, the Titoites took great pains to present the so-called system of self-administration as the only correct method, as the only way available for the construction of socialism, while recommending it both for the countries which are building socialism and for all other countries which want to build the socialist order.

When the international communist and workers' movement was united in the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, the latter came out openly against the socialist camp and the international communist movement. But when revisionism, supported by N. Khrushchev and his followers, began to spread in the communist movement, the Yugoslav leadership changed its tactics. Now, having the support of the US imperialism and the Khrushchev group, it is striving in every way to extend its interference in the socialist countries.

The construction of "socialism" with the aid of US imperialism and by means of the so-called workers' self-administration and democracy of production are the main directions of the influence which the Tito revisionist group are trying to exert on the socialist countries so that they, too, embark on the course of the restoration of capitalism and peaceful evolution from socialism to capitalism.

The Yugoslav leaders are trying to use the system of "workers' self-administration" as a means of subversion in the developing countries, too, in order to lead them away from socialism and to set them on their "specific" road to capitalist development. It is a known fact that the development of the world system of socialism and the achievements it has attained have aroused sympathy for socialism and the socialist road to their further development, among the peoples of the world, especially among the peoples who have thrown off the colonial yoke, and have won their independence. The imperialists and neo-colonialists are fighting hard against this tendency. Under the cloak of non-alignment or specific socialism, Tito is making special efforts to penetrate the emerg-
ing countries, with the aim of serving the interests of the imperialism and neo-colonialism. The publicizing of «self-administration» and the recommending of this experience as the magic means to build socialism is designed to deceive the emerging countries, to lead them down specific roads into the clutches of neo-colonialism and to condemn them to perpetual slavery. But the peoples of these countries are well aware of the nature of capitalism and the capitalist course of development, because they have been forced to test all the consequences of this development - oppression, ruthless exploitation, denial of the most elementary democratic rights and freedoms of the worker, violation of every shred of his dignity, on their own backs. Hence, just as they distrust the Titoites in politics, so they distrust their «self-administration», or any other fraudulent system.

It is well known that after the Second World War the bourgeois ideologists, with a view to counterbalancing the ideas of socialism, tried to persuade the working masses that present-day capitalism has changed, that it has become «people's» capitalism, and so on. Indeed, in some capitalist countries like Britain, France, Western Germany, Italy, Scandinavian countries and Finland, a number of different forms have been created which allegedly allow workers to take part in the management of enterprises, and this allegedly demonstrates the «new nature», the «democratic» character of capitalism. Today, the monopoly bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries is giving ever great importance to «workers' participation in the management of enterprises», since this has proved to be an effective means of real advantage to monopolies, a means which can assist the capitalists in increasing their profits through the intensification of labour, in reconciliation of class interests in the enterprise, in diminishing the revolutionary spirit and the class struggle, and in the deception of the working masses.

And precisely in these circumstances, the Titoite group comes to the aid of the monopoly bourgeoisie with their theory of «workers' self-administration». According to the Yugoslav revisionists, the so-called workers' self-administration can be used successfully in capitalist countries, too, as a means for the «transformation» of society to socialism with no need for a socialist revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the elimination of capitalist private property in the means of production. This is the precise essence of the peaceful road of the socialist revolution which the Yugoslav revisionists preach for advanced capitalist countries. There is no doubt that even the monopoly bourgeoisie would willingly accept such a course of the socialist transformation of society, because in it, they see no danger or threat to their vital interests. This is precisely why many representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie consider «workers' self-administration» as a model for all advanced capitalist countries in order to mislead the working class and wean it away from the socialist revolution, and its revolutionary class struggle. Otherwise, if the «workers' councils» and other forms of «self-administration» really repre-
sented the socialist transformation of society, as the Yugoslav revisionists preach, the capitalists would never have permitted their existence, would never have allowed them to be set up. The capitalists allow and help spread any illusion about the socialist «transformation» of society just so long as this does not affect their vital interests, namely, their hold on political power and the main means of production.

There are innumerable examples of the economic chaos and worsening of the situation, and the attack on the standard of living of the working masses since the 8th Congress. The Titoites themselves feel obliged to speak of the bitter reality in Yugoslavia. Their gloomy reports are full of shortcomings, weaknesses and backwardness in all fields of life. But present-day Yugoslavia will not be rescued from the impasse into which the revisionist course has led it merely with demagogic observations. And it is an act of betrayal towards the Yugoslav people to lull them with illusions, as the Khrushchevites are doing, that the Yugoslav leadership is allegedly embarking on the road to socialism.

For 16 years now the Marxist-Leninists have been fully acquainted with the ideology and hostile activity of the Titoites against socialism and peace, against the freedom and independence of the peoples. It is clear to them that the 8th Congress of the Yugoslav revisionists, which was held on the basis of the Program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, was a new plot of the counter-revolutionary forces, that it will serve the same anti-Marxist, anti-socialist, pro-imperialist aims and designs as the 7th and previous Congresses. Any support for this Congress, like that given by the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers, is support for the agents of imperialism in the ranks of the communist movement. Every principled struggle to expose the Titoite clique, to expose the ideology of modern revisionism, defends Marxism-Leninism, strengthens the socialist camp, and strengthens the unity of the communist and workers' movement. Therefore the Marxist-Leninists will continue to fight with the same determination and devotion to principle as in the past, against the ideology and undermining activity of the Tito clique, honourably performing their internationalist duty to the 1960 Moscow Declaration, signed by 81 parties, which states: «The further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and active struggle to preserve the communist movement as well as the workers' movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an indispensable duty of Marxist-Leninist parties.»

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THE SPLITIST REVISIONIST MEETING OF MARCH 1st — A MAJOR PLOT AGAINST MARXISM-LENINISM AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

From the article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

March 18, 1965

The revisionist Soviet leadership and those who follow it have committed a major crime against the world communist movement and the cause of socialism. Disregarding the grave warnings of Marxism-Leninist parties, they held their infamous meeting in Moscow from March 1st to March 5th 1965, and with this act took a very dangerous step towards a total and irrevocable split in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

This act completely tore the mask from the present Soviet leaders and once again revealed their real features to the entire world. It proved that they are faithful followers of the anti-Marxist and splitist line of N. Khrushchev, that they are putting into effect what their chief did not succeed in doing; it proved that, along with Khrushchev, they are the greatest plotters and splitters that the history of the world communist movement has ever known, incorrigible revisionists and renegades from Marxism-Leninism and allies and aids of imperialism.

The meeting the revisionists held in Moscow was conducted on the basis of a plan worked out by the revisionist Soviet leadership at the time when N. Khrushchev was in the saddle. It is known that, according to the Khrushchevite plan, this meeting was to have been held under the name of the «Editorial Commission», on December 15 last year.

The program for this meeting was laid down in the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of July 30, 1964, and was approved with unrestrained enthusiasm in the official statements of a number of revisionist parties and leaders. Judging by the platform on the basis of which the «Commission» was to work, the purpose of the meeting was to condemn the Marxist-Leninist parties, particularly the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, as «dogmatists»; to «expel» them from the communist movement; to work out the «collective measures» to be taken in the struggle against these parties and Marxism-Leninism as a whole. Thus, the main purpose of the meeting was to be to bring about a final split in the communist movement in the organizational plane, too. The Khrushchevite revisionists were to take upon
themselves the role of «unbiased judges», and «resolute defenders of genuine Marxism-Leninism». On the basis of the platform put forward in the above mentioned letter of the CC of the CPSU, at the December 15th meeting, the revisionists were to work out a new document «taking into account the new conditions that have been created in the world», which would replace the 1960 Moscow Declaration, which, revisionists claim, is outdated. Among the most important issues to be taken up was that of the official rehabilitation of the Tito clique. Finally, after the new platform had been worked out, the Commission would have the task of taking all the necessary measures so that the general conference of world communism could be held in the summer of 1965.

The removal of N. Khrushchev from the political scene, as well as the opposition the revisionists encountered in connection with the organization of this anti-Marxist meeting caused, first, its postponement from December 15 to March 1st, and later, on the eve of the meeting, a change in its name to a «consultative gathering of representatives of communist and workers' parties.» Thus only the name and time of meeting changed, but its purpose did not change at all. This meeting is the realization of the one planned by the Khrushchevites for December 15th.

As the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties have pointed out earlier, the March 1st meeting is still a completely illegal meeting because it was called in an arbitrary manner, without consultation with the sister parties, without their approval and in disregard of their firm opposition. It constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles and norms governing the relations between parties.

Organized under the dictate of the Soviet revisionist leadership, the March 1st meeting, remains a splittist and factional meeting of a handful of revisionist leaders, a meeting aimed at completely smashing the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement, directed against sister parties and all genuine revolutionaries who resolutely oppose modern revisionism. This is a typical meeting of inveterate conspirators who, on the one hand, scream about «unity» and «solidarity», and on the other hand, secretly sharpen their knives to stab the revolution in the back. Through this meeting the Khrushchevite troika of Brezhnev-Mikoyan-Kosygin tried to regroup the scattered revisionist forces, to keep them under their control, and together with them, to work out the «most appropriate» plan and tactics for a more effective fight against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. This is a preliminary attempt to lay the basis for a special organization of the revisionist forces to fight Marxism and all consistent revolutionaries. Thus the Soviet revisionist leaders and their allies are stubbornly proceeding on the same course of betrayal as the 2nd International and are becoming principal centres for the falsification of Marxism-Leninism and the quelling of the revolutionary movement in the world.

Marxist-Leninist parties have striven with might and main to avoid a complete and final
split, have struggled resolutely to preserve the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement. More than once they have advised the revisionists to give up their disruptive line and actions and return to positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. But all in vain. The modern revisionists, particularly the Khrushchevites, deliberately, and step by step, not only provoked the split but kept on deepening it until now, with the factional and conspirational meeting of March 1st, they decided to carry it through to the end. 

By organizing their factional and divisive meeting, the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers assume all the grave historic responsibility for this unparalleled act of betrayal.

While preserving intact all the aims which N. Khrushchev had in view for his December 15 meeting and trying to carry them out to the letter, in the communique issued on March 10, the revisionists did not display their hostile intentions as brutally as had been planned.

Combined into one in this revisionist communique are the demagogy with which the revisionists try to deceive the peoples and the revolutionaries, the fear of Marxist-Leninist justice and the principled struggle, which the communists and revolutionaries everywhere in the world are waging against revisionism, that has griped the renegades, and the hatred and enmity which the revisionists nurture against communism, the revolution, the peoples, and their national liberation struggle. In short this communique faithfully reflects the current features of Khrushchevite revisionism.

Demagogy has always been a favourite disguise of modern revisionism. But on the occasion of their March 1st meeting the Khrushchevite revisionists made more wholesale use of it than ever before. In fact a relatively large space in so short a document has been devoted to the revisionists’ many demagogic oaths about their concern for the «unity and solidarity of the communist movement and the socialist camp», about their alleged «desire» to be united in «the common fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism», about their «active support» for the national liberation movement of the peoples and the struggle for the vital interests and historic aims of the working class, about «their respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all states», about their «loyalty» to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and so on and so forth.

The restrained tone and «pathetic» appeals of the communique are not to be accounted for by demagogy alone, at which the revisionists are masters, but mainly by their fear of an open and direct confrontation with the Marxist-Leninists, by the difficult situation in which the revisionists find themselves. It is obvious from the communique that the Soviet revisionist leaders failed to «smooth down» the other revisionists as they should, hence they were unable to define a common line for revisionism and to eliminate the division that exists within their ranks. This is confirmed also by the statements of the head of the Italian delegation.
who, upon his return to Rome, pointed out that in connection with "certain views [expressed at the meeting] the stand of the Italian communists differed from that of other comrades". These are precisely the reasons that the authors of the communiqué were compelled to choose their words carefully, and to camouflage their hostility to Marxism-Leninism with demagogy.

The present Soviet leadership is trying to impose this demagogic document, which is in complete accord with the new tactic of carrying on with N. Khrushchev's line of betrayal but without raising too much fuss about it, without disputes and polemics, on the entire international communist movement. For this reason, the participants in the meeting organized by the Soviet leaders sent this communiqué to all communist and workers' parties so that they might publicly approve and sanction it before it was published. And now the Soviet revisionist leaders are doing their uttermost to legalize and present it as a "joint document of the whole world communist movement", and thus use it as a means of "collective pressure" on the Marxist-Leninist parties. This is, in fact, another attempt of the Soviet leaders to impose the so-called "will of the majority", in other words, the will of the Soviet leaders and of a handful of their revisionist supporters, on the "sister" parties, allegedly in the name of the whole communist movement.

The tone in which the March 10th communiqué has been formulated must, of course, have been disheartening to N. Khrushchev, the bankrupt chief of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Probably he had not expected such a timid stand on the part of his zealous pupils. Nor has this communiqué pleased the renegade Tito, with whom the fear that the new Soviet leaders display, whether in regard to the open struggle against Marxism-Leninism or in regard to the official rehabilitation of the Titoite clique, does not go down at all. Tito expected that the March 1st meeting would express itself publicly on these issues and not furtively, in stale terms. The failure to officially revoke the condemnation of the League of Yugoslav Communists in the 1960 Declaration is a great loss for Titoism, which is now making a lot of noise about the "benefits" of the Yugoslav Titoite-capitalist system, dispatching such activists as V. Vlahovich and Co. far and wide to deliver theoretical lectures on this theme (only theoretical, for the practical results can only be deplored). And at a time when their revisionist friends are not publicly defining the position of Titoism in the communist movement, these preachings sound like a "sermon in the desert", for neither Titoite theory nor Titoite practice convince any one.

Stripped of its demagogical veneer, the communiqué issued after the close of the revisionists' divisive meeting reveals the real intentions of the revisionists to make their fight against the Marxist-Leninist parties as effective as possible and to achieve their counter-revolutionary aims. In order to facilitate the examination of this communiqué and the secret aims behind its demagogical phrases we shall dwell, in this article, on four main ques-
tions: 1) the «anti-imperialism» of the modern revisionists; 2) the polemic between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists; 3) revisionism and factionalism; 4) the revisionist concepts about unity.

«Anti-imperialism» in Words, Pro-imperialism in Deeds

The fundamental idea that runs through the communiqué of the splitist meeting in Moscow is that of «anti-imperialism», the idea allegedly about the need «for unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, on the issue of worldwide support for the people's liberation movements, in the struggle for general peace and peaceful coexistence... in the struggle for the vital interests and historic aims of the working class».

It must be said that, in words, the theme of «anti-imperialism» has become the favourite one for the Khrushchevite revisionists, especially in recent times. Their objective is to mislead the peoples and the revolutionaries, to win their trust, so that they may more easily carry out their pro-imperialist policy in practice.

The idea of the unity of all the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world is a great one. The establishment and consolidation of the anti-imperialist front is the most important task of the time, in order to combat the aggressive and war-mongering policy of imperialism headed by US imperialism, the policy of oppression and enslavement of the peoples. The anti-imperialist front of peoples of the whole world is the decisive force for the defence and development of socialism, for the liberation of the peoples, for the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world. The Marxist-Leninists have been and are always in favour of this front and stand in the front ranks of the fight against imperialism.

But unity and collaboration in the struggle against imperialism is possible only with forces that really take an anti-imperialist stand, who not just in words but also in deeds, wage a resolute struggle against imperialism, and especially against US imperialism, which is the head and main fortress of world reaction, the most ruthless foe of the peoples of the world. But the modern revisionists, with their entire political course, with all their activity and practices, have placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front. They are in favour of the struggle against imperialism only in words, for purposes of demagogy, while in deeds they undermine the anti-imperialist front, collaborate with imperialism, particularly with US imperialism, and in reality serve its policy and aims. The facts prove that the stand of the revisionists is not anti-imperialist but pro-imperialist.

Starting from the 20th Congress, the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers began to follow the line of rapprochement and collaboration with imperialism, especially with US imperialism, in all fields, the line of undermining the people's struggle against imperialism, the line of sabotaging the revolution. This line finds its embodiment in the Khrushchevite policy of so-called «peaceful
coexistence», «peaceful competition» and «the peaceful way». They did all they could to impose this treacherous opportunist line on all communist and workers' parties, and all the anti-imperialist forces.

With unrestrained zeal, the revisionists began noisily to propagate their pro-imperialist views, to spread all kinds of illusions about the alleged change in the nature of imperialism, about the possibility of «the elimination of wars from the life of society for ever, beginning from today», about the immediate establishment of «a world without weapons, without armies and without wars», about the «wisdom» and «reasonableness» of the imperialist leaders — Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson & Co, about their «sincere desire and concern for peace», etc. In the final analysis, the revisionist sermons on the change in the nature of US imperialism are nothing but a theory of capitulation which is aimed at splitting the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples. The revisionists have prettified imperialism and aimed to lull the vigilance of the peoples by claiming that the imperialists have allegedly renounced war and armed aggression and have seriously taken up the call for «peaceful competition», even that they can help the development and progress of the peoples of backward countries, especially with the means released by disarmament, and so on and so forth.

Distorting the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries, the revisionists proclaimed it as «the general line of the foreign policy of socialist countries», as «the only way and the best way to settle all the vital issues facing human society», as «the general line for the triumph of socialism on a world scale», and they extended the principle of coexistence also to the relations between exploiting and exploited classes, between oppressed peoples and imperialist oppressors, turned it into «the categoric imperative of our time», «the fundamental task» of the peoples of all countries, into «the supreme aim» to which everything should be subjected.

As is known, the Soviet-US friendship and collaboration became the supreme ideal about which the Khrushchevite revisionists dream day and night. For the sake of this «ideal» they renounced the struggle against imperialism, have made and continue to make unprincipled concessions, one after another, plotting with it behind the backs and to the detriment of the peoples. For the sake of this «ideal» they shamefully capitulated during the Caribbean crisis, approved the aggressive activities of US imperialism in putting down the Congolese people and their national liberation movement, they signed the infamous Moscow Treaty, renounced the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, etc.

The Khrushchevite revisionists followed the line of sabotaging the revolutionary national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They tried to counterpose the revolutionary and national liberation struggle of the peoples to the struggle for peace, made «peace under any conditions and at any price», «peace with everyone above all» their credo, thus abandon-
ing all the revolutionary principles and ideals, slipping completely into the mire of defeatism, pessimism, and bourgeois pacifism. Not the resolute struggle of the peoples against imperialism, but Khrushchevite «peaceful coexistence», «peaceful competition», total general disarmament and the United Nations Organization is what the revisionists claim will bring the peoples freedom and progress!

Despite that, the Soviet revisionist leaders, as well as the communiqué of the splittist meeting of March 1st are now swearing by their «anti-imperialism». Has something changed? Can it be said that those people have abandoned their former course in the service of imperialism and have now become resolute «anti-imperialists»? The facts show that neither the Soviet leaders nor their followers of the splittist meeting have changed in the least from what they were before. They firmly uphold the Khrushchevite pro-imperialist line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses. The Soviet revisionist leaders have maintained their former alliances and are concluding fresh alliances with US imperialism, they are dreaming of, and working for, the strengthening of the «allround Soviet-US collaboration». Just like N. Khrushchev, they continue to conspire, together with the US imperialists and other reactionary forces, against the fraternal socialist countries and peoples. The collaboration of the Soviet revisionist leaders with the US imperialists was most clearly and concretely exposed at the recent session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, where as you know, the secret agreement of the Khrushchevite revisionists with the imperialists to paralyze the work of this organization, to make it impossible for it to take up the issues before it (especially the question of re-establishing the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization and the question of the US imperialist aggression in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam), in order to turn the United Nations Organization into an obedient tool to serve their great power interests and to impose their will and dictate on smaller nations, was disclosed. True to their course of betrayal, the Khrushchevite revisionists voted, together with the US imperialists, against the Albanian motion demanding the return to normal proceedings of the United Nations Organization and the rejection of imperialist blackmail over it.

The «anti-imperialism» of the present Soviet leaders was also shown up in their stand on the US imperialist aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. At a time when a powerful wave of indignation and protest had burst out all over the world, on the orders of the Soviet revisionist leadership, the protest demonstration by Soviet and foreign students in front of the US Embassy in Moscow was brutally and bloodily suppressed. This is how they immediately «concretized» the statement issued by the splittist meeting in Moscow which called for «energetic actions...» in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people!!

The duplicity of the stand of the Soviet revisionist leaders towards the heroic struggle of
the Vietnamese people is also seen in the fact that, precisely when on the orders of Johnson, the bombs of US imperialism were dropping on the territory of socialist Vietnam, the Soviet Government, through Kosygin, affirmed once again that, irrespective of the events in Vietnam, the invitation extended to President Johnson to visit Moscow as «the guest of the Soviet Union» always remained open.

In one of his speeches over the Soviet television, revisionist Kosygin made an «appeal» that North Vietnam should not be bombed because in this way the conflict would «spread beyond its original bounds», but he did not demand the withdrawal of the US and satellite armies from South Vietnam and the whole of Indochina, which is the decisive condition for normalizing the situation in Southeast Asia. The Soviet revisionists try to «settle» the Vietnamese problem through talks, but while preserving the status quo and respecting the demands and interests of US imperialism which, as is known, wants to talk from positions of strength.

This, then, is the «anti-imperialism» of the Soviet revisionists! Life has proved that the Soviet revisionist leaders behave like chauvinists towards smaller nations, whether or not they are socialist countries, and even use the club to make them submit, whereas towards the US imperialists they show their «magnanimity» and retreat, betraying the interests of socialism and of the peoples. Against the People’s Republic of Albania, a small socialist country which opposed revisionism and courageously upheld the Marxist-Leninist truth, the Khrushchevites revisionists were quick to display their «valor», even breaking off diplomatic relations with it, whereas towards US imperialism, which is dropping bombs on socialist Vietnam, they simply utter demagogic phrases and take no concrete steps at all. With socialist Albania, all trade relations were cut off immediately — they would not even sell us literary and technical-scientific books, whereas with US imperialism, which is attacking the fraternal socialist countries, the Khrushchevites revisionists carry on trade and all kinds of economic and cultural relations and even accept credits from it. The revisionists claim that trade relations are necessary and indispensable, that they should be developed regardless of political and ideological disagreements, or even of differences between social-economic systems. But in fact, in their trade relations with Albania, they did not abide by this principle at all. They used the cutting off of trade relations as a political sanction, and through this action they aimed at establishing an allround boycott of a socialist country. Why such a stand towards a socialist country, and why are such sanctions not applied against imperialism?

It is obvious that the revisionists could not give a frank answer to these questions. Their two-faced attitude is connected with the fact that the Khrushchevites are anti-socialist and pro-imperialist. To pretend to be opposed to imperialism while really pursuing the policy of rapprochement with imperialism, strengthening economic relations and
taking credits from it — this is a major deception.

Thus the facts show that the revisionist' bombastic words that allegedly they are for the struggle against imperialism and support the world revolutionary and national liberation movements are a bluff, a demagogic manoeuvre to conceal their true features in order to gain some sort of political capital. The so-called «anti-imperialism» of the revisionists, which is professed in the communiqué of the divisive meeting as well as by the Soviet revisionist leaders, is not at all a thing that unites them with the Marxist-Leninists, but precisely the main gulf that separates them, it is the most fundamental issue over which differences exist in the communist movement today. The revisionists have wiped out any distinction between friends and foes, they have set out on the road of unity with imperialism for the purpose of fighting socialism, on the road to uniting with the USA and with the reactionaries of various countries for the purpose of fighting the peoples and their liberation and revolutionary movement, on the road of unity with the servants and agents of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism, with Tito and the Right-wing leaders of social-democracy, for the purpose of fighting Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces in the world. To unite with the revisionists in the anti-imperialist front means to introduce the «Trojan horse» into this front. Therefore, the words of the great Lenin, that without resolute struggle against opportunism and revisionism the fight against imperialism cannot be effective or successful, sound as valid today as ever. The anti-imperialist front of the peoples of the world will grow bigger and stronger without the revisionists and in irreconcilable struggle against them.

The «anti-imperialist» demagogy of the revisionists is not new in the communist movement. The opportunists of the 2nd International made use of a similar demagogy in their time, before, and following the First World War. Just like the revisionists of today, Kautsky and Co. came to the assistance of the imperialists with all their attitudes and activities, to deceive the people, to divert their attention from the struggle against imperialism, to weaken and undermine this struggle, to prettify imperialism and disguise its aggressive and war-mongering policy. Through their conduct the revisionists of the 2nd International and all the other renegades from the working class aided the imperialists and became their collaborators in launching two world wars. The Khrushchevite revisionists of today, too, with all their policy and activities, are helping imperialism and making it easier for it to prepare and launch aggressive wars against socialism and peoples, thus becoming its collaborators and tools.

Before the Marxist-Leninists of today stands the historic task of exposing the «anti-imperialist» demagogy of the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, of exposing their real features as servants of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism, of not allowing them to deceive the peoples or to conspire with imperialism to the people's cost.
The Public Polemic Is Inevitable and Indispensable

The communiqué of the splittist meeting says: «The parties represented at the meeting expressed themselves in favour of the cessation of open polemics which have an unfriendly character and are abusive of sister parties. At the same time, they consider it useful to continue, in a comradely way, the exchange of opinions on the important issues of our times which represent common interests».

The revisionists have long wanted and have even insisted on putting an end to the public polemic. Khrushchev himself several times called for this.

The polemic the revisionists claim, is a great evil, and very dangerous, because it diverts attention from the struggle against the common enemy, undermines the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement, creates serious difficulties, especially for the communist parties in the capitalist countries, benefits imperialism, and so on and so forth.

The revisionists are great hypocrites. It is an established fact that it was precisely the revisionists who brought our differences to light before the enemy and embarked on public polemics with a series of attacks and unrestrained slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania, from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, and later, against the Communist Party of China and other sister Marxist-Leninists parties.

On what basis, then, do the revisionists, who started the polemic themselves, now demand that it cease? Why has this polemic, which was allegedly correct, beneficial and principled before, now turned into the opposite? There is only one explanation for this: when the polemic was, or seemed to be, to the advantage of the revisionists, they did not hesitate to start it and proclaim it as the highest expression of «Leninist principle»; but when they saw that in open confrontation with the Marxist-Leninists they were being exposed and suffering defeat after defeat, the revisionists «came to their senses» and began to demand an immediate cessation of the polemic, calling it «a real catastrophe» for the communist movement! There you have a typical example of the Khrushchevite revisionists' «lofty dedication to principle», which is equal to the purest pragmatism!

The present polemic is of a major character, dealing with the most fundamental theoretical and practical issues of communism. Having been started by the revisionists, it has now become unavoidable and indispensable, because the Khrushchevite revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and replaced it with opportunism and revisionism, have betrayed proletarian internationalism and replaced it with the great state chauvinism and national self-interest, have betrayed the cause of the revolution and socialism and have made the cause of the bourgeoisie and
imperialism their own, have betrayed unity and solidarity and have brought about the splitting of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. As a consequence of all this, in the communist movement two trends, two opposite and irreconcilable lines confronted each other, the one Marxist-Leninist, the other revisionist. The differences in the communist movement went beyond the bounds of an internal dispute and turned into differences between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists and opportunists.

The polemic is being waged today over such major issues of principle as: should Marxism-Leninism be upheld, or should it be proclaimed obsolete and discarded; should imperialism and its aggressive war-mongering policy be fought, or should one capitulate to it, reconciling oneself and collaborating with it; should the cause of the revolution and socialism be defended and carried forward, or should one turn back towards the restoration of capitalism; should the communist parties be defended and strengthened as revolutionary parties, or should they be destroyed and turned into reformist social-democratic parties; should proletarian internationalism, the Marxist-Leninist norms in relations between socialist countries and communist parties be upheld and their unity and solidarity be strengthened, or should the line of great state chauvinism and the splitting of the international communist movement be followed.

It is clear that no cessation of the polemic is possible so long as the revisionists have not given up, but keep going further and further down their course of betrayal and disruption. To cease the polemic at this time would mean to give up defending Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to give up defending the cause of the revolution and socialism, to give up defending unity and solidarity. Loyal to their revolutionary ideals, the Marxist-Leninists are determined to continue the polemic which has been started and carry it through to the end. The public polemic will cease only when the modern revisionists have been fully exposed and finally defeated.

The public polemic has caused the revisionists a lot of trouble and put them in great difficulties. It has revealed their features as traitors and added to, and deepened, the contradictions in the ranks of the revisionist groupings, has encouraged the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world and given a new impetus to their fight against revisionism. In demanding the cessation of the polemic, the revisionists want to avoid further exposure, to patch up the gaps in the revisionist front, to consolidate their shaky positions, to hinder the process of differentiation in the international communist movement, to be left in peace and unmolested in their work to implement their course of betrayal.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been and is fully convinced that far from contradicting and undermining unity, continuation of the present polemic is the only correct way to re-establish and consolidate the unity of the communist movement on the only possible basis — on the basis
of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Since the differences are over major, fundamental issues of principle and strategy, differences between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists, cessation of the public polemic would be to the benefit only of the revisionists, whereas its continuation will help clear up the truth and lead, through struggle, to a new unity, on a new basis, to true Marxist-Leninist unity without revisionists and against revisionism.

The Marxist-Leninists will continue the polemic in a principled way and will not change their attitude towards it. The present polemic is a major struggle of historic significance for the future of the world revolutionary and liberation movement. In the course of this struggle the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world grow and become tempered, our revolutionary doctrine is developed and enriched, and the world revolutionary movement receives a new impetus and mounts to ever higher level. Just like the other polemics in the past, the present polemic will inevitably lead to fresh victories for Marxism-Leninism, for socialism and communism.

The Splitters and Factionists Disguise Themselves with Cries against the «Split» and «Factionalism»

In the general demagogic spirit that runs right through the document of the splitist meeting of March 1st, the revisionists, allegedly concerned about the cause of unity, emerge as partisans and champions of the principles of proletarian internationalism, of Marxist-Leninist norms in relations between communist and workers' parties, and between socialist countries.

But who has violated these norms and principles? Who has brutally interfered in the internal affairs of other parties and countries?

By betraying Marxism-Leninism and by pursuing and propagating an anti-Marxist line, the modern revisionists undermined the ideological and political basis of the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement. But their departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and betrayal of them, led the revisionists inevitably to departure from, and betrayal of, the principles of proletarian internationalism, too, to violation of the principles and norms governing relations between socialist countries and communist parties, to slipping into positions of great state chauvinism and national self-interest.

Since the 20th Congress, the Krushchevite group has flagrantly violated the principle of the equality and independence of sister parties and fraternal countries and established relations of subservience and domination in the socialist camp and the communist movement, has introduced the concept and method of «the band-master's baton» and of the «mother party» to which all should kneel obeissance. It has violated the principle of working out common views through consultation and introduced into the communist movement the principle of commandism, of taking decisions on important issues of general interest in a complete-
ly arbitrary fashion, consulting no one and facing others with a *fait accompli*.

In order to put the socialist countries under its all-round control, the Khrushchev group has tried to infringe their sovereignty, has brutally interfered in their internal affairs, and organized activities to undermine them.

In order to impose its course of betrayal on others, the group of Soviet leaders extended the ideological differences into the field of state relations with the socialist countries, exerted all-round political, economic, and military pressure on them, going as far as to establish economic blockades, organize military provocations, and break off diplomatic relations. It was precisely the Khrushchevite revisionists who went so far as to take the enemies of the people’s regime, the agents of imperialism, openly under their protection and to launch public calls for counter-revolution in Albania.

Such are the facts, and the whole world is already acquainted with them.

It is clear that when the communiqué of the splitist meeting speaks about respecting norms and non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties, the Soviet revisionists and their followers are attacking the Marxist-Leninist parties. They are most annoyed about the aid these parties give the new Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces which are emerging, growing, and becoming stronger everywhere in the world. By «interference in internal affairs» the revisionists imply precisely this aid, and want the Marxist-

Leninist parties to give up «this factional activity», as they term it. Really and truly, revisionist impudence knows no bounds! It is precisely the revisionists who have carried out and continue to carry out all-round subversive and factional activity in the ranks of the communist and workers’ movement, who have taken under their protection and have given all kinds of aid to the renegades from the working class and the socialist cause.

The rift in the ranks of many parties has come about because the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and their followers have imposed their revisionist line on various parties. The spread of revisionism could not fail to encounter the resistance and determined opposition of those revolutionaries who stand loyal to the ideals of communism. This is an entirely lawful and inevitable process: wherever revisionism manifests itself, the Marxist-Leninists cannot fail to rise up and fight it. The revisionists themselves have deepened and are deepening this process through their conduct and their activities. Under these circumstances the Marxist-Leninists have no other choice but to organize themselves in new groups and parties to defend Marxism-Leninism, to advance the cause of the revolution and to fight revisionism. Thus it is clear that the struggle being waged today within or outside individual communist parties in various countries where the leaders are revisionists, is nothing but a manifestation of the same struggle that is being waged on an international scale between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, it is the
struggle between these two opposing lines on a national scale.

The revisionists hullabaloo about stopping the so-called «factional activity», and their slanders and accusations against the revolutionary communists of the new Marxist-Leninist groups and parties, whom they call «renegades», «anti-party elements», «deserters» and so on, are testimony to just one thing: to the great fear that has seized the revisionists in the face of the rapid process of the differentiation of forces that is going on in individual parties and the international communist movement as a whole. But far from intimidating the revolutionary communists, the revisionists’ slanders, accusations and attacks make them even more strongly convinced that they are on the right track, increase their hatred for the revisionists and step up their efforts to develop the revolutionary movement. No matter how contemptuously the revisionists speak of the revolutionary communists, no matter how many intrigues and plots they hatch up, together with reactionaries, against them, they will be quite unable to stop the growth and consolidation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups and their revolutionary struggle.

As to the support the sister Marxist-Leninist parties give the revolutionary communist comrades in various countries of the world, the Party of Labour of Albania always considers this a lofty internationalist duty. Marxist-Leninists have a right and a duty to give full support to all the revolutionary communist forces who stand in Marx-

ist-Leninist positions, who fight self-sacrificingly against imperialism and modern revisionism, who defend the revolutionary communist parties of the working class from revisionist degeneration, and follow a firm revolutionary line.

The Party of Labour of Albania has assisted the new Marxist-Leninist forces and will continue to do so without reserve, because in their growth and development it sees the future of the communist and revolutionary movement, it sees the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism.

Revisionism Is the Negation of Unity, It Undermines Any Kind of Unity

In the communiqué they issued, the revisionists devote a great deal of attention to the problem of convening an international meeting of parties. Hence, although the present Soviet leaders and their followers called the March 1st meeting a «consultative gathering» and not an «editorial commission», they kept intact the Khrushchevite plan of calling an international splitist meeting, but compelled by the circumstances, they made some modifications to this plan.

Just what sort of a meeting the revisionists have in mind is quite obvious from what they suggest about preparing for it. The revisionists consider the following as essential conditions to achieving unity and calling the meeting: the differences must be put aside and unity must be achieved in their so-called «anti-imperialist» front;
the polemic must be stopped, or at least, carried on in the form of a social-democratic and liberal-bourgeois discussion; the so-called «fractional activity» must be stopped and condemned; consultations must be held with the sister parties, but without laying down any essential preliminary premises for them.

It is clear that the Soviet leaders and their followers are opposed to genuine unity, they are in favour of an anti-Marxist unity, of a revisionist unity and on the basis of revisionism. The meeting they want will serve precisely this kind of «unity».

But unity of the communist movement has not been and never can be built on the basis of revisionism. Revisionism is the negation of unity, it undermines any kind of unity. True revolutionary fighting unity of the international communist movement can be built only on one basis — the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This genuine unity can only be attained in struggle with the revisionists, without them and against them.

The Marxist-Leninists long ago clearly expressed their opinion that in order to restore and strengthen genuine unity in the communist movement and the socialist camp, and to create the conditions for calling an international meeting to serve this unity, radical measures must be taken.

First of all, it is essential that the opportunist and revisionist line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, the line of so-called «peaceful coexis-


tence», «peaceful competition», «general and total disarmament», «all-round Soviet-US collaboration», «anti-Stalinism», «the state of all the people» and «party of all the people», and so on, must be rejected. The line of rapprochement and unity with US imperialism and the other imperialists, with the Tito clique, with the Right-wing social-democratic chiefs, with the various reactionary circles and all the enemies of the working class, socialism and the peoples, must be rejected. It is precisely this treacherous line of the revisionists that is the underlying cause of the ideological and political rift, therefore without rejecting this line there can be no talk of unity.

It is also essential to reject the line of great-state chauvinism and national self-interest, the line of trampling underfoot the principles of proletarian internationalism, of violating the Marxist-Leninist norms, the relations between communist parties and socialist countries, the line of pressures, blackmail, vindictive measures, dictate and impermissible interference in the internal affairs of others, the line of encroaching upon the sovereignty, independence and equality of socialist countries and sister parties, and so on. All these things form another underlying source of profound differences and the split. Therefore, without frank and public condemnation of those things by those who perpetrated them — the Soviet revisionist leadership, and without correcting them in practice, with deeds, there can be no talk of unity.

But persisting in their course of betrayal, the
revisionists have not given up their anti-Marxist line and have done nothing to correct their grave faults. On the contrary, they are going deeper and deeper into the mire of revisionism and widening the split. The calling of the factional meeting of March 1st itself is a plain indication that the present-day Khrushchevite revisionists are incorrigible, that they are rabid anti-Marxists and traitors determined to serve imperialism and reaction to the end. There can be no hope or illusion that the Khrushchevite revisionists will mend their ways and return to correct positions of principle. «Only the grave can straighten a hunchback’s spine», is a folk saying.

The revisionists got together in order to hatch up fresh plots against communism, to decide their future tactic in the struggle against the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. They will strive more actively to carry out the Khrushchevite policy of rapprochement with imperialism, of causing the degeneration of communist parties by encouraging them to merge with social-democratic parties, of wrecking socialism and the international communist movement.

The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists will not sit idle before this great challenge of the revisionists. They will draw the lessons and their own conclusions and take all the necessary measures. The principled and resolute fight against modern revisionism in general, and against Khrushchevite revisionism in particular, will be raised to a higher level. The courageous and ceaseless struggle of the Marxist-Leninists will blow up all the traitors’ plans. This struggle will unmask all their cunning demagogy and will tear the mask of deception from the revisionists, before the eyes of all the peoples and revolutionaries of the world.

The break with the revisionists is now unavoidable. With their factional meeting the Khrushchevites put the question of the break on the order of the day. The great Lenin said:

«Today, the tasks of socialism cannot be accomplished, the true international solidarity of workers cannot be achieved without resolutely breaking with opportunism, without explaining the inevitable fiasco of opportunism to the masses»*

* These words are more valid than ever today.

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WE SPEAK TO OUR FRIENDS OPENLY, BECAUSE WE LOVE THEM, WHILE WE FIGHT THE ENEMIES OPENLY, BECAUSE WE HATE THEM

From a conversation with a delegation of the CP of Columbia, headed by Pedro Vasquez1

March 20, 1965

After warmly welcoming the guests and exchanging a few words about their health, comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the necessity for the struggle against revisionism in the international communist movement, about the tactics it uses against the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and its alliances with imperialism, especially with US imperialism. Then, dwelling on the essential need to master the Marxist-Leninist ideology and apply it in practice, comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

1 Secretary of the CC of the CP of Columbia, who fell heroically in the field of battle for the cause of the Columbian revolution in 1968.

...When you are clear about the Marxist-Leninist line, you are clear also about the interest of the Homeland, the interest of the international communist movement and the struggle for freedom. Clarity removes any fear and hesitation, it gives you complete self-confidence.

Let us take the case of your Party. Can it be said that you should hesitate just because you have a strong bourgeoisie, because US imperialism has your country in its grip, or because you have rabid revisionist opponents? No, not by any means! These obstacles do not make you hesitate. You have great difficulties, but they cannot and must not hinder the revolutionary struggle of your Party. You know your position better than we do, but in the revolutionary and difficult situations ahead, you must always think about the protection of the Party from the alien ideological trends and every possible kind of attack from the enemy.

The strength of your party is founded, first of all, on the support it gets from, and the close links it has with, the people, with the masses of the working class and the revolutionary peasantry. Naturally, the work among the students to fight that unhealthy spirit which the bourgeoisie sows in their ranks, must not be neglected, either. The students are people with schooling, they are self-confident and courageous, and when they become conscious, they fight, but the question is who leads them. We are confident that sooner or later the correct line of your Party will convince those that have been infected with erroneous ideas, if
not all at once, gradually. No matter what influences are exerted upon them by anti-proletarian alien ideologies, we believe that they will not mislead them for a long period, because those who rise in revolution for the salvation of the people cannot be deceived for long. However inspiring and attractive they may seem at first, the distorted ideas that have filtered into some peoples’ minds cannot strike root, because in the course of the struggle, it will be proved that they have no correct Marxist-Leninist basis, which means that they are not related to the real aspirations of the people, and therefore cannot succeed.

We must say that when we began our National Liberation War, our conditions were somewhat different from yours. What were these special features which we recognized and utilized with success? First, our bourgeoisie was not so well organized, it was still feeble and had just begun to grow up politically. Second, we were favoured by the fact that the need for the nation to fight the foreign invader had become the most urgent question. Therefore, by defining a correct line in keeping with the concrete conditions, our young Party won the people to its side and was confident that it would win the war, that it would overcome any difficulty. Third, we had the experience of the Soviet Union, and its aid as the chief external factor, we had the Marxist-Leninist ideology, Stalinism, the Leninism of our time, which we mastered and inculcated into the heart and soul of our people, so that they fought with determination for the correct line of the Party.

You have your concrete peculiarities, your difficulties, indeed very serious ones, despite that, however, you will win, because your line is correct and you are not alone. In almost all the countries of Latin America, new Marxist-Leninist parties are being created, sound forces are rallying around them, and the armed struggle against enemies is being organized. It is also important that the Marxist-Leninist parties of the countries of Latin America should coordinate their actions in order to attack the revisionist propaganda and diversion, everywhere, in an organized manner. A party can be small in numbers, but in the course of the struggle the vital thing is its quality, its nucleus, its leadership, which must be clear, strong, and consistent. We have always attached importance to this question, and life has proved that we were quite right. Our people have a saying, «The fish rots from its head». That’s what happened in the Soviet Union! Revisionism emerged in its head, and thence it developed and spread throughout its whole body.

...Our Party strongly emphasizes the great importance which leadership has for the party. It is especially important that there is unity in the leadership, that the people in the leadership must be determined and principled, with profound Marxist-Leninist judgement, able to distinguish the main issue from secondary ones, the important from the unimportant, what is right from what is wrong. In an ideological situation like this, which exists in the world communist movement today, the leaders must not occupy themselves mainly
with the minor things that occur, but without ignoring them, must firmly grasp the major issues of principle which concern our great cause.

The Khrushchevite revisionists tried to liquidate the Marxist leaderships in many parties and replace them with revisionists. Wherever they were unable to do such a thing, they tried to corrupt the existing leaderships, to create various trends among them, and wherever they have succeeded, such trends have been created, whereas in our Marxist-Leninist parties there is principled Marxist-Leninist unity of leadership, which has been tested and tempered in struggle, while the struggle eliminated wavering elements.

We have been fighting the Titoites for more than twenty years. We have fought and even to this day are still fighting the secret agents of imperialism and its tools. Now we are waging a stern struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists, too, and in this manner we have continually purged the Party of wavering elements, secret enemies and irresolute people. We have always been faced with revolutionary situations and numerous difficulties, and it is precisely there that we have proved who would stand the test and who would be broken. There were elements who made mistakes whom we had to correct, and in fact we have corrected many of them, we have saved them, and today some of them are even in the leading forums of the party organizations. The others who did not mend their ways, the Party removed from the leadership.

We are speaking to you openly and frankly, because we are proud of the struggle of the Communist Party of Columbia and all the Marxist-Leninist comrades who are fighting in Latin America for the great cause of the peoples, of Marxism-Leninism.

We well understand the difficulties ahead of you, therefore we have a special admiration for your Party's struggle and efforts. Of course, it is difficult to fight in the conditions of your country. You are organizing your Party under the threat of the rifles and machine-guns of reaction, you have the constant tension of arrests, imprisonments and murders. When you go completely underground, you place yourself totally and openly against the existing order. In illegality you always have your weapons to hand, and therefore in these conditions, if the enemy confronts you, you must shoot him without fail. Hence the armed struggle has to be waged, too, because this settles accounts with the enemy. In legal conditions the question is different.

Therefore, it is important to be thoroughly familiar with all kinds of struggle and the problems connected with them, because each of them has its own importance. The commanding of the armed struggle in the proper manner, the struggle in illegality, the work of the party among the peasants and the workers, the combination of the armed struggle with political and economic strikes, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, students and others, are problems for every Marxist-Leninist party in the capitalist countries. The introduction of party members into the trade
union movement, as Lenin teaches us, is also of great importance. The Marxist parties in the capitalist countries must take a hand in the trade unions for the organization of the working class, and there the party must play the role of the vanguard of the working class. But the question of the peasantry is also of great importance, because it is oppressed and a great revolutionary force. We proved this with our peasantry, which was really backward, but full of revolutionary fire. It was uncultured, but outstanding for its great patriotic revolutionary maturity. We went into the war with the working class in the process of formation, and our peasantry bore the brunt of the fight and remained unwavering throughout the National Liberation War. We are convinced that your peasantry is also of the same mettle.

The question of whether the peasantry is progressive cannot and must not be judged on whether or not it is dressed in European clothing. From what I have read, in the countries of Latin America, there is great poverty and economic backwardness, but the Latin American peasants have great patriotic traditions. The Spanish colonizers considered the peoples of Chile and Tierra del Fuego savages, because they fought back manfully and resisted the foreign yoke with blood and sacrifices. But to defend the freedom and independence of your country at the cost of your blood, to fight for the existence of your country and people, is not savagery, but great patriotism, a great virtue.

Links with the masses are of great importance.

During the time of the war, in Tirana and everywhere we had the underground bases of our work in the people's homes. However much the city was crammed with spies, fascists, carabinieri, militiamen, and such like, when they understood that the communists were holding a meeting in a particular place, the people round about, wherever they worked and lived, voluntarily kept watch to protect them. If one of these ordinary folk was seized by the agents of the enemy and interrogated about what he was doing in the street at the time, he would answer, «I was just waiting for my son to come home from work», he would begin to quarrel with the police, and kick up a row so that the comrades further away, at the meeting, would hear and take care to protect themselves because the enemy was close by them. The masses knew that the communists were fighting for the freedom of the people, therefore they defended them. Thus, the links of the Party with the masses have a great importance.

We want to strengthen the links between our parties. Not only do we feel a great satisfaction, but we consider it as a great assistance, when friends such as you come to our country. We have great need of your assistance, because our cause is not something isolated, or highly specific, and because we must profit from each other's experience. Of course, this experience must not be applied on a stereotyped way, but in accordance with the concrete conditions of each country.

Precisely for this reason, therefore, all we Marxists need to exchange experience with one
another, not only through written materials, but also through live contacts. Ours is a small country, but to the extent of our possibilities, we shall help the revolutionary comrades of the other countries in every way. From a comradely internationalist standpoint it is our duty to give you this help, because ours is a common cause. Wherever the revolution has not yet triumphed, the communists must not be left isolated. When the American bombs fall on North Vietnam, it seems to us as if they are falling on our own heads. When vast territories of South Vietnam are liberated, we are as happy and proud as our Vietnamese brothers. When the Marxist-Leninist forces in Latin America grow, when your Party achieves successes, and so on, these are victories for all of us, because in this manner, the cause of the peoples and of Marxism-Leninism gains, the danger of aggression against our country recedes, the threat of war is reduced, imperialism is weakened and heads towards defeat.

The revolutionary struggle of other peoples helps Albania to remain unwaveringly on its course. Naturally, it is our people themselves, always fearless and vigilant, who are the first guarantee of this, because the Party of Labour is leading them on the right course. The other reason that Albania can stand on its own feet is that the situation in the world today has changed in our favour. If the world were as it was before, when these great Marxist-Leninist forces did not exist, if it were not for the Party of Labour — Albania would have been liquidated. Of course, our people would have fought in the mountains, as always through the centuries, but there would have been no free and independent Albanian State. Thus, the freedom of Albania is red, not only with the blood of our own people and the Albanian communists, but also with the blood of the Communards of Paris, with the blood of the workers of Chicago, of the heroes of the Great October Socialist Revolution, with the blood of the peoples of the world who accomplished great deeds of heroism during the Second World War against fascism, with the blood of the revolutionary fighters of the countries of Latin America, from the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, and so on. These are the foundations that small socialist Albania has been built on, too. Therefore, internationalist aid is of great importance. This is the reason that the modern revisionists try to destroy these links, to destroy these forces, but they cannot.

Thus we thank you for the visit you have made to Albania, but although this may be the first visit, it must not be the last.

Whenever you wish to come to Albania, if you or your comrades inform us beforehand we shall take the necessary measures to talk with you, and to ensure that you have a good rest, too. We understand your troubles and great worries, but a stay here, either for you or for your comrades, would serve both for work, that is talks, and for a rest. We shall always welcome you with open arms, with warm hearts, as co-fighters, close comrades and friends. We assure you, and please
Dear comrade Chou En-lai,

Your coming here has caused great joy. Our people and Party are celebrating, because, for the second time, they have in their midst comrade Chou En-lai, the close comrade of Mao Tsetung, for whom our people and Party have a special love and respect. Albania and China are closely linked, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and they fight, live, triumph, and advance together. Day by day we follow the vigorous and successful development of your great country, the internal and external policy of your Party and Government, and your struggle against world imperialism and modern revisionism.

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

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

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

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

Allow me to speak about some of our ideas.

After acquainting the Chinese delegation with the problems of the perspective development of the economy of the People's Republic of Albania, in general, and the draft of the 4th Five-year Plan (1965-1970), comrade Enver Hoxha dwelt especially on the principal problems of the international situation:

How We See The International Situation, The Lessons We Should Draw And The Measures We Should Take With Regard To The Developing Situations

We think that the Communist Party of China and the Government of the PR of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have not been taken by surprise by the deve-
development of international events, but in general, have foreseen them correctly, and acting in a revolutionary manner, have been able to influence them, to leave a marked revolutionary imprint on these situations, making many gains in strengthening the cause of socialism and communism, strengthening a sound peace, and strengthening the peoples’ liberation struggles. At the same time, the ceaseless, unyielding, consistent, Marxist-Leninist struggle of our Parties has badly exposed the aggressive nature and war-mongering activity of world imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, as well as the great betrayal by the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, in the eyes of the peoples and the communists of the world.

We think that the predominant feature of this stage is the ever more open collaboration and rivalry between US imperialism and the modern revisionists, led by the Soviet revisionists. In the Khrushchevite revisionists, US imperialism has found its allies and partners for the successful implementation of its world policy and strategy, for the struggle against, and the destruction of, the socialist camp and communism in general, for the division of the world into spheres of influence, for the creation of a new colonialism dominated by the two great powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

While having the struggle against socialism as their common objective, each of these two world powers is striving, at the same time, to gain, to maintain, and strengthen its supremacy over the other, to strengthen the grouping of its satellites round itself, to combat the other's grouping of satellites with a view to the possible detachment of its allies, to strengthen its own grouping and, in alliance with the other, to jointly attack the socialist countries, China and Albania in the first place.

The Soviet-US alliance, which is developing and taking more concrete shape every day in the international arena, of course, not without difficulties and contradictions, is a political event which represents a great threat to the fate of the world and for us comprises a major objective against which we must fight hard. This alliance is developing in all directions, in the political, ideologic, economic and cultural spheres. In many direction, it has been formulated and approved in official documents, in treaties, agreements and contracts, and has been coordinated ideologically from both sides against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In all these aspects we shall soon be witness to the increase of agreements, the collaboration, and the coordination of plans between these two great powers, which will even go to such lengths as to conclude military treaties for the «stabilization» of their political-military «alliances».

Of course, there are differences in the trends of activity of these two powers which want to dominate the world by suppressing socialism, and the freedom and the independence of the peoples. The United States of America is going about it with fire and steel, resorting to atomic blackmail and all other kind of pressure, ranging from war to
corruption. Whereas the Soviet revisionists, while submitting to the American pressure and blackmail, and opposing the aggressive actions of the USA in words, merely for the sake of appearances, are using all means and methods to create their sphere of influence, to establish their domination over the peoples. For the time being they have not resorted to the methods of open wars of repression, but the course they are following will undoubtedly lead them to that, too. At the same time, they think they will achieve their fiendish ends by fighting socialism and our countries concretely, in collaboration and in open rivalry with the United States of America.

The Soviet revisionists cannot think that they will avoid war with their general line of peaceful coexistence, but their intention is to gain time in order to combat socialism and our countries, and meanwhile, to strengthen their positions in the world in the directions we mentioned above. It is clear that the Soviet revisionists are playing with fire, because, in order to achieve their sinister aims, their intention is to weaken the Americans economically, militarily and politically, by leaving them to act with fire and steel against the peoples who are fighting to liberate and defend themselves. On the other hand, the Soviet revisionists are resorting to all their methods in order to undermine, corrupt, degenerate, dominate and enslave the peoples. But, naturally, these aims and actions of theirs are not developing and cannot develop just as they would like. Other colossal forces are active in the world, and they are the forces of socialism, of the peoples, which are ruining the plans of the imperialists and revisionists and inflicting great defeats on them, one after another.

The building of this new Soviet-US alliance cannot avoid the rivalry and the deep contradictions between them, cannot eliminate «the law of the jungle». On the contrary, it is making the effects of that law harsher every day, and not only between these two imperialist-revisionist powers, the one, the United States, formed long ago, the other, the Soviet Union, which is rapidly assuming this form, but also among other capitalist states and countries where the modern revisionists are in power, such as the former socialist countries of Europe, which are also degenerating into capitalist countries. The degeneration of the Soviet Union and of the other former socialist countries of Europe brought the «law of the jungle» into their relations, too, and all of them, jointly or separately, are prowling like wolves in the international forest, together with the other imperialist wolves.

Now we are witnessing such phenomena as those of the decay of the old alliances existing among the imperialists, and the weakening of the Soviet influence in the socialist countries, as well as the splitting and the weakening of alliances between them. In short, the two groupings, imperialist and revisionist, are entangled in insurmountable contradictions, in strife with one another within the group, and in many insoluble external conflicts and contradictions of one grouping against the other.

These insurmountable contradictions are re-
flected in every step they take, they are reflected in NATO, the United Nations Organization, the Common Market, the European Community, in their participation in the war in Vietnam, in Laos and the Congo, in the German problem, the Warsaw Treaty, in the March 1st Moscow meeting, in the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, in the relations of the countries of «people’s democracy» of Europe, both among themselves and with the still dominant Soviet power.

That is a maze of problems, but we must find our bearings in this wood, must carefully follow the trend, reach correct conclusions and build the strategy and tactics of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism on the basis of our unerring Marxist-Leninist science.

We must say that at present, the international situation in general is in favour of the forces of socialism and the peoples. Imperialism as a whole, and US imperialism in particular, is in decline, it is losing ground and becoming utterly exposed in all its activities. Modern revisionism, and especially Khrushchevite revisionism, which caused the crisis in the socialist camp and international communism, greatly harmed our great cause, but while admitting this fact, the exposure, the unmasking, and the fierce struggle we have waged and will continue to wage against this plague amongst us, has made it lose ground and lose strength from day to day.

The ever greater deepening of the contradictions among the imperialist powers is causing the continuous weakening of US imperialism, of this great and main enemy. The contradictions among the imperialists have always existed and always will exist, and this is eroding and weakening them, but at the moment they have become very acute.

When they emerged from the crisis of the Second World War, the imperialist countries required a relatively long time to recover and, willy-nilly, had to accept US «aid» accompanied with the domination of US imperialism. Nevertheless, over a long period, US imperialism, assisted by British imperialism, managed to incorporate its partners, weakened by the war, into military-political alliances, in which it dictated its own law. By means of these alliances, under the pretext of economic «aid» to restore the war-devastated economies of these countries, US imperialism set up its own bases in many capitalist countries of the world. At the same time the USA imposed its will on these countries in the field of their economy, investments, trade, etc., over a long period. There is no doubt that, in these conditions, the United States of America dictated the way of life, and political and ideological opinion in those countries. On the other hand, US imperialism financed the economic recovery of Bonn Germany and ensured that it was armed to the teeth, and that militarism, fascism and revanchism were revived. The idea of creating a powerful fascist Germany, which would be its ally to the end and the main striking force against socialism, and at the same time, the force to intimidate and blackmail its wavering allies, has been and still is part of the plans and activity of US imperialism.
Thus, this capitalist re-grouping, under the absolute direction of the Americans, naturally constituted a dangerous potential threat of war. Even now it is still a threat of a world war of aggression but it is no longer the monolithic force it used to be.

Capitalist France now remains in NATO only formally; it has set out on the course of open opposition to US imperialism. Back on its feet again, big French capital cannot endure the American grip and dictate, and declines to be strangled. France feels strong enough to resist the USA, therefore the Americans are encountering France’s opposition. Of course, this has greatly shaken and weakened the military and political strength of NATO. In fact, this positive existing situation is not just a result of the development of French capital, but a direct consequence of the struggle which our socialist countries are waging and of all the peoples’ national-liberation struggles against US imperialism. Our struggle weakened it, and French capital seized the opportunity to oppose the domination of US imperialism. We Marxists should make use of this situation and this moment of grave crisis in the ranks of world capitalism. We have not the slightest illusion about French capitalism, which, although it has great contradictions with US imperialism, in essence, is the self-same capitalism it used to be, with the same aims of domination and with new tactics to fight socialism and communism, to oppress and exploit the peoples. The new phenomena in the contradictions that are showing up among the
capitalist countries were foreseen by Stalin and now they are being realized just as he envisaged1.

We think that US imperialism is being weakened everywhere, and its aggressive actions, coupled with atomic blackmail, testify to its weakness and not to its strength. It has great troubles in Europe, and its dominating positions are not stable. It is trying to re-build new positions, relying heavily on and striving to hold on to Bonn Germany as its most powerful and aggressive support.

Bonn Germany, we think, is the corporal in capitalist Europe. The Americans are doing their utmost to keep the revanchist Erhard2 government in pro-American positions, and in order to achieve this, they are doing everything possible to meet all its demands, and especially to equip it

1 «Outwardly everything seems to be 'going well'; the United States of America has put Western Europe, Japan and the other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (West), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are weekly obeying its commands. But it would be a mistake to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity', that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development.» (J. V. Stalin «Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR», Alb. ed., Tirana, 1968, p. 39).

2 At that time chancellor of the Federal German Republic.
with atomic weapons. On the other hand, the Americans are doing their utmost to bring the Soviets to their knees in order to achieve the unification of the two German states according to the conditions of the Americans and of the Bonn revanchists. If the USA can achieve this, consequently it will have strengthened its positions in Europe, compensated for the weakening which France has caused it, and to some degree, isolated France. In this manoeuvre, the USA is aiming to isolate France, to prevent it from concluding any effective alliance with Bonn, and having made it impossible for France to achieve this, to destroy any attempt on the part of France to revive the old alliances with the Soviets, a thing that would isolate Bonn Germany, hence limit the American domination.

To sum it up, we can say that the USA is trying to defeat the aims of France, which is seeking to revive its old alliances with the countries of the East and Central and South-East Europe, and at the same time, to link itself with Bonn Germany, too, and, in this way, to be better placed to fight communism and the US domination. Thus, France is trying to extend its domination. This is the aim of the Gaullist approaches towards the countries of «people's democracy» in Eastern Europe, the granting of credits and the development of cultural relations with them.

In these situations, the will and views of the other NATO members, with the exception of Bonn and London, are not taken into account. Whichever it is, whatever its colour, the British Government will pursue its traditional policy of maintaining the side of the Americans. Notwithstanding that the Americans have crushed Britain, impelled by the traditions, interests and the play of old alliances, and especially those of the last two great world wars, Britain will incline to the alliance with the Americans. Nevertheless, there are and will always be contradictions between them.

As for the ambitions of the revanchist government in Bonn, they are known. It is trying to secure atomic weapons, to dominate Europe and NATO together with the USA, to gobble up Democratic Germany, to re-establish the old borders of the Third Reich, to reorganize new alliances in its favour, and to threaten and kindle a new war at the time Bonn and its partners find favourable. In a word, while pursuing two immediate main aims, that of being equipped with the atomic weapons and of gobbling up the German Democratic Republic, Bonn Germany supports the US policy, while trying not to tread on Britain's toes, and doing nothing to worsen or break its relations with De Gaulle, and is making secret and open attempts to begin talks and conclude agreements with the Soviet revisionists. On the other hand, Bonn is trading with, and granting credits to, the so-called countries of people's democracy, and even has trade exchanges with the German Democratic Republic.

As we can judge from such a development of the situation, the imperialist coalition in Europe is not ready for war. The French question upset the balance, and it will take some time before it
is stabilized again. On the other hand, the capitulation of the Soviet revisionists, first of all, and their European satellites has created a new field of work, hopes, efforts, possibilities, and coalitions for the imperialists, which, for the time being, do not permit them to miss the favourable opportunities created by the Khrushchevites, and to start armed adventures and conflicts in Europe.

We may draw the conclusion that, at present, a dark cloud prevails over Europe, that it has become a field of imperialist-revisionist intrigues, and, despite the deep contradictions simmering among all these imperialist-revisionist states, the forces still have not developed in Europe which can take advantage of these contradictions to create a revolutionary situation there. The only completely revolutionary forces here are the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania, and on a small scale, the Marxist-Leninist groups in some countries of Western Europe. Therefore, it is in the interests of the revolution and socialism that the great weight of the People's Republic of China should be felt powerfully in Europe, that these contradictions should be utilized.

The situation in the revisionist camp is also full of contradictions. We can say that their political-economic unity has been weakened, although it exists formally. The Warsaw Treaty exists, and we believe that it will continue to exist, as a «shield» for the expansionist policy of the Khrush-

chevite revisionists. They, the Soviet revisionists in the first place, will use this treaty in order to preserve their military hegemony, to have the forces and armaments of their partners under their control and supervision so that, for definite aims, they can dominate the weak partners, intimidated and «disarmed» by them, through their fear of «some attack», and intervene, possibly jointly, in case any of their partners gets out of line. The Soviet revisionists have great hopes that through the Warsaw Treaty they will have the satellites' armies as cannon fodder, as an empty market for the sale of their outdated weapons, and above all, as a force to keep them under control.

In these situations of political instability, in these times of many-sided deals with the American and the other imperialists, in these situations of internal economic, political and ideological difficulties, the other revisionist partners need the Warsaw Treaty as a shield against any eventual external and internal threat. But we think that there is no harmony, no unity, in this camp, that there is dissatisfaction and distrust.

In their common aims to reach agreements with the imperialists, and in the first place, with the US imperialists, there are tendencies, especially on the part of the Soviet revisionists, to treat

1 Life has fully confirmed this prediction. In August 1968, the Soviet Union used the forces of the Warsaw Treaty to occupy Czechoslovakia, «which was getting out of hand».
everything, every result they achieve, every deal they make, in such a way as to persuade the others that they must accept it. Of course, these attempts of the Soviet revisionists cannot be easily achieved, because there are centrifugal forces in action. Thus, there is the other tendency (of almost all the other revisionist states, which does not fully accept the Soviet dictate, and this is being fostered vigorously by the Americans, the French, the British, and Bonn). Sometimes these states negotiate and reach separate agreements, make individual efforts to influence the national state platforms and the national interests they deal with, in a word they impede, disrupt, sabotage, amend, and raise obstacles to the Soviet hegemonic line.

This tendency has sharpened the contradictions between the revisionist countries, and this is reflected in their internal and external weaknesses. The German problem is raised by them as the main political-military problem. They pretend to maintain the same, allegedly resolute stand. But this is not and cannot be the reality. It is true that all of them are concerned about this problem, but each of them wants to settle it according to his own views. They are all manoeuvring at the expense of the German Democratic Republic. The meetings of the Warsaw Treaty disregard Ulbricht’s appeals and memoranda, and the communiques from the meetings are demagogy and bluff which do not reflect the truth. None of them is genuinely for the proper defence of the German Democratic Republic. They are all afraid of a fight, of war,

Gomulka is ready to impose heavy conditions of capitulation to Bonn on the German Democratic Republic so long as the imperialist states officially recognize the Oder-Neisse border. Czechoslovakia, likewise, is moving towards the normalization of its old alliances, provided only that the Bonn revanchists give up their claims to the Sudeten. Hungary has no desire to be embroiled in war over the German problem. Its ambitions lie in other directions, on the territory of its neighbours and the strengthening of the capitalist regime it is restoring at home.

Therefore, it is very advantageous, both to the Soviets and to the others, for the German problem to be liquidated with little pain and much demagogy, and in return for this they ask for nothing but some sort of assurance, be it even temporary, that Bonn will keep a relatively low profile. In our opinion, during this period the German Democratic Republic is being used by the Soviet Union and its allies as a token to be bartered in the negotiations, blackmail and deals between the imperialists and the modern revisionists. Of course, this is another major cause which is deepening the contradictions between the revisionists and weakening their internal and external positions. They are ceaselessly exposing themselves.

As regards the political relations of the socialist countries with the other bourgeois states of the world, they are not following a common general line, but each of them is working on its own national account. Very often, one state, proceed-
ing from the law «everyone for himself», will do its revisionist partner in the eye in order to ensure economic or political gains, preserve its «prestige and secure support for itself», continually violating principles, and trampling the interests of its partner, which, in most cases, is revisionist, too. Thus, «the law of the jungle» has been introduced in their relations. This, of course, deepens their contradictions, and weakens and exposes them.

The economic relations between the revisionists exist, and Soviet revisionism, as the biggest economic power, is still dominant and making the law, but not as in the past. It is dominating the weak economies of its partners with its economic power and with the establishment of some important keys and links, which, for the time being, its partners cannot break or escape from. This gives rise to the great Soviet pressure on them, and this pressure is not only economic. All these relations between the Soviets and their revisionist partners are enslaving capitalist relations. None is satisfied with the other, and there are quarrels, disagreements blackmail and threats everywhere. Here there are many deep, insurmountable, undermining contradictions, and these exert an influence towards their further degeneration.

None of the revisionist states is guided by the internationalist principle of comradely aid in the economy; on the contrary, each is out to make the maximum profits from the other, in the capitalist manner. Thus, everything, all the economic relations between them are regarded and developed only in the capitalist spirit. But the economic crisis in the Soviet Union no longer permits it «to help», and to cope with the ever growing needs of its revisionist allies, which are also caught in the crisis. In these conditions then, the way out for these new capitalists is to appeal for American, French, British and German foreign capital. American and other credits have begun to flow in, to increase, and to spread like leeches throughout the economy of the Soviet Union and the so-called countries of people's democracy in Europe. This inevitably brings with it political and ideological influence and leads to the degeneration of the regime, the political, economic and military swallowing of these countries, which gradually, sooner, or later, become countries dependent on the various imperialists and are transformed into their spheres of influence.

Of course, this is adding to the contradictions between the revisionist countries of Europe and the Soviet revisionists, who are losing their absolute political, and economic domination. This is adding to, and deepening, the contradictions between the people and the true Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand, and the revisionist chiefs of each country, on the other; it is impoverishing these countries, polarizing the forces of reaction and the forces of the people, and creating a wide field of conditions favourable to revolution in those countries.

How should we define the present ideological «unity» of the revisionists and the struggle they are waging against Marxism-Leninism and espe-
cially against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania?

The hostility of the modern revisionists to Marxism-Leninism and our two parties is relentless, and on this they have unity of thought and action. The revisionist chiefs, not only those who are at the head of the parties and states of the “people's democracy” of Europe, but also all the chiefs who are at the head of the communist parties in the capitalist countries, have set out on the anti-Marxist road and have become thoroughly and hopelessly compromised. They have crystallized their line of reformism and the degeneration of Marxism-Leninism, and their leadership* is the Moscow revisionist clique; the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provide their orientation and basis. They implement this general line on the basis of the concrete situations in their parties and countries. Of course, around this general revisionist orientation, there are and will be various tendencies, which have been manifested and will be manifested, depending on the inclinations of these chiefs, which are dictated by the pressure of the bourgeoisie, by the resistance put up by the party, by the political-economic situation of the country, by the revolutionary movement and the level to which it has risen, as well as by many other factors.

While preserving their aims intact and fighting to achieve their anti-Marxist objectives, the modern revisionists are now displaying a number of markedly different trends. The Titoite revisionists are following a well-defined, avowed, and undisguised road. They are acting in full and open unity with the capitalist bourgeoisie, with social-democracy, and in open alliance with and in the service of US imperialism. Things have gone so far with them that, although in fact the other revisionists are in full solidarity with the Yugoslav revisionists, although they take them as an example for action and adapt their Titoite forms to the degeneration of their own parties and states, they do not dare to rehabilitate them openly. Although they always collaborate with the Titoites closely, declaring that they agree with their policy, while applying the Titoite capitalist reforms in practice, still, they add that they “have some disagreements with them”. This is demagogy and deception. The fact is that the Titoite revisionist wing has gone over completely to the positions of the bourgeoisie, whereas the place of the extreme Right-wing, we can say, is being held currently by the Italian revisionists, the Togliatists. They have taken up the role of applying revisionism to the end in the capitalist countries, that of the liquidation of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, of avoiding the revolutionary struggle, of eliminating the contradictions with social-democracy, of unity with it, of merging with it, and of complete and definitive ideological and political collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In a word, they are for the liquidation of the class struggle and for submission to the absolute power.

* English in the original.
of the bourgeoisie. Since they are not in power, they want to go even further than the Titoites, who have state power in their hands and do not allow anyone else to share it. However, besides this total liquidation, the Italian revisionists are coordinating the actions of the revisionist states, from which they demand acceleration of their degeneration, the complete and consistent carrying out of the revisionist general line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The Italian revisionists think that they can achieve these results more quickly by developing their «polycentrist» theory, which, in fact, means to spurn the authority of the Soviet revisionists, to cause splits among the revisionists, in order to defeat the Soviet revisionists more thoroughly and more rapidly, in the general framework of the ideological offensive of monopoly capital for the complete degeneration of the revisionist parties and states. Of course, the Italian revisionists are adventurers in the full sense of the world. They want to speed up the process of degeneration. Certainly, the Soviet revisionists cannot support this tactic, which immediately deprives them of any demagogic weapon. Here, then, is the source of the contradictions and the differences in their tactics.

The ludicrous tactics of the Polish revisionists is demagoguery intended to convince us, if possible, to tone down our polemic, and especially, to show their alleged «independence» from the Soviet revisionists in questions of tactics. But they must be ranked among the savages enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, and our socialist states. They are the greatest chauvinists among the revisionists. The Soviets are counting heavily on them, despite the contradictions between them. The Soviets need them very much, because an open breaking away of Poland towards the imperialists would accelerate the final catastrophe of the revisionist camp.

Despite their nuances, which are more pronounced in Ulbricht and Kadar, the other European revisionists, generally, pursue more or less the Soviet course and tactics in the struggle against Marxism-leninism, and especially against our two parties. However, in general, we can say that the former blind faith in the Soviet revisionists no longer exists. This can be said, also, of the other parties of the world dominated by the revisionists. Their trust in the Soviet leadership has been weakened; their trust and the force that attracts them depends on the rubles which finance them in their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist activities.

Of course, all the signs of opposition existing among the revisionists are nothing but attempts to ensure independence of activity, or new regional re-groupings.

The Soviet revisionists have suffered great defeats. We can say that the struggle of our parties against them has been the decisive factor in these defeats. Our principled militant stands exposed the Soviet revisionists, are a serious obstacle to their undermining activity, and are dispersing the choking fog of their poisonous demagoguery. Our Parties and countries resisted and came out triumphant
over their blackmail and pressures of every kind. Our unyielding struggle hindered the acceleration of the treacherous activities of the revisionists, made, or is making, things clear to the communists of the world, told the peoples the truth and exposed the agreements reached between the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists.

From the 20th Congress, the Soviet revisionists took the bit between their teeth, confident in their belief that they would not meet any serious resistance on their road of betrayal. And even if they did, with their views of great state chauvinism, they thought that, with their great economic and military potential, and by disguising and hiding themselves behind the great political and ideological prestige of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they would quickly eliminate this resistance without much pain, or ado. On the other hand, the Soviet revisionists were convinced that they would find a ready understanding on the part of the US imperialists who would immediately fall into line with their proposals and major concessions. Thus, the Soviet revisionists thought that their ideological and political revisionist line «would triumph and shine». And thus before there was time to wink your eye, «the miracle» would be achieved, just like the conjurer’s tricks at a fair, and to give the devil his due, Nikita Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet revisionists, played the game just like a real fairground clown.

Revisionism is the bearer of its own defeat. It spells defeat for those who have been infected by it, because revisionism means betrayal, defeatism, capitulation, rout. Modern revisionism, with Soviet revisionism at the head, brought all its evils in its wake. It weakened the Soviet Union, lowered its prestige and that of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, set about the ideological-political degeneration of the Soviet Union, weakened the revolutionary forces, threw the socialist economy of the Soviet Union into continuous chaos and decline, made major concessions to US imperialism, and is continuing to destroy the Soviet power and to put it at the mercy of a new bourgeois capitalist class, which, day by day, is growing ever more dependent on the interests of international capitalism.

Their whole ideological line suffered fiasco in its ideological-organizational development, in the development of their external and internal policy, as well as in regard to the socialist camp and international communism.

It is a fact that before the emergence of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement was strong and stood monolithic against the bourgeois ideology, for the sole reason that it was guided by Marxism-Leninism. Before the advent of the revisionists to power, the Soviet Union was on the right road, was guided and inspired by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit and in turn inspired its comrades, friends, and allies in this spirit.

With the revisionists’ advent to power the Marxist unity could exist no longer. Our correct
thesis, that unity exists where Marxism-Leninism is in power, triumphed. The revisionist bluff and
demagogy, their calumnies and slanders that allegedy Stalin, the «cult of Stalin», the «terror»,
«threats» were the «factors» of this unity that existed then, suffered ignominious defeat. The
Marxist-Leninists have risen against the revisionists everywhere and are forging real unity under the
guidance and inspiration of Marxism-Leninism, and we see that the Soviet revisionists have not only
destroyed the unity of the socialist camp and international communism, but have also brought
about the split, and it could not be otherwise. The revisionists are divided among themselves and
will be divided even further. Revisionism is the kiss of death.

And when, as a result of our consistent Marxist-Leninist struggle, the Soviet revisionist found
themselves facing the great defeat, facing the great evil, they preferred the lesser evil: they liqui-
dated their leader and ideologist, Nikita Khrushchev. Indirectly, they loaded all the blame on to
him, and, without changing any part of his old line, Khrushchev’s comrades, collaborators and
co-plotters, came on stage to carry on Khrushchevism without Khrushchev.

The time since the liquidation of Khrushchev has proved that the Soviet revisionists are just as
much traitors as Khrushchev, and are following the treacherous anti-Marxist theses of Khrushchev
with the greatest loyalty. Indeed they have outdone Khrushchev in treachery, because, while they are
aware of Khrushchev’s terrible mistakes, they have

not mended their ways, even after his overthrow.

It is true that they are trying to create and carry out a «new» line, but it is just as revisionist
and scandalous as that of Khrushchev.

First of all, their tactics differ only in formal and superficial things:

They have given up Khrushchev’s boasting and beating the big drum. For the time being, the
Soviet revisionists who replaced Khrushchev are not making speeches, are keeping quiet, to give
the impression that they «are reflecting», that they are «prudent and wise», that «they are not a punc-
tured drum», but in practice the first step is being taken and the same drum is being beaten.

They are maintaining and strengthening their ties with the Americans, capitulating to them more
and more each day. They did not strengthen them-
selves with the removal of Khrushchev, on the
contrary, they discredited themselves. Now,
Khrushchev’s successors are trying to piece to-
gether what he broke. They have no hopes that
we will be deceived, but are worrying about their
partners who are getting out of hand. They
want to create a sort of «unity» between them, on
a new basis, in order to face the catastrophe await-
ing them. This is one of their main objectives at
present. The factional March 1st meeting held in
Moscow was intended, above all, to achieve pre-
cisely this objective. A common ideo-political plat-
form among the revisionists, suitable to the new
present circumstances has to be found, rather than
hope to deceive us. Naturally, in form, the commu-
niqué issued after the March 1st meeting reflects the demagogy of their whole line, but I am of the opinion that their problem is more the creation of a «sort of revisionist unity». This «unity», the Soviets hoped, could be achieved after they had secretly assured their partners that they would change nothing in the line, and during this time they proved publicly with their stands that nothing had changed after Khrushchev's removal.

But was this unity, so greatly desired by the Soviet leadership, achieved? No, not in the least. As the revisionists they are, with unity the Soviet leaders mean domination, absolute dictate over the others. Unfortunately for the Soviet leaders, the others have become more independent than ever; they were not for Khrushchev, they were happy to be rid of him, because he was arrogant and threatened them. But after the downfall of Khrushchev the other revisionists wanted to be assured that some new Soviet leadership did not turn the clock back, «from our point of view». They were terrified of this. When they were re-assured about this, their positions of independence from «the conductor» were strengthened, and according to information, there was no unity at their last meeting, although all of them are inveterate revisionists.

In the communiqué the modern revisionists issued, the confusion and panic that has seized them from the defeats we have inflicted on them and the fact that they have found nothing new to dish up to their adherents came out openly. It was shown that they do not have the initiative. They are broken, weak, and are on the defensive. The communiqué is a confirmation that the Soviet revisionists cannot openly dictate the law to their revisionist partners, cannot impose themselves as before: the split, «independence», the slipping from their hands is great, the gap is deep. The Soviet revisionists will resort to indirect means to try to rescue their prestige and their authority over their partners, and will activate, encourage, organize and lead the struggle against our parties and states.

Thus, we can say that this period following the fall of Khrushchev has weakened the Soviet revisionists further. First of all, it is our militant stand, the continuation of the polemic by our parties which has brought about their defeat. This is one aspect of the fire that is playing havoc with the revisionists in disarray and the Soviet revisionists, together with all the problems which have them by the throat. During this period the Americans, also, made sure that, far from changing their positions, the Soviet revisionists become weaker, so they stepped up the dose of their blackmail in order to tie them to themselves more firmly, and to compromise them more thoroughly. The United States of America sees that the Soviet «Da» (yes) to the alleged «anti-imperialist struggle» and the «anti-imperialist front» is mere demagogy, therefore US imperialism is making its aggressiveness more pronounced in order to back Soviet revisionists into a corner, so that they become more exposed and discredited and capitulate more quickly.
The Khrushchevite ideas of «peaceful co-existence», of «a world without wars, without weapons» have been shown up in their true colours, and nobody believes them. The fact is that with the war in the Congo, Laos, South Vietnam, and now, with the piratical American bombing of North Vietnam, the Americans are not only bringing the Soviets face to face with capitulation and exposure, but from their terror of war, have also forced the Soviet leaders to undertake diplomatic actions in favour of imperialist theses about Vietnam and putting down the liberation war. Kosygin's trip to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had fiendish demagogic aims of diversion, capitulation and deception. But he failed. The alleged aid to supply arms to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is nothing but demagogy and a trap. On the contrary, in fact, the Soviet revisionists are striving to organize international conferences with the capitalist states about the Vietnam problem, without Vietnam. There must be serious thought and military preparations, because it is highly possible that the Soviet revisionists since the time of Khrushchev, or even now, might have reached an agreement with the Americans that the Soviets would leave the Americans a free hand to «escalate» the war to North Vietnam and go even further, that is to say, to extend the conflict. Perhaps, on the quiet the Soviet leaders are going to satisfy themselves with bombastic demagogic statements, may make noisy «protests», and on the other hand, gather «facts and documents» alleging that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and China did not allow the Soviet Union to give Vietnam concrete assistance in arms and men. Of course, the Soviet revisionists are playing with fire, but they think that in this way they may «gain», by weakening the two sides, by getting China embroiled in war, encircling it with a ring of fire and a cordon of «friends» of the Soviet revisionists, such as the Indians. We should nip these plans in the bud.

We are of the opinion that «the problem of general disarmament», «the problem of Germany and Berlin» are being raised and deliberately inflated by the revisionists in order to divert attention. In fact, for them these problems are a propaganda smokescreen to disguise themselves and to divert attention from Indochina and China, where the struggle against imperialism and revisionism is really on the boil. That is where our two main enemies have concentrated their efforts.

The Soviet revisionists, together with the Americans, the French and Bonn, are trying to keep the peoples of the developing countries occupied with regional problems and prevent them from concerning themselves with more acute problems, from going on the attack everywhere, in a coordinated way. For example, we see how both the Americans and the Soviets are striving to confine the concern of the African countries to Africa problems only, and this is being concretized over the Congo issue, which is an important issue in itself, to get the Arabs to concern themselves only about the danger that Israel presents to them, to make Europe think only about whether to link up with Bonn or Ulbricht, and neglect or take little inte-
rest in Indochina and the problems of another continent. In Latin America, the Soviets keep their halter firmly round the neck of any self-styled «communist» leader, whose equivocal views, far from serving the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces, weaken them, and assist the revisionist chiefs of other communist and workers’ parties of the Latin American countries and all the modern revisionists.

It seems to us that there is a general tendency on the part of the modern revisionists in collaboration with imperialism, to disperse the revolutionary forces, and tie them up in separate problems, or to separate them deliberately in order to disorganize them.

The fact is that, in various meetings of an international character, this tendency is manifested in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which do not show coherence, are either defeated and isolated, or are «convinced» by the Soviets to raise a number of obstacles, so that the important international, or regional meetings, the dates for which have been set, are postponed, or never held, etc. We think that this question should be reconsidered and new tactics should be worked out to revolutionize the situation.

How should we carry on our struggle in this general situation which we have tried to describe as we see it and on the basis of the current circumstances?

We think that we should step up our polemic against modern revisionism, and make it sharper, and first of all, against the Soviet revisionists. They are weakening and need a respite from the polemics. Our duty is to allow them no time to catch their breath but to attack and expose them unceasingly, ideologically and politically. We must expose every action of theirs in the international field and in the field of relations among them, in order to sharpen the divergencies eroding them, to prevent them from grouping together and undertaking joint or separate actions against the peoples, against the revolutionaries and against our parties and states. Any «concession» on their part, any «tactics» of alleged rapprochement with us, should be utilized in a Marxist-Leninist way in all directions, to expose them, disarm them, and make them capitulate.

We think that we must organize and coordinate our struggle against them better. Even without organizationally coordinated work, our two parties have performed and continue to perform their full duty in the struggle, are clear about everything, and stand unflinchingly in the front line. But we cannot say the same of other Marxist-Leninist parties, which hold more or less sound positions. There are other parties, which have weak contacts, at least with our Party. There are some of them, which possibly consider the Party of Labour of Albania «hard», while they consider themselves on the «correct» road, because they are «cautious».

This «correct», «cautious» line, we think, has nothing at all to do with Marxist maturity and real understanding of how events are developing and whom we have before us as opponents. It has
nothing at all to do with a true appreciation of the dangerous nature of the opponent, of his cunning, his stubborn hostility towards our parties and countries and towards Marxism-Leninism, such as the Party of Labour of Albania makes of these problems.

In order to achieve unity of thought and action, or in order to explain and make clear to one another the reasons for the tactical actions of each party, we think that talks should be held among the parties. According to Hsinhua, you hold such talks with the parties of Asia, and this is a very good thing. We also practice this with you, and this is very good, too, but we do not do this with the parties of Asia, not because we do not want to, but because we have not had the opportunity. We have made use of every meeting we have had with the comrades of these parties which have participated in our celebrations, we have expressed our views, but these occasions have not been what bilateral talks, especially for discussion of problems and exchanges of views, from the two sides, should be. It seems to us that this is a shortcoming.

We think that the communists always need explanations, always need a correct interpretation of events. The fact is that the genuine communists in bourgeois and revisionist countries are oppressed and under surveillance. Many of them know nothing about the truth, many are confused by lies and demagogy, many others can only guess, while some are clear, listen to our radio stations, draw conclusions, perhaps even organize them-
them. Therefore, our revolutionary comrades and we must sharpen our vigilance, must guard against the «ill-founded enthusiasm» and «over confidence» that somebody might manifest without giving proofs in struggle. We and they must guard against «the beautiful revolutionary words» of some people and put them to the test of practice.

The unity of the thought and action of our two parties has been and is complete, since it is based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We think that at a time when the US imperialists are extending the war in Vietnam, when they are aiming to attack great China, at a time when the revisionists, with the Soviet leaders at the head, are intensifying their treacherous activity against communism, the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninist parties against Soviet revisionism should be strengthened. Our opinion is that at these moments, when the enemies are attacking us and when we are on the verge of war, such as the American threat in Vietnam, the vague, or not very active, not to say passive, stands of some sister party and the Marxist-Leninists of some country do not help our common cause.

Our view is that every opportunity must be seized in every country to set the ground ablaze under the feet of the American imperialists and their allies, the revisionists, in the fire of the struggle of the peoples and the Marxist-Leninists.

It is clear that the overall concrete goal of US imperialism, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of the world is to kindle the war in Asia, against China and other socialist countries of Asia, passing from local wars to a general conflagration.* The Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists are arming the Indian reactionaries very quickly and with all their might, in order to have them as assault detachments in opening up new hotbeds of aggression. There is no doubt that, under the pretext of defending their country, the Soviet revisionists will build up their strength along the border with China, in order to bring continuous pressure and blackmail to bear upon it, and will try with every means to neutralize the states around it, if they cannot separate them entirely from their traditional friendship with China. On its part, US imperialism will strive to strengthen its ties and domination, its preponderance* in Japan, in order to have it under its command, and if possible, to incite it to aggression. The Americans have great hopes of collaborating more closely with Britain for aggression, since its colonies in Asia are in jeopardy. In such situations, we are following the efforts and the correct policy pursued by the People's Republic of China of approaches to, and the consolidation of its friendship and relations with the other countries of Asia and Africa, in particular, where US imperialism is committing open aggression, and we have great confidence in their success. We think that we must make approaches to, and work with, the

* English in the original.

* English in the original.
countries of South-East Asia, not only to make them conscious of the great danger of a war, which is assuming ever more acute forms, but also to bring them to actively oppose US aggression and its aims for the extension of the war.

For our own part, we are of the opinion that we should further intensify the struggle, the propaganda and the exposure of war-mongering US imperialism, of the Soviet modern revisionists, the Titoites and their treacherous supporters. We must launch intensive attacks on their alliances and agreements, must call on the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other countries to take measures and to paralyze and reject all these agreements with US imperialism, must call on them to completely isolate the aggressive imperialists, call on the peoples, the working class, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia of the world to throw their full weight into the struggle to isolate US aggression, this new Hitlerism that is threatening the world with fire and steel.

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

The fraternal Vietnamese people, who are waging an heroic struggle, deserve every support.

US imperialism is even using poison gas against the South Vietnamese fighters, and is systematically dropping death-dealing bombs on North Vietnam. It is the sacred duty of all peoples and revolutionaries to defend the just cause of the fraternal Vietnamese people, and to help them with every means, to emerge triumphant.

In conclusion, we want to emphasize once again, what you express so correctly and openly in your recent attitudes towards the meeting of splitters in Moscow, that we should strengthen our unity of thought and action, should arm and temper ourselves more and more each day for the struggles awaiting us. We understand and give all-out support to your struggle which is based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. We are fighting and will fight, together with you and with all the other Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, for the triumph of our great cause. This is our final word, the word of the Albanian Party and people, we say this to you, to the fraternal Chinese people, to the Communist Party of China and to our comrade Mao Tsetung.

Published for the first time from the record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party (excerpts).
IN THEIR HEROIC STRUGGLE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM ARE RENDERING A GREAT SERVICE TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE ENTIRE WORLD

From a conversation with a delegation of the Association of Workers for the Liberation of South Vietnam

April 30, 1965

We are very pleased and happy that representatives of the heroic Vietnamese people have come to our country. We have always had a whole-hearted admiration for the people of South Vietnam because they are an heroic people and an example to all the peoples of the world to whom freedom, independence and socialism are dear. With their struggle, with their bloodshed and sacrifice, the Vietnamese people are showing all the peoples how they should stand up to and fight US imperialism, the greatest enemy of mankind.

All our people, dear comrades, are with you, because we know that you are fighting heroically and are making great sacrifices. We are convinced that your fight will continue as up to now, and thanks to your fight, you will certainly reap the final success. Vietnam will become the graveyard of US imperialism, which will sustain its greatest defeat there, thus bringing closer its inevitable doom.

Certainly, you are going through difficult moments at present, but we are very happy to hear that four-fifths of South Vietnam has been liberated, and that now the US imperialists have scuttled like crabs into Saigon, Da Nang and a few other big centres, and dare not poke their heads outside.

The war you are waging is a major sacrifice, but it has a very much greater effect on the world than hundreds of speeches and articles. When blood is shed for such great a cause, this cannot fail to leave its mark on the peoples’ cause. Your war is a document written with the blood of your people. Day by day the United States of America is sustaining defeats and being discredited in Vietnam.

You have heard, also, that the US Army has occupied San Domingo, and has sent more troops there today. It is clear what an international gendarme the United States of America has become.

How is the war in South Vietnam going now? The Vietnamese guests thank comrade Enver Hoxha for this cordial and friendly meeting and express their feelings of deep gratitude for the unsparing internationalist aid that the Party
of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have always given the Vietnamese people in their struggle for liberation. After they inform him about the situation of the war in South Vietnam, and express their determination to press on to final victory, comrade Enver Hoxha takes up the conversation again:

The Americans have been put in a difficult position in Vietnam, both militarily and politically. Politically, they are thoroughly exposed. Their political slogan that they have come to Vietnam allegedly to assist the Saigon «government», has collapsed completely, since no real government exists in South Vietnam today. Nor does their other slogan, that they are allegedly defending South Vietnam, hold water either, because the entire Vietnamese people have thrown themselves into the fight against aggressive US imperialism, and it is known that no aggressor can be a defender of the peoples, but is a murderer of the peoples. Hence, it is clear to everybody that the Americans are defending only their own imperialist interests in Vietnam. Your struggle has destroyed and is destroying any other propaganda and demagogy of theirs, as well. Militarily, too, the Americans in Vietnam are now relying only on their air force, napalm bombs and asphyxiating gases. They are powerless to do anything else; they cannot even poke their heads out of the main centres. In these circumstances, which are so difficult for them, they have begun bombing North Vietnam, but they themselves understand that their bombing of the North has no effect beneficial to their policy. On the contrary it is bringing them even greater discredit.

The American journalist, Lippmann, a well-known and loyal servant of imperialism, asks in a recent article, whether America should carry on the war in Vietnam, and what concrete gains it will have from the continuation of the war, from the bombing. Faced with the reality and disillusioned, he answers that it will gain nothing. On the contrary, argues this journalist, with these actions we are adding fuel to fire of the great hatred of the people. This is a futile policy, concludes this journalist, since far from gaining anything from these actions, we are only stirring up the hatred of the peoples and adding to the tide of national-liberation struggles.

Of course, Lippmann does not say this because he is against the aggressive policy of US imperialism. No, he is a creature of this imperialism and a defender of it. He says those things not only because he sees the bitter reality, but also because he wants to draw the attention of the ruling circles of the United States of America so that they lay down and apply more refined methods in their struggle against the freedom and the independence of the peoples.

So, dear comrades, your struggle is a brilliant and concrete example which proves the correctness and the universal validity of the Marx-Engels-Leninist principle that freedom is not donated, but is won, that imperialism has always been war-mongering and aggressive and will remain so till the end, that against this policy of imperialism it is not
words, but actions, people's all-out armed struggle, that is needed. Our Party, and all the other Marxist-Leninist parties, have stood and always will stand loyal to these teachings, and we rejoice that your struggle is based firmly on these immortal teachings. Basing yourselves on these principles you will never be defeated; on the contrary, you will always triumph. Whoever follows these teachings will certainly triumph.

What great services the heroic struggle of South Vietnam has rendered to peace, mankind and socialism! The modern revisionists have accused us of being «extremists», «dogmatists», «anti-Leninists», «Trotskyites», «adventurers», who allegedly do not understand things well, whereas they are allegedly pure Marxists! But experience has proved who was right and who was wrong. Right was, and is, on our side. Now you know very well that the manoeuvres of the modern revisionists have not ended. Our opinion is that the Soviet revisionists are incorrigible traitors and our Party has openly stated its views about them. Their claims about the «aid» they give have evil intentions. But neither the partisans of South Vietnam, nor North Vietnam, the Chinese, the Albanians, nor any of those who take a Marxist-Leninist stand, can be deceived by their demagogy.

When did the war in Vietnam begin? Yesterday? No! It has been raging, fierce and bloody, for more than 10 years. Were Khrushchev and Co. on a correct line, not only would they have poured weapons and missiles and all the necessary reserves into Vietnam, but they themselves would have put the Americans in their place, and then we would have seen whether the US murderers would have escalated the war in Vietnam so much. The Soviet leaders should have done this some 7 or 8 years ago. Now Brezhnev and Kosygin are shouting that they are allegedly in favour of Vietnam, that they allegedly want to send volunteers and arms there, but China is hindering them! We know those who are making this clamour, but we ask the question: six years ago, when the Americans were getting their claws into South Vietnam, could the Soviet Union not have built, say, 4 big aerodromes in North Vietnam and given Ho Chi Minh some 300 aircraft, bombers and «Mig-21» fighters, to be ready for this day? Could the Soviet Union not have trained not 300, but 600 Vietnamese pilots in time? Was the Soviet Union quite unable, six years ago, to meet all the needs of North Vietnam for missiles in order to defend a fraternal people? Who would have prevented it? America? There was nothing the United States of America could have said since it has poured such weapons into all its allies.

When the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt was launched, Khrushchev boasted that he had allegedly sent a telegram to Eden telling him to withdraw the troops, otherwise the button would be pressed and missiles would be sent flying towards Britain. But this was only a bluff, and this has been proved, because when imperialism stuck stubbornly to its aggressive policy, this same boaster who was going to destroy imperialism, not only did not press the button,
but did his utmost and strove continuously to have Vietnam disarm, to have Albania disarm, to have Cuba disarm! And now his loyal disciples are setting up a demagogic clamour that they are allegedly eager to come to Vietnam’s aid. This is deception for ulterior motives on their part. Truly brave people are those of much action and few words. Khrushchev was a great charlatan, all bluff, and a big liar, who would blab out something or other every day. Stalin did not speak often, but when he did speak the imperialists would tremble. Everything the revisionists do is merely for demagogy. Is one hospital begged from the public, which Pajeta¹ is to take there, going to save Vietnam? The revisionists are making a big fuss about these things in order to deceive the Italian communists.

It seems that in the last two or three days, one of the members of the Political Bureau of the (revisionist) Communist Party of Italy has written an article associated with Pajeta’s trip to South Vietnam. Wittingly or not, in the article he reveals that letters are going to the leadership of the Communist Party of Italy demanding to know what the leadership of that Party is doing in order to assist the Vietnamese people who are fighting. As a conclusion, the writer of the article says that it is impossible to answer all those letters, but announces that Pajeta has left for Vietnam to talk with the Vietnamese comrades and that a campaign has been opened in Italy to buy a field hospital for the Vietnamese fighters. The Soviet revisionists are acting in the same way. But what does such aid for Vietnam mean? The truth is that even that little that is given is only for purposes of demagogy, because we know very well how much aid they have given the Vietnamese comrades.

The stand maintained towards the United States of America over the Vietnamese problem has great importance. The United States of America should be cut off by all the anti-imperialist forces in all directions. You are fighting the Americans, you are fighting them blow for blow. China maintains a correct stand towards your struggle and is demanding the complete withdrawal of all Americans from Vietnam, that the Geneva agreements should be respected. The Chinese are in agreement with you and with the statement of comrade Pham Van Dong¹. Had the Soviet Union acted like China, then the United States of America would have been finished off in Vietnam long ago. But the Soviet revisionists are doing quite the opposite.

A little while ago your students in Moscow held a demonstration of protest against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, but the Soviet leadership suppressed the demonstration, under the pretext of protecting the American Embassy. Later, your students held a demonstration in Le-

¹ One of the main leaders of the revisionist Communist Party of Italy.

ningrad, where there is not a single foreign embassy, but there, too, the Soviets again sup-
pessed the demonstration by force, injuring many students. The question arises: in Moscow the Soviet leaders found the pretext of protecting the American Embassy, but what about Leningrad, who were they protecting from the students there? They suppressed the demonstration in Leningrad, too, because they were afraid of the Soviet people, afraid that Soviet citizens might fill the streets of the city together with the Vietnamese students. This would have exposed the Soviet revisionists further. Then, how can you trust their «aid»? Seeing that they say they are with Vietnam, why then did they not allow the Vietnamese students to demonstrate against imperialism in Leningrad? Why did they fear that the Soviet people might demonstrate together with the Vietnamese in Leningrad? It is clear that they were worried about what the United States of America would say about it, they were afraid imperialism would be angry.

The Soviet revisionists have completely lost any idea of what communism is. They have become deviators through-and-through and think that with their stands and combinations they will fool the Marxists. They do this because they no longer think like Marxists. They have alienated themselves from the masses of the people and will become more and more alienated. Of course, in the final analysis, terror will be their only remaining means.

The revisionists are trying to profit from these moments. It is their intention to profit from the blood you are shedding. But the revisionists ought to understand that neither South Vietnam nor North Vietnam are fighting to create political capital for the Soviet revisionists — on the contrary, they are fighting for the freedom of their people, for socialism and communism, for peace in the world. We are in complete agreement with your Statement, because it expressed the sentiments and aspirations of a valiant people, of our people, and of all the peoples of the world. That is the strength of your Statement, and we are fully convinced that it will have major repercussions in the Soviet Union. We never lose this hope, and now such moments have arrived that the revisionists there and everywhere are going downhill.

We are happy about one thing: you, we, and all the Marxists in the world, have the support of great China and its Communist Party which stands in a correct Marxist-Leninist position. China is a support for all of us and a steel shield against imperialism and modern revisionism. We have tested the correct internationalist stand of the Communist Party of China at difficult moments for our country. Although under very difficult conditions, as a country with a vast population and in the process of development itself, People's China has been unsparing in its internationalist aid for the fraternal countries, while the Khrushchevite traitors wanted to strangle us economi-
cally.

However, we will triumph. It is a fact that at present you are facing many difficulties, but they
will certainly be overcome. You said that the views of the people of South Vietnam are very similar to those of the Albanian people. That is true — we understand each other, because we are guided by common ideals, we are nourished by the same ideology, and follow a common line. Our Party knows and values the correct stand of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Today the Foreign Affairs Commission of our People's Assembly is studying the Appeal of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which will be put before the Presidium of the People's Assembly for approval. In regard to aid for Vietnam, we too, shall examine all the possibilities we have to help you. At this moment there are no greater difficulties than yours, therefore it is a comrade's duty to do without something to give it to him who is in greater difficulties. We are Marxists, therefore we must think about what we are going to do for you. It is our duty to give you our aid, without boasting about it, like the Soviets. We do not indulge in advertisement, and

our hearts ache over the blood our Vietnamese comrades and brothers are shedding.

And comrades, you may rest assured that, if you find it appropriate that volunteers from other countries should come to Vietnam, volunteers will come from Albania, too, to shed their blood together with you. And you can be sure that they will be true volunteers, loyal to the cause of the Vietnamese people, and not like those who will try to play the role of the fifth column. However, the Vietnamese comrades are experienced in war and they will uncover the countenance of the fifth column elements and send them packing.

With this we are doing nothing more than our duty, just as you, too, are performing a very lofty duty towards the cause of the peoples and communism. Now the entire world is waiting for a second Dien Bien Phu at Da Nang, and then for the Americans to be thrown into the sea. We are quite certain that this day will come.

We hope that you will stay with us for some days. We would like you to make many visits in Albania, to see our country, especially to meet the masses of the people. In the meetings you will have in Albania you will be doing us a great service for the further consolidation of the sound political situation that exists in our country. Then in these meetings, you will feel the throb of our people's pulse and the beat of their hearts for the people of Vietnam. We may speak to you in fine words, but when you meet our people you will see better and more concretely how much our people love your heroic people.

1 The Second Session of the National Assembly of the DR of Vietnam, held April 8-10, 1965, addressed an Appeal to all the parliaments of the world to act in various ways in support of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against US aggression. After discussing this Appeal, on May 3, 1965, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PRA adopted a Statement in support of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.
I do not want to weary you, comrades; we shall meet again tomorrow at the celebrations. Let us drink this toast to the glory of the heroic people of Vietnam, to your victory, to the comrades of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, to comrade Ho Chi Minh and all the other comrades of the leadership of the Worker’s Party of Vietnam.

Published for the first time from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party

MODERN REVISIONISM — THE MAIN DANGER AND ENEMY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS’ MOVEMENT

Conversation with a delegation of the CP of New Zealand comprising the General Secretary of the Party, V. G. Wilcox, head of the delegation, and the Member of the National Committee of the Party, R. Taylor.

October 6, 1965

Dear comrades,

First of all, on behalf of the Party of Labour of Albania, and its Central Committee and those of us here, I want to express to you our most ardent revolutionary thanks and the high regard we have for your Communist Party, which has fought and is fighting with all its strength for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against Anglo-American and world imperialism, against modern revisionism and Khrushchevite revisionism in particular.

Your Communist Party has become an example
for its maturity and clear-sightedness, for its fighting spirit on its Marxist-Leninist course.

Your Party has courageously defended Marxism-Leninism and assisted our Party which was being savagely attacked by the modern revisionists for the sole reason that it was on the right road. Nobody can appreciate more than we do the great help you gave our Party in the very difficult moments it was going through. One would have had to be present here, physically and in sympathy, in order to understand what enthusiasm, what strength and confidence our Party and people gained in those moments when, at meetings and rallies of the people, the great support and solidarity which the Communist Party of China, the Communist Party of New Zealand and other Marxist-Leninist parties gave us, were mentioned.

The Marxist-Leninist unity of our parties is a great force which came to the aid of the Party of Labour of Albania in its most difficult moments. We are grateful to your Communist Party and we shall do our utmost to merit this aid through our common struggle, in complete Marxist-Leninist unity, against imperialism, and modern revisionism, and for the triumph of socialism and communism.

Likewise, we express our great joy at having you in the bosom of our people. Albania and our Party welcome you with open hearts as our close comrades. We want you to feel completely at home here as if you were in your own country. We shall do our utmost to enable you to see and judge the work, the struggle, and the modest achievements of our Party and people.

In my exposé, I shall not speak about all the problems, but the Political Bureau has given us special instructions to provide full explanations and make every facility available to the comrades from New Zealand to investigate any problem in which they may be interested. Thus, apart from this exposé, we have made arrangements for comrades of the Political Bureau to inform you more extensively about other problems, ranging from the organization of the Party and the economy to the development of culture, so that your tour of our country will not only be pleasant, but will also enable you to see the reality of our country and the constructive work of the Albanian people, led by the Party.

Nineteen sixty-five is the last year of the 3rd Five-year Plan. During this period we are engaged in drafting the 4th Five-year Plan.

The fulfilment of many major targets of the 3rd Five-year Plan was made especially difficult by the economic blockade which the Khrushchevite modern revisionists organized against our country. Under these difficult conditions, especially during the first two years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, we had not only to achieve the targets envisaged, but also to make major amendments, to replace projects provided for in the agreements with the revisionist countries which they cancelled, and design new ones, with which the People's Republic of China supplied us. As a consequence of these amendments, on the one hand, work on build-
ing some projects was late in starting, as during these past two years we have had to mobilize large resources of manpower, materials and money, while, on the other hand, we had to look for other sources of supply and find other markets abroad.

As a result of the correct line followed by the Party and the mobilization and revolutionary drive of the masses, the 3rd Five-year Plan was, on the whole, fulfilled satisfactorily if we take into account the many difficulties created by the revisionists and the new measures we had to take to strengthen our country’s defence capacity.

During this five-year period, we shall complete the construction of more than 420 industrial, agricultural and social-cultural projects. Some of them are of major importance to our country, as they lay the foundations for new branches of industry, such as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the expansion of the local processing of minerals, the chemical and paper industries, as well as a considerable increase in the production of electric power, cement, textiles, etc.

**During the 3rd Five-year Plan the moral-political unity of the people around the Party, which was and is the decisive internal factor in the successful fulfillment of targets and overcoming difficulties, was strengthened and steeled still further.**

In the difficult times, when our Party and people were threatened with the danger of the total, double blockade by imperialists and revisionists, the Albanian people found the support of the People’s Republic of China, which, with the fraternal and internationalist aid it gave us, became an important external factor.

**After comrade Enver Hoxha informed the guests about the results achieved in the work for the fulfillment of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the main directions of the draft of the 4th Five-year Plan, the great efforts of the communists and of all our working masses to cope with the many difficulties created during this period, he concentrated on some important problems of the international communist movement:**

**How does the Party of Labour of Albania view the Soviet-led modern revisionism, and on what principles and with what methods and tactics does it wage the struggle against modern revisionism in general, and in particular against Soviet revisionism, Titoite revisionism, the revisionism of the so-called socialist countries, the revisionists in the communist and workers’ parties of the capitalists countries?**

The Party of Labour of Albania considers modern revisionism not as a separate ideology, but as an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist trend on a worldwide scale, as a modern variant of the bourgeois ideology, adapted to the new conditions of the period following the Second World War, in the ranks of the international working class and especially in the socialist countries, where the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established. It constitutes a very serious threat, which calls for the mobilization of the Marxist-Leninist forces of the world in order to expose it as a trend heading
for the complete identification with social-democracy. With our struggle we must ensure that the revisionist demagogy can no longer be camouflaged under Marxist slogans, but that modern revisionism is seen clearly as a trend of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, a trend of the bourgeoisie and its ideology.

The essence and strategic aims of this anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist trend are identical with those of social-democracy in the capitalist countries. Both these trends serve world capital, imperialism, they are variants of the bourgeois ideology to destroy the revolution by distorting Marxism-Leninism, to quell the national liberation struggles of the peoples and keep these peoples under the yoke of exploitation and oppression by capital with new forms and methods. These trends are in open or disguised alliance for the one ultimate aim. Within this aim, the tactics, slogans, methods of work vary, and this is dictated by the current general and particular national and international circumstances, by the contradictions between different capitalist states, by the differing levels of economic development of these capitalist states, by the different spheres of their influence and domination, etc. As well as that, the revisionists are obliged to alter their tactics by the level of the active revolutionary force which is resisting the modern revisionists in the «socialist» countries where they have seized power, by the struggle and revolutionary drive of Marxist-Leninist forces of the world, by the vigour of the people’s national liberation struggles, and many other more or less important factors in the world.

Social-democracy in the world, and especially in the capitalist countries, has its own objectives, organization and methods of work. It has organized, perfected and coordinated its activity with its national bourgeoisie and the international bourgeoisie, and has also stabilized its international connections in content and in organizational forms.

On its part, modern revisionism in the so-called socialist countries, in collaboration with modern revisionism in the communist and workers’ parties of the capitalist countries, has likewise formulated its national and world strategy and tactics.

In the Soviet Union and in the so-called countries of people’s democracy of Europe, modern revisionism has become a party and state ideology, therefore our struggle must be adapted to this characteristic of the time.

As an anti-Marxist trend in power, on the national plane it tries to bring about the degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist party into an anti-Marxist party and the degeneration of the socialist state into a capitalist state. On the national plane, it subordinates everything to these two main aims. Its methods, forms, and tactics, no matter how well established, may change according to many circumstances. On the international plane, the aim of the modern revisionists is to penetrate the international communist movement in order to split it, to make it degenerate, to influence and
inflict it with the whole gamut of their activity, with their stands, tactics, and methods.

Modern revisionism in power is trying to attain unity of thought and action with all the revisionists in the world, of course, with Moscow as its centre. Here, there are great contradictions and they will increase until these links, whether based on unity of thought or of action, are reduced to something like those that exist more or less in the ranks of the world social-democracy today.

Modern revisionism, whether in power or not, is under fire from many quarters, under the fire of the Marxist-Leninists and the people in the parties and countries where it rules, under the fire of our Marxist-Leninist parties which are fighting and exposing it, under the fire of the insoluble contradictions within modern revisionism itself, under the fire of the contradictions among the degenerated strata which it has brought to power, and under the fire of the capitalist bourgeoisie and imperialists of the world, with their particular contradictions, aims and purposes, under the fire, pressure, blackmail of those and various trends of the bourgeoisie.

Hence it is natural that, faced with this situation and complex of things, the modern revisionists should look for allies in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against our Marxist-Leninist parties, our socialist countries, the world communist movement, the peoples and their national liberation struggle, and these cannot be other than imperialism, and in particular the most powerful imperialism, that of the USA.

This alliance is expressed in their world policy, and in all the key problems with which mankind is concerned.

It is of great importance to understand this, both in regard to the scale these alliances have attained, and in regard to their ups and downs, their intensity, the forms used and the methods arrived at, their complete or partial successes and sometimes their complete failure. These things are not fixed, they are influenced and conditioned by many objective and subjective circumstances.

Viewing matters from this angle, let us briefly take up some key problems of our great struggle.

I do not intend here to enter into the essential principles of these problems which are clear both to you and to us, and on which there is complete unity of opinions between our two parties. However, during our talks we may also develop them further.

I want to elaborate on what the holy alliance between world imperialism and the modern revisionists, between capitalist bourgeoisie ideology and Soviet-led modern revisionism, consists of.

The existence of this holy alliance has been confirmed in moments of grave crisis for world imperialism, in its preparations for world war in order to overcome the major crisis which is threatening it from the revolutionary drive of the peoples in the world, from the political-ideological, economic and military strength of the camp of socialism and the struggles of the peoples for national liberation. The modern revisionists, headed
by the Soviet revisionists, immediately came to the aid of world imperialism, to rescue it from crisis and defeat. Herein lies their great betrayal.

Because they are ideologically, spiritually and morally on a course identical with that of US and world imperialism, and have the same bourgeois ideology, the modern revisionists were terrified by the threats of war, from US imperialism and its atomic blackmail, despite the great military potential at their disposal. Not only were they terrified of a world war that the Americans were preparing, but they were terrified also of the immediate and subsequent consequences of this war, terrified for themselves and for the moral, material and ideological patrimony of the world bourgeoisie, because the world revolution would wipe them forever from the face of the earth. Camouflaging their abject fear under their entirely bourgeois «humanism», they came before world capitalism with a complete platform, presenting themselves as obedient lackeys, as tested agents, devoid of all scruples, at the head of the Soviet Union, at the head of the socialist camp, at the head of the world communist movement.

The Soviet revisionists and their accomplices wanted to demonstrate to the imperialists, in words and deeds, that, «times have radically changed», that Marxism-Leninism, in its old forms, and in its actions and aims, has become obsolete, is out of date, that new conditions have been created, therefore we are presenting the new Marxism of modern times» (of course, without altering the essence, I am simplifying their thoughts and I shall not go into the specific forms they use to disguise their revision of our theory).

Apart from the intensive, open and behind the scenes preliminary work carried out by the Khrushchevite revisionists within the Soviet Union, in the ranks of the Communist Party of the USSR, in the socialist countries and in the international arena, in order to prepare putsches, the terrain and the people for the «great action», the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU are key moments, at which the modern revisionists came out openly with their traitorous theory.

We are obliged to think that the Soviet modern revisionists had come to the conclusion that the situation was ripe for such a turn on a world-wide scale, that the moment had arrived, so they hoped that everything would go off peacefully without resistance. The euphoria and exaltation of the first days of this great betrayal both on the part of the modern revisionists and the open and camouflaged opportunists, and on the part of US and world imperialism confirmed this. The chieftains of world imperialism rejoiced over what was happening, but they constantly demanded «tangible»* proofs, which the revisionists did not fail to supply. As for themselves, they did not budge from their principles, their world strategy, but made only some tactical gestures to back up the Soviet revisionists in their betrayal and urge them to go further.

What does the betrayal of the Soviet revision-
ists, and their advance and promises to imperialism and world capitalism consist of, what is the foundation of their holy alliance, and what assurances have they given the imperialists as a pledge of their loyalty to the bourgeois ideology and the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism?

a) «Peaceful co-existence and economic competition». There is no need to go into long theoretical argument, since it is clear, both to you and to us, that there is nothing Leninist in these slogans: they are anti-Leninist both in the way they are presented and in the concrete activity with which the modern revisionists go about applying them, (irrespective of the demagogic phraseology with which they are dressed up).

The fact is that a great revisionist-bourgeois capitalist racket was kicked up about these slogans, and those who refused to fall into step with them were described as war-mongers, anti-Marxists, and dogmatists. With this the Soviet modern revisionists wanted to implant in people’s mind the idea that, «there is no alternative to peace at any price, bourgeois peace, bourgeois humanism. So we should co-exist with capitalism, must preserve the status quo, give up revolutionary struggles, and solve everything through economic competition, which will determine who will triumph». Political co-existence, ideological co-existence, economic co-existence, all this camouflaged with demagogy, with a great hullabaloo, sensational, phoney outbursts, with retreats under intimidation, and advances when they considered the situation favourable, and all this dressed up in a falsified, revised, Marxist-Leninist theory — that is the line of the Khrushchevites over this important problem. The capitalist bourgeoisie welcomed this turn and supported it with its means, tactics and strategy, without making the slightest concession on its own part.

b) «A world without wars, a world without arms». This was the second assurance that the Soviet revisionists gave US and world imperialism. This was a consistent continuation of their betrayal. However, the Soviet revisionists did not give up their own armaments, because, as bourgeois capitalists, they need them to dominate the world and fight the socialist states, or in case of a flare-up with the other bourgeois imperialist states, being fully convinced that US imperialism and the other imperialists can never disarm themselves of their own free will. With these slogans the Soviet modern revisionists are pursuing other aims: to create a mirage of peace in the minds of the peoples, to disarm them morally, to take the weapons from their hands and eliminate the spirit of hatred for oppressors, imperialists, old and new colonialists, and the revolution against them.

In other words, the Soviet revisionists gave up the revolutionary proletarian internationalism, aid to national liberation wars, support for the right of nations. They not only renounced all support to national liberation wars, but condemned them, and jointly with the Americans, participated directly in suppressing them. Any action of the Soviets, which may be presented in
opposition to our theses, such as supplying a few weapons to some peoples, is done with definite aims, in order to keep them under their control, to employ those who receive arms from them to suppress the revolutionaries, to use them against the socialist countries and of course, to counterbalance the intentions of the imperialists, who want to weaken this budding imperialist power and are working to this end.

This anti-Marxist and imperialist line of the Soviet revisionists against socialism and the freedom of nations is proceeding on the course of the creation and strengthening of two powerful blocs in the world, of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which intend to divide their spheres of influence, to have the monopoly of atomic weapons, to be the most powerful economically, and dictate their own laws to other states and peoples, to be, both them and their satellites, in struggle against the socialist states, and first and foremost, the PR of China and our countries.

It is this line that inspires the notorious Moscow Treaty, the proposal for an alliance between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the agreements and intrigues over Germany, the empty talk about disarmament, the great aid to the Indian reaction, the extensive trade relations, the mutual granting of huge credits, the unprincipled and unprecedented development of cultural relations [with the West — Ed.] aimed at bringing about the degeneration of the socialist countries and the rejection of Marxism-Leninism.

This constitutes an entire complex which we Marxists are able to see clearly and to organize our struggle against it, but only provided we are able to single out the key problem, the main thing, for only in this way will we not lose our bearings in the great labyrinth where the problems do not appear as simple as we would like. They develop through their inner dynamics, in all their complexity, with ups and downs, advances and retreats, clear at one moment and obscure at another. The circumstances are not the same everywhere, many factors exert their influence for better or worse, defeats make the enemy draw in their horns, conceal their intentions temporarily, slow down their actions, smile and give way a bit.

None of this deceives us Marxists; we judge everything cool-headed and in a revolutionary manner. Their temporary victories make the enemies arrogant and menacing. We Marxists do not waver in our confidence in victory, we are not afraid of the enemy and do not capitulate.

Let us take, for example, the process of the evolution of several key problems for the Soviet revisionists. Some of them have completed their evolution but the aim remains the same. We must be clear about this in order to be able to see these evolutions properly.

In the beginning, the modern revisionists seemed to be monolithic. This did not mislead the Party of Labour of Albania. Whereas today the revisionists are quarrelling with one another, but not about rectifying their course of betrayal. This
does not delude us. Their quarrels originate from natural, internal contradictions, which are bound to emerge and which we should exploit, but not by violating principles, not by making concessions, not by cherishing illusions or toning down the struggle and polemics against them.

Violating the basic principles of fraternal, internationalist economic relations, the Soviet revisionists built up an entire system of economic relations with the socialist countries, the Comecon, etc., which, at the outset, appeared to be the «last word» in Marxism-Leninism on these questions.

The real aim of the Soviet revisionists was to have the entire economy of the socialist countries under their thumb, to make it an appendage of their own economy, to dictate the law to others, to exert pressure on and blackmail them and have them dependent and obedient politically, too. Comecon degenerated. There are insoluble contradictions among its member countries, the «law of the jungle» prevails among them. Things are not going the way the Soviets want in Comecon today, and this is natural. There are contradictions, which will become more profound and lead to the weakening of these links, which are capitalist in essence. The revisionist countries are putting themselves more and more thoroughly into the clutches of world capitalism.

Let us take the Warsaw Treaty. When it was created, its aims were just, but the revisionists changed them. They are dominant there, they make the law. The armies of the Warsaw Treaty are under the direct command of the defence minister of the USSR, they have no modern weapons, apart from those with which the Soviet Union supplies them, to the extent it wants or deems «reasonable». The revisionist slogan, «Don't worry, for I am defending you», was on the order of the day and accepted without a word of protest. Now things have begun to move there, internally, but not to our advantage. The partners of the USSR, the other revisionists, too, want to command like the Soviet revisionists; they want missiles, want to be informed about the plans for war and defence, want not just one to give the orders, but all of them. This is a situation which is developing, but we are not jumping with unfounded «joy». However this does not mean, either, that these things are not weakening the revisionists' strength and we should not profit from them, but we must act carefully, without violating our principles, without cherishing vain illusions or toning down our struggle and polemics.

The same thing may be said in regard to many other problems.

c) «The taking of power in a peaceful way», «on the parliamentary road», was another betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the basic principles of the revolution and its primary aim, of the seizure of power by the proletariat and its allies. It was a real offer and solemn promise made by the modern revisionists to the capitalist bourgeoisie, that it would no longer be threatened by the revolution, that the communists would settle everything on the road of social reforms, so dear to social demo-
cracy, which has experimented in this field. According to the revisionist theory, everything would be solved through reforms by the pseudo-Marxist parties which had betrayed the revolution, the working class and the working peasantry. According to the revisionists, this «taking of power by the proletariat» would come about completely peacefully, under the protection of the armed forces and the police, which, as is known, are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the capitalists. This would mean liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the countries of the West, in the capitalist countries; it was the road of their transformation and degeneration into social-democratic parties standing for social reforms, the road of open and secret compromises with the national bourgeoisie, this would mean the elimination of the revolutionary spirit of the communists, departure from every basic Marxist-Leninist principle in theory and in revolutionary practice.

In its materials our Party has elaborated its theoretical-political views about this and other problems in detail. Therefore, I am not going to enlarge on these questions since you may already be acquainted with these materials. We know that we are in agreement, in unity, with your Party’s views on these problems. The modern revisionists are employing demagogy on a large-scale and no end of sophistry on this question, just as on other questions. There is a marked tendency among them to engage in sterile, allegedly theoretical discussion of these questions in which they bombard you with formulas and quotations designed to cover their tracks, in order to weaken the real struggle and leave the revisionists in peace so they can go on with their destructive work and concoct alliances with the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats, and other anti-Marxist trends.

In these situations, we see that, on the one hand, modern revisionism is split into separate trends, heading in different but always anti-Marxist directions, and on the other hand, that new Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist groups are being created, are fighting, becoming consolidated, and finding their true road through struggle and innumerable difficulties.

Your Marxist-Leninist Party, which militates in a capitalist country, has a great deal of experience in this direction. We want you to tell us about this experience in order to arm ourselves better for our great, difficult, but glorious struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism from the attacks of modern revisionism.

It is a fact that this revisionist line has been of extraordinary assistance to the capitalist bourgeoisie; it has weakened revolutionary struggle inside the capitalist citadel.

Modern revisionism did not fall from the sky, but was prepared in certain conditions, by the objective and subjective circumstances. It has its own processes, causes, reasons, forms and methods, as well as its own strategic and tactical objectives. It has its own process of formation, organization, growth, ascent and decline, and of its final destruction. Marxism-Leninism will undoubtedly triumph over it. Marxism-Leninism will defeat
revisionism, and this defeat has begun under the stern blows of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. The fight is on and will continue with great severity. The fact is that Khrushchevite revisionism originated, became organized and consolidated, and seized the reins of power in the Soviet Union, in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leadership, after the death of Stalin, and not because of any fault of Stalin's, we re-emphasize, not because of the so-called mistakes of Stalin. The Party of Labour of Albania will not budge from this view, which is not an *a-priori* view, but one formed from a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis, based on internationally known facts and documents. It is a view which, as we consider and are convinced, is right, correct. The events and their development have confirmed our analysis and conviction. Linked by imperceptible threads inside and outside the Soviet Union, the counter-revolutionaries, headed by Khrushchev, worked towards this betrayal in the greatest secrecy. Right to his death, revolutionary vigilance had never been lacking in Stalin. This is evidence, also, of his revolutionary justice, which did not admit «arbitrariness» and «condemnation of suspects without proof». The Trotskyite criminals, including Khrushchev and Mikoyan, skilfully kept a low profile.

It is a fact, however, that after Stalin's death his collaborators lost their vigilance, became involved in the intrigues hatched up by the counter-revolutionaries, such as Khrushchev and Mikoyan, badly compromised themselves, forgot the teachings and criticism of Stalin, lost their militancy, and eventually fell into the trap the counter-revolutionaries set for them. In our opinion, they bear great responsibility for this catastrophe. To determine the degree of their responsibility many documents, which we do not possess, are needed, but it would be un-Marxist not to charge them with responsibility. However, it would be an anti-Marxist action to condemn them on the basis of the slanders of the counter-revolutionaries, headed by Khrushchev.

Our stand towards the great Stalin is publicly known. This stand will never change, since it is based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis, and not a sentimental one. The Party of Labour of Albania has rejected and will reject all the slanders of the modern revisionists against Stalin. This is a cabal, a great international mafia, organized to discredit Stalin, as a great Marxist-Leninist leader and as a person, and through him, to discredit Leninism, the Bolshevik Party, the construction of socialism in the USSR, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist camp, etc. We cannot be shifted in the slightest in our view on this question, and we do not permit ourselves to discuss the filth, the facts and the arguments concocted by the Khrushchevites.

Stalin's activity during his whole life is as clear as the light of the sun. We must pass judgment on him on the basis of his consistent, principled, revolutionary activity, full of struggle and sacrifice, self-denial and heroism, and complete loyalty to Leninism. And the analysis is com-
pletely positive, excellent, and free from any blemish. Which is that Party that, in the course of its long road, has made not even a single mistake, who is that Marxist-Leninist leader who has not been wrong even once in his assessments and decisions, or over one or several separate problems in his revolutionary life? Neither the Bolshevik Party, nor Stalin could avoid this. Some mistakes may have been made in certain circumstances, under special conditions, if they were made at all. But if such mistakes have been proved, not those Khrushchev claims, Stalin has recognized them himself and has criticized them, as the great Marxist he was.

Our Party has fought and will fight to the end, for the complete rehabilitation of Stalin. We consider this as one of the most important questions of principle.

Why do we do this, why do we treat this question in this way, and have we correct and solid grounds for our stand? As traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as anti-Marxists, as allies of the capitalist bourgeoisie in ideology and everything else, as enemies of the USSR and socialism, first and foremost the Soviet modern revisionists had to give real proof of their being revisionists in everything and of their definite break with Marxism-Leninism, and socialism.

They had to liquidate the construction of socialism in the USSR, to denigrate the victories of socialism in theory and practice, to discredit the Soviet socialist system, and build up an entirely anti-Marxist theory to prove, allegedly, that Lenin did not think that socialism would be built as it was built; that Stalin distorted Lenin's teachings through his «anti-Leninist views, his arbitrariness, and the cult of Stalin». In a word, according to the revisionists, the construction of socialism in the USSR was a monstrous aberration* for which Stalin was to blame, that had to be totally liquidated and turned into «genuine socialism», as the Khrushchevite revisionists envisaged it, in all its aspects.

Hence, according to the Khrushchevites, Leninism is only a variant similar to social-democracy, and the Soviet Union should return to «genuine Leninism». The Khrushchevites did nothing other than what the capitalists had been doing all along in their struggle against the USSR, the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. The Khrushchevites proved to be the dirtiest agents of world imperialism. To attain their goal, they resorted to all means, to every kind of demagogy, and theoretical distortion, concocted all sorts of slanders, which they raised to a system, to the level of theory, organized putsches within the Soviet Union and outside it, exploited the trust of the Soviet masses, their faith and love for the Communist Party of the USSR, spread illusions, and promised the earth and the sky. We lived through all these things, saw them develop, saw the hidden aims behind their sophisms, their hypocrisy, their demagogy, saw their traitorous actions carried out

* French in the original.
systematically in practice, one by one, within and outside the Soviet Union.

These actions were very much to the liking of world imperialism, which cheered and applauded them, backed them up and exploited them to the maximum. In this way the imperialists achieved a success even greater than they had expected. But still they were not satisfied: their revisionist agency had to go even further and deeper. The communist and workers’ parties and their ideology, their minimum and maximum programs, had to be smashed, the revolutionary spirit of Marxist parties had to be extinguished, the dictatorship of the proletariat had to be destroyed to its foundations, the Soviet state power had to be changed in substance and form, the economy had to be transformed in its principles, content, and organizational forms, education and culture, the way of life, the sound proletarian morality had to be corrupted, the ideological, and organizational concepts of all these «old» and «harmful» things had to be changed. The state apparatus, also, had to be purged of revolutionaries, the Trotskyites, the counter-revolutionaries, dead and alive, had to be rehabilitated, and the latter placed in power, all measures had to be taken in order to create and strengthen the stratum of the new bourgeoisie, the pillar of the revisionist regime, to develop moral corruption and the «new superstructure» of a «new structure» which was being built. All this was carried out amidst great confusion and under a deafening racket set up with the deliberate purpose of dazing people with a dreadful concerto organized on a world scale.

Not only was there nothing Marxist about the struggle of the revisionists against the «cult of the individual», and especially the «cult of Stalin», but it had definite aims, both within the Soviet Union, for the reasons we have mentioned, as well as in the other parties, in the direction of the liquidation of sound Marxist-Leninist leaderships and preparing the ground for suppression of any resistance to their betrayal. All those who opposed the revisionist course were to be accused as «Stalinists», hence anti-Marxists, dogmatists, warmongers, criminals, agents of imperialism, and what not. The entire Trotskyite, counter-revolutionary vocabulary, was to be used, as, in fact, it was.

With their anti-Marxist views, their megalomania, their economic and military power, and relying on and camouflaging themselves behind the prestige and authority of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite revisionists thought that the resistance to their betrayal would be weak and quickly eliminated. As anti-Marxists, they underrated the strength of Marxism-Leninism, its dynamism and revolutionizing power. But, on the other hand, it would be a mistake to think that the modern revisionists foresaw no resistance at all on the part of the Marxist-Leninists, and the Marxist-Leninist parties, whether in power or not, but which stood loyal to principles. However, they thought that going ahead with their course would bring the
results they desired and hoped for, in their advances and capitulation to imperialism and the world capitalist bourgeoisie over all international issues. Of course, this did not occur. Their betrayal brought them no gains and the struggle of our Marxist-Leninist parties, the struggle of all the communists in the world, the people’s liberation struggles, and the aggressive actions of US imperialism exposed this great betrayal and brought about the failure and unmasking of their sinister plans. And the resolute resistance, the stern, ceaseless, principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against modern revisionism began. One of these parties, which stood and stands firm on Marxist-Leninist principles, which stands unwaveringly in the front ranks of the struggle, is the Communist Party of New Zeland, for which we have a great and sincere respect.

The Khrushchevite revisionists and all the other modern revisionists found themselves facing an extremely difficult situation, facing a struggle which they had to cope with, because it threatened them with death and destruction. This struggle developed to a crescendo, passing through many phases. The modern revisionists used all their means, all their demagogy to subdue us, to split us and set us quarrelling with each other, and to silence the polemics. What did they not set in motion! But they achieved only defeat and disaster, up to the liquidation of the arch-revisionist Khrushchev.

We have lived through the vagaries and phases of this great struggle, and have been active, militant participants in it. We know the stands of our parties, therefore, it seems to me that here is no need to enlarge upon this. However, I want to explain some aspects of our Party’s struggle which were not very clear to some comrades loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and to our Party in particular, notwithstanding that, in principle, they were in agreement with our Party’s principled stand.

The Party of Labour of Albania has done its duty to the end and will continue to do so, without any deviation from the Marxist-Leninist principles, in the struggle to defeat modern revisionism. The Party of Labour of Albania embarked on this struggle, fully conscious of its implications and with deep convictions based on well-studied facts. With full maturity, it considered this as the most serious issue of great responsibility, on which depended its own fate, as well as that of its beloved people that gave it birth and tempered it in struggle, precisely to lead them in struggle and to the great victory of the liberation and the construction of socialism in our country. Our Party was ready to make any sacrifice, because only in this way could Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism, the future of mankind and our small country be safeguarded. At first, some comrades did not understand this major decision of our Party, but they became convinced, later, totally convinced.

There were some who underrated our decision and our struggle. The enemies thought that it was an adventure by a handful of people, a blaze in
the straw which would flare up but quickly burn itself out. But they were mistaken and broke their heads. Some friends called our decisions imprudent, rash and immature. Their opinions were ill-based. We were convinced of the correctness of our decisions and actions, we were calm and patient, because we knew that, later, we would be understood and supported, and this is what did occur.

What was the source of our confidence in the justice of our struggle, which to others appeared an exaggerated confidence? Our Party was a young party, created in struggle and tempered in war and revolution. Throughout its struggle and activity it had rigorously and faithfully upheld our Marxist-Leninist principles and ideology.

But of special importance is our Party’s great experience from the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, in the course of nearly fifteen years prior to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In stern struggle with the Titotite traitors, our Party had learned to be extremely vigilant, as it had bitter first-hand experience of the tactics, the sinister plans, the demagoguery, the methods of struggle and propaganda, open and subversive, of the Yugoslav modern revisionists against our country, as well as against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, day by day, over fifteen years. This was a great school for our Party. It tempered us, strengthened our confidence in victory, taught us to distinguish the enemies, no matter how well camouflaged. Thus in the struggle against modern revisionism, our Party was not so young and unexperienced despite its youth. Had it proceeded imprudently and irresolutely in its struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, against the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Italian neo-fascists, and all the imperialist conspiracies, our Party would have broken its neck long ago. But, this did not occur. And neither would it occur in the great struggle against the Khrushchevite and other revisionists.

Our Party’s resolute and principled stand against Khrushchev at the Bucharest Meeting came as a surprise, as a bombshell, to some. Because of the still obscure circumstances of the Soviet actions at that time, this is understandable up to a point. But our Party was completely clear about the Khrushchevites’ betrayal and had taken the definite decision that the resistance to it had to begin.

This decision was taken after a long process of years of normal collaboration with the Soviet leadership which came to power following the death of Stalin. But during this collaboration we were vigilant; at first, some things made an impression on us, later we saw that they were assuming forms that were not in order, were becoming serious. Between us and the Khrushchevites there were frictions; we had discussions, sought explanations, and opposed some of their actions.

Khrushchev’s rapprochement with the Titotes was the alarm signal for our Party. We immediately opposed this action of the Soviets, but the Khrushchevites discounted our concern. The struggle started in the Presidium of the CC of the
CPSU. This made us even more vigilant. The public denigration of Stalin began even prior to the 20th Congress, at which it reached its climax. Our Party expressed its dissatisfaction openly and maintained its former stand towards Stalin.

If you examine our Party's practices in relations with the Soviets over this period, then you will form an accurate idea of our careful and cool-headed stand as well as of our efforts to solve the contradictions which had began to appear, in a friendly and fraternal manner. Our resistance, which was steadily mounting, was known to the Soviet revisionists, hence our stand in Bucharest did not come as a surprise to them.

Prior to the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet revisionists had started their sabotage, and open and disguised threats and blackmail against our country. All these things were planned and were to precede the blow which Khrushchev would strike at our Party and the Communist Party of China. We understood very clearly that the struggle of the Soviet revisionists against the Communist Party of China and our Party was beginning. We decided to accept their challenge whatever the cost, and made everything ready to put forward our views at the Moscow Meeting. The Bucharest Meeting was a warning, a threat to the Chinese and to us, to submit to Khrushchev, to demonstrate our obedience to him at the Moscow Meeting. However we gave them our answer beforehand, at the Bucharest Meeting.

You were present yourselves at the Moscow Meeting, you heard our speech, you heard their speeches, you witnessed their bandit-like attacks on us, their behind-the-scenes intrigues and pressures. After the Meeting the Soviet revisionists broke off all connections with us, and their attack on us reached its crescendo as you know, therefore I need not enlarge upon this. Only I want to emphasize that our Party was not afraid of confrontations, discussions, talks. It was the Soviet revisionists who were afraid of them, therefore they resorted to every means to force us to our knees but they were unable to crush us with their «great weight» and with the authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Neither the one means nor the other succeeded. They began their struggle against our Party openly, and we answered them, prepared, monolithic, convinced that we were waging a just struggle against a great betrayal and against the biggest traitors the world communist movement has ever known.

Why did the Soviet revisionists act so brutally and unreasonably against the Party of Labour of Albania?

First, because they were inveterate and incorrigible enemies.

Second, because the resistance and the determined struggle of our Party was well-based on principles and facts. They were clear that they could expect no opportunist compromise or giving way on principles from us. They made every effort to deceive us, to corrupt us, to discredit and overthrow us. All their plots were defeated. They went to the limit, because, from day to
day, our Party's struggle was becoming a greater danger to them; the more the days passed the worse it was for them.

Some friends say that the leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR made mistakes in regard to the Party of Labour of Albania, therefore it should correct them. This is true, but it is not the whole truth. The Soviet revisionist leadership made mistakes in regard to Albania, because the Soviet leadership had betrayed Marxism-Leninism, otherwise it would not have made these mistakes. Their mistakes towards us are the result of their betrayal, the logical conclusion of their deviation from Marxism-Leninism. Our Party did not commence the struggle against the Soviet revisionists proceeding from their mistakes towards us, but because they were betraying Marxism-Leninism. The mistakes they piled up in regard to us were proof of this betrayal, but only of a small part of it. Therefore those friends were wrong to think that the Soviet leaders' mistakes in regard to us would be corrected apart from the mistakes of their betrayal. They were wrong if they thought that, after one or two meetings with the Soviet revisionists, we would be reconciled with them and that the disagreements, which were profound, general disagreements on principles before they were particular differences between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the USSR, would disappear. In its struggle our Party was not guided by economic considerations, nor by other minor practical considerations which could be solved easily, as some people thought.

Now, I want to explain briefly the reasons for the known stand of our Party in regard to bilateral meetings, to the calling of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties, and the cessation of the polemics.

Up to and during the Moscow meeting, we have held bilateral meetings with the Soviets. On their part, these meetings were mean and hostile, they were pressure, blackmail. We were convinced at that time, and our conviction was strengthened later, that the Soviets sought meetings with us and the others in order to disguise themselves, to bring pressure to bear on us, to create the illusion that talks were being held and to put the blame on us. After the Moscow Meeting we agreed publicly, in principle, to have bilateral meetings, but we imposed well-based conditions, of which you know. To some, these conditions appeared exaggerated, rather particular, special. In making such a judgement these people were mistaken. These conditions were not imposed to flatter the amour-propre of our Party, but because if they were accepted (which the revisionists could never do), only Marxism-Leninism would have benefited.

We knew that nothing of benefit could emerge from meetings with the revisionists either for the Party of Labour of Albania or for the international communist movement, but the thing was that the blame for not going to those meetings should fall on them, and not on us. And this was what occurred. They were unable to profit from their
demagogy. Our principled stand was a modest contribution to the exposure of their betrayal and manoeuvres.

Also for the general meeting proposed by the revisionists, we imposed stringent conditions which are known. Why did we impose these conditions? Precisely in order that the meeting should not be held from the positions of the revisionists and to prevent them from achieving what they were aiming at.

We have made an extensive analysis of the revisionists' intentions in regard to this meeting in the public documents of our Party. They were in urgent need of this meeting, for they were in a very grave and difficult situation. We did not need it, because it was harmful to Marxism-Leninism and because we were in very strong positions. Therefore, if we were to go to that meeting, we would weaken the position we had already gained and they would exploit it to prolong their existence and carry on their betrayal at their ease, since their sole aim was to have us cease the polemics and to create the impression that work was going on to reach unity.

What does our Party think about the polemics and unity? It has defined its opinion on these matters, too, in its official and public documents.

There can never be unity of thought and action with the revisionist traitors. Herein lies the source of the polemics which can never cease.

There can be no hope of unity on the basis of demagogy, speculation, wishful thinking, or sentimentality. The unity of the Marxist-Leninists is something entirely different from this and is based on sound principles. Without proceeding from, and fully restoring, these principles, there cannot be unity, but only strife.

To the modern revisionists unity means the cessation of the polemics, failure to recognize their betrayal, continuation of this betrayal, unity in the things that allegedly «unite us» (in fact nothing, absolutely nothing unites us, but everything divides us), etc., etc.

This unity can never be acceptable to us. If you accept it you have slipped into revisionist positions, have accepted their whole line of betrayal. Our Party will never fall into this trap. An agreement with the modern revisionists can exist only when they have condemned their betrayal, openly and publicly, and not just in words, but in everything, and when they have shown with concrete deeds that they have made a complete change. That will be the time when talks and meetings can be considered.

Can the revisionist traitors make such a change? Anyone who thinks they can, has no brains. If the revisionists do this (which they will never do), then they will have condemned themselves to death. Other people will come and we shall talk with them. They will be revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists, but the revisionists will not hand them their head on a platter. The heads of the revisionists has to be cut off with struggle, with revolution.

The revisionists had betrayed completely them-
selves, and wanted the whole international communist movement to follow their course. This did not and could not happen. The modern revisionists were exposed and are suffering defeat after defeat. They continue to howl about unity, and are striving in a thousand ways to spread corruption in order to achieve at least a compromise, a false unity, an alleged unity. We should fight this manoeuvre and these efforts of theirs with all our might, and with our fight against modern revisionism must temper the true revolutionary unity of the Marxist-Leninists. This is the only correct road for us.

Khrushchev was brought down. This was a victory for Marxism-Leninism, because it was a terrible defeat for the revisionists. With due modesty, we should recognize that great merits in this victory belong to the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of New Zealand and other parties which take a sound stand, which have been carrying on a stern, unwavering, correct and principled struggle against the traitors to Marxism-Leninism. But who are these people who have succeeded Khrushchev? They are precisely the same people, the main ones who prepared and carried out the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, who worked out and implemented the revisionist line, who launched furious attacks on Marxism-Leninism, in ideology, politics, organization, the economy, culture and art, etc., etc., the same people who attacked and are fighting our Marxist-Leninist parties, the same people who linked themselves with US imperialism and the world bourgeoisie and are working with might and main by all manner of means to temper this alliance against communism, socialism, and the peoples of the world.

How can any communist think, for one moment, that with Khrushchev’s downfall, something has changed in the Soviet Union, how can he nurture any hopes in these renegades? They are worse than Khrushchev, even more cunning than he was, and their actions are confirming this. Therefore, the fight against them must be carried through to the end and more sternly than ever.

We cannot agree with some people to whom the «new» revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union appears «somewhat more positive», and therefore, according to them, «we should try not to be so severe towards them», and other such nonsense, while the views of some others, who, although they take a Marxist-Leninist stand, say, «As long as the Soviet revisionists do not attack us by name, we shall not name them, either. The Communist Party of China, the Communist Party of New Zealand, the Party of Labour of Albania have the right to attack them by name because the Soviets have attacked them», do not seem correct to us, either. Or the other opinion: «We are learning from the struggle against revisionism and from your parties». This is a good thing, and we thank them for their sympathy for our parties. But to learn from others is one thing, and to learn from the struggle, which your party should wage
itself is another thing. The two should be linked together, coordinated.

Since they are unable to stop the polemics, the revisionists are very content if there is only talk about modern revisionism in principle, without stigmatizing them. They will even give you credits and aid to this end. But to close your eyes to this great betrayal, and some are doing this in return for economic aid, does not smell of Marxism.

It is impossible (and in no way desirable) «to keep the goat and the cabbage together», in other words, to take a sentimental centrist stand, as some people do, by saying, «We should avoid an open, unrelenting, ruthless fight against modern revisionism, for in this way, even indirectly, we would be attacking the Soviet Union, the first country of socialism, the country of Lenin and Stalin, the country of the great traditions of the Bolsheviks».

These questions must be separated. It is an historical fact that revisionism, a bourgeois capitalist, anti-Leninist trend, is in power in the Soviet Union, and that it absolutely must be fought. Never for one moment should we allow the Khrushchevite revisionists to take advantage of a situation of calm to consolidate their treacherous positions. If we hesitate in our struggle against them, tomorrow we shall be obliged to do what we should have done today, and it will be more difficult for us, when the Khrushchevite revisionists have forced Leninism into deep illegality in the Soviet Union. And this day will come, if we do not make life impossible for the revisionists right now. We are not in agreement with, and cannot understand, those parties and those Marxist-Leninists who say they are against modern revisionism and are fighting it, but who do not fight Khrushchevite revisionism openly and consistently.

Modern revisionism is not a shadow but a reality. And we must fight the reality and not the shadow. If we fight the shadow, then we are not Marxist-Leninists, but modern Don-Quixotes.

To sacrifice principles for momentary interests and benefits, to think only about internal national interests, and to lose sight of international interests, to be lured by the aid, credits, flattery and illusions of the modern revisionists, and first of all, of the Khrushchevites, such things cannot be considered compatible with a Marxist-Leninist stand, no matter how much the bearers of these ideas and actions, which are out and out centrist and opportunist, may beat their breasts and swear they are Marxist-Leninists.

Of course, our principled struggle against these centrist views will be differentiated from the struggle we are waging and will wage against the modern revisionists, because we must strive to the end to make clear to these people the serious weaknesses of their stands, because amongst them there are also some correct things, on which we should base ourselves in order to point out their opportunist stands. But despite this fact, which we shall take into account in our relations with
these parties or with these Marxist-Leninists, we shall make no concession at all on principles.

The modern revisionists make use of every means to split us, because our unity means death to them and to their patrons, the US imperialists. Therefore, we must temper this unity under the unerring guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

The modern revisionists have slogans about unity on the tip of their tongues, but they violate them in pursuit of their own interests and to urge those who do not obey them to a distorted concept and application of these slogans, in order to damage our Marxist-Leninist unity which is based precisely on a correct understanding and application of these principles.

For our parties there is no such thing as commanding and commanded parties, mother and daughter parties, dependent and independent parties, major and minor parties, and so on; the only guide for our parties is Marxism-Leninism, and the strength of our unity depends on correct understanding and application of it. In this context, it is impossible not to recognize the merits of one or the other party in the common cause, not to recognize their possible shortcomings and mistakes and not to correct them, while exchanges of opinions and advice between our parties, the threshing out of problems and the finding of a common and more fruitful course of action cannot be considered harmful. This is necessary and in conformity with our principles. Otherwise, there would be no unity of action, and we would find ourselves disarmed in the face of our savage enemies.

That is how we understand these things. The enemies call us "satellites of China". This absurd insult does us no harm, provided that our work goes on smoothly. The fabricators of this slander are the very ones who, some years ago, called us "agents of the imperialists", but time has proved that it is they who are agents of the imperialists, and not we. But to fail to unite to a man in order "to shut the mouths of the revisionist slanderers" (who never stop slandering), and some have this in mind, and thus weaken the links of our unity, this is the greatest mistake that could be made. Our Party has not made this mistake and never will make it.

Our Party has its own opinions, reached after a thorough analysis. Our Party considers the situation in the world and the international communist movement as revolutionary, to our advantage and to the disadvantage of our enemies. But the situations must be looked right in the eye and faced up to with courage. Despite the defeats they have suffered and are suffering the enemies have not laid down their arms. They are continuing and extending their aggressions and preparations for war. We must respond to the enemy's violence with violence, and not allow him to attack us with shells and napalm, while we fight back at him with cotton wool. The time has come for a "blow-for-blow" struggle.

US imperialism and world reaction are perpetrating one aggression after another against the
peoples in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Pakistan, the Congo, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere. The Soviet modern revisionists are in close alliance with the imperialists, assisting them indirectly in all these aggressions. The modern revisionists themselves have not begun open aggressions, but they will come to this, too. At present the modern revisionists are in the phase of putsches and plots in our countries.

At a time when imperialism is attacking the peoples with war and has created many centres of conflict, the Soviet and other revisionists, with all their means, with their economic strength, with the power of their propaganda and diversion, over the whole gamut of theory and policy and in the other fields of their treacherous activity, are intensively preparing the terrain for the open struggle imperialism is waging. We are of the opinion that the thesis of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, «Revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement», is no longer complete. Now it has also become the main enemy in the international communist movement.

The present circumstances in the world, which we should always have under thorough analysis at the necessary level, call for meetings and consultations among us. The Marxists should face these situations with ever rising revolutionary impetus. Our Party thinks that the times we are living through are not times for never-ending, sterile, academic discussions, but for courageous, militant revolutionary actions, full of self-denial and sacrifice. The modern revisionists and the bourgeoisie with its parties, are waging a great propaganda campaign about peace and bourgeois humanism; they want to create the opinion that our revolutionary militancy is allegedly «sectarianism, dogmatism», and so on, not only among the people at large, but also among those communists who are vacillating and cowardly.

We Marxists are neither sectarian nor dogmatic. We combat these manifestations because they are alien to communists. But to fall apart ideologically, politically and organizationally under the false accusations made by the revisionists with ulterior motives, to tone down or cease our attacks on the enemies, this cannot and must never be allowed.

The ranks of our parties should be strongly organized, tempered and ready to fight without let-up. Our parties must be raised to a high level politically, ideologically and militarily and trained to perfection, not for parades, not just to be able to recite quotations from our classical teachers, but for struggle, for revolutionary actions. The militant revolutionary spirit of the heroic times of the Comintern and the time of Lenin and Stalin should characterize world communism today. It was not without definite hostile aims that Khrushchev and Co. undertook the struggle to discredit the Comintern.

This is neither the place nor the time for us to discuss and judge the activity of the Comintern. Such a judgement will have to be made at the appropriate time, by all of us on the basis of authentic facts assessed within their own circumstances and time, and we must not accept the
slanders of the Khrushchevites and their hostile judgements on the Comintern, formed by manipulating the documents, which unfortunately they have in their hands today, to the advantage of their treacherous cause.

Should such an analysis be carried out now? Our Party is of opinion that it should not. Our imperative task is to take over and study the fine heroic revolutionary experience of the Comintern in order to employ it in our actual conditions, and we must not consider it «ancient history», good only for dusty archives, merely because Khrushchev attacked the Comintern.

The Comintern may have committed mistakes in its ideas, actions and organization, but even these errors, if they were made, are lessons to us. However, the great role and the work of the Comintern, which gave powerful assistance to the creation, organization and tempering of the communist and workers’ parties of the world, are undeniable. It waged a correct and severe struggle against opportunism and all the anti-Marxist trends and exposed them, successfully unmasked the capitalist war, tempered the communist and workers’ parties with the doctrine of the revolution, achieved the definitive break with social-democracy, mobilized the peoples for the exposure of and the struggle against, fascism in the world, and helped the communist and workers’ parties during the Second World War.

Who can say that many present-day situations are not similar to those of the time of the Comintern? Formerly, world communism had the struggle against social-democracy in its ranks, today it has the struggle against modern revisionism. In the opinion of our Party today, not unity with the revisionists but the definitive split with them is on the agenda. Today the creation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties and the assistance which should be given them is on the agenda. Today we are confronted with a threat of war from imperialism, social-democracy, and modern revisionism. Today the mobilization of all the communists and peoples to cope with, and definitively defeat, the danger is on the agenda.

Is there not a similarity to the difficult times of the Comintern? Can we, communists, allow ourselves to neglect its great experience, which is the experience of the struggle of the world working class, with its victories, its errors and its shortcomings? The present period is not identical, and I am not saying that we should adopt or copy the forms, work, the methods, forms of organization and leadership of the Comintern, appropriate to that period, with all their advantages and disadvantages. No! That would be wrong and inappropriate, but our Party is of the opinion that the general line of the struggle, the militant revolutionary spirit, the militant understanding and implementation of our theory in the struggle against enemies, the idea of the creation of contacts for cooperation and coordination in the new present-day conditions are urgently necessary.

Each party is independent in its judgements and decisions, but none of our parties can be independent from Marxism-Leninism, and its decisions
cannot be at variance with our theory. No party should meddle in the internal affairs of another party, this is a correct principle, but this does not prevent and should not prevent the coordination of actions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Our struggle will become even more powerful and we shall score greater results if we are more active in the preparation and multiplication of our attacks. It is clear that in this great battle with the imperialist-revisionists, their main aim is the preparation of war against China, Albania and other socialist countries and peoples of the world.

Sluggishness, hesitation, vacillation will not do in these situations, which call for courage and maturity. Insipid, weak, opportunist tactics and phraseology will not do in these situations. They should aim at swift militant actions, which should assist our revolutionary strategy every day and every hour.

This does not mean that our parties should not be creative in their tactics, on the basis of the situation that presents itself, in the circumstances in which each of them is working. But neither is it correct, while wanting to be considered militant, to adopt a tactic of marking time, aiming to take up whatever issue arises, without any international perspective in aid of the world revolution, and national-liberation struggles.

Comrade Enver Hoxha then went on to speak about the contradictions and the political, ideological and economic crises in which the capitalist and revisionist countries of Europe had become embroiled.

We should take advantage of, and exploit, this situation in Europe, but must never lose our vigilance and be misled by the developing circumstances brought about as a result of our struggle and the internal contradictions which are eroding imperialism on the verge of its demise. We must assess the developments correctly and raise the revolutionary fervour of the masses and communists of Europe to the maximum, so that they organize themselves and become a great force to launch continuous, heavy attacks on imperialism and modern revisionism.

In broad outline, that is what the Party of Labour of Albania thinks about these problems. That is how our small People’s Republic, completely encircled by imperialist and revisionist enemies, is waging its struggle. But we are not isolated. Ours is a difficult, stern, daily struggle, but our Party and people have never been afraid of their enemies against whom they have fought relentlessly and have triumphed. And they will fight and triumph in the future, too. This miracle has been wrought by our Party and our people, thanks to the steel-like unity in the ranks of the Party, and the unity of the Party with the people, thanks to Marxism-Leninism and our common struggle.

During the visits that you will make throughout our country you will see for yourselves the Albanian people and communists at work and in struggle. They will welcome you with open hearts, with sincere love, because you are their loyal friends and comrades.
Comrade Wilcox then rose to speak. After thanking comrade Enver Hoxha for this meeting and the very important exposé he made, he expressed the deep gratitude and great respect of the Communist Party of New Zealand towards the Party of Labour of Albania, which has always been characterized by its determined and principled stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism and its uncompromising fight against imperialism and modern revisionism. Then, after he had spoken about the situation and activity of the Communist Party of New Zealand, comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Now allow me, comrade Wilcox, to add a few words in connection with what you have said. All of us, the comrades of our Party, are extremely pleased with the clear Marxist-Leninist exposé which you presented. From your press, your exposé, etc., we saw not only the complete ideological and political unity of our two parties, but also the great Marxis-Leninist efforts of your Party for the strengthening of your Party in many directions, ideologically, and organizationally, we saw your great concern about the renewal of the cadre force in a Marxist-Leninist way. Your Party displays great concern about infusing new blood into the Party, it makes a particularly correct assessment both of the old cadres with experience and of the new cadres with revolutionary fervour and enthusiasm, of the combination of the work of the youth and the veterans, for it is a known fact that neither the one nor the other can do anything without each other. The problems of the renewal of the party with fresh blood are not problems of your Party alone, but of our Party and of every other Marxist-Leninist party as well. The years go by, time does its work, therefore we must continuously infuse young blood into the party, regardless of the fact that we ourselves, personally, will be young in heart and carry on revolutionary work throughout our whole lives.

Another question which you present correctly, taking into account the relatively high cultural level of the people of New Zealand, is that of the Marxist-Leninist education of communists, how they must receive theoretical education and carry it out in practice. What you say and advise is that each must learn by individual study. This has great importance. We may learn also from books, in schools, but not everybody has all these possibilities. In the socialist countries, we have books and schools for the ideological education of communists, but our Marxist-Leninist comrades in the capitalist countries do not have these facilities, due both to financial reasons and to the restrictive measures of the bourgeoisie. Then there are parties which are illegal, and therefore, have no such facilities. In these conditions the question arises whether to go on blindly, without revolutionary theory, which would be utterly wrong, or to do your best and learn whatever the conditions. The revolutionary struggle obliges us to learn the Marxist-Leninist theory under any conditions. When we have no possibility of studying in schools, we must work for our Marxist education through self-study. Our actions, later, will confirm this learning.
Another question on which we have the same views is that you say that cadres should think with their own heads, that the leaders should not serve everything up to them on a plate. Our comrades must not be automatons and must not be taught to become such, therefore when a cadre comes to seek advice, first you should ask him what he thinks about that problem himself, and then you should help him, and open up his horizons.

Comrades, like you, we, too, are members of a small party but both you and we base ourselves firmly on the Marxist-Leninist principles. The actions, the struggle, the correct or incorrect view of a party do not depend on its size. The Party of Lenin and Stalin wrought miracles in the past. We have drawn on their experience in our revolutionary struggle and work, but unfortunately this party is now in the hands of modern revisionists. Therefore we do not measure the value of the Communist Party of New Zealand from the small number of members, which comprise it, but from its correct, militant, and revolutionary stand, from the fact that a small party like yours, in difficult political, ideological and material conditions, stands courageously in the forefront of the struggle against great enemies, a stand which many other parties, in more favourable conditions and with a greater number of members, do not maintain to the level that your Party does. From this resolute Marxist-Leninist stand neither your Party nor our Party, both of them small, draw such conclusions as to make them swell-headed.

Like you, with the stands we maintain, we, too, are simply doing our duty, and we do this with a full sense of responsibility to the interests of Marxism-Leninism and our peoples.

As to the opinion you expressed concerning the general meeting of the parties, in which the Soviet revisionists are so interested, our views coincide. Our Party, like yours, has never said that it opposes genuinely revolutionary meetings, but we have imposed the conditions you know about on participation in such a meeting, just as you have done.

In this connection, allow me to express an opinion. Like you, we follow what the modern revisionists are up to at the moment, and where they are making for, with the greatest vigilance. Over recent months we have observed that the secretaries of the revisionist parties have been going to Moscow, one after the other. Of course, they go there over many problems, they go there because there are many contradictions among them, but they are certainly going here, also, to prepare some eventual meeting. How this process will develop, we shall see later, but some things are already settled, for example the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which will be held in March. We have no doubt that the theses with which the Soviet revisionists will come out at this Congress will be a further consolidation of their positions as traitors. But
how this congress will be presented to the revisionist groupings of the world, whether the other revisionists will accept the coming 23rd Congress of the CPSU as their conductor's baton or not, that remains to be seen from the development of events. Therefore we think that the theses of the 23rd Congress will be subjected to prior discussion among the revisionists. Up to now nothing has been concretized. But one thing we know for certain — there are bound to be contradictions among them.

Concerning the matter you proposed, that of issuing a joint statement, we are in complete agreement with you. Like you, we, too, think that by issuing a joint statement, our parties will assist the strengthening of unity in the Marxist-Leninist parties and the new Marxist-Leninist groups.

We are comrades linked in such a Marxist-Leninist way that we can discuss any suggestion made by one side or the other and decide the most suitable course. The important thing is that both sides agree in principle on all questions.

In conclusion I want to emphasize once again what I said earlier: please feel yourselves at home here. You have only to express your desires, whatever they may be, and we are ready to take you to visit whatever place you like, to meet whoever you wish, in the party committees and amongst the rank and file.

That seems to brings us to the end for today. Goodby till we meet again.

Published for the first time. Extract from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party.

1 The statement was signed on October 13, 1965, and published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» on October 14, 1965.
LITERATURE AND ARTS SHOULD SERVE TO TEMPER PEOPLE WITH CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

The closing speech delivered at the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

October 26, 1965

Dear comrades,

I was in two minds whether or not to speak at this meeting, and the cause of this hesitation was that the major problems with which we are concerned today have been analyzed in the report of the Political Bureau delivered by comrade Ramiz [Alia], as well as in the very good and mobilizing contributions of the comrades. They have already been examined in an all-sided way and

1 This Plenum discussed the situation of literature and the arts in the PR of Albania and gave directions for their further development.

subjected to a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Hence, in view of what has already been said what I am going to say will not be of any special importance.

However, allow me to re-emphasize some of the ideas that were expressed either in the report or in the discussion.

In one of his writings Marx says:

«... We are not going to come out before the world as doctrinaires with a new ready-made creed: here is the truth, fall on your knees before it! We are developing new principles for the world, which we draw from its existing principles. We do not say to the world: «Stop the struggle; all your struggle is in vain», we provide it with the true slogan of the struggle. We are simply showing the world the real reasons it is fighting for, whereas consciousness is something that the world has to gain, regardless of whether or not it wants this».*

These words of Marx should inspire us also in the development of literature, the arts, and culture in general.

It is not consciousness that determines being, but it is being that determines consciousness. Looking at the question from this Marxist-Leninist an-

gle we can understand the magnitude, variety, as well as the difficulties of the leading role of the Party in the tempering of consciousness, of consciousness as a direct derivative of the struggle and the efforts of our people.

From this stems the great role which literature and the arts should play in the inculcation and development of this consciousness closely linked with the period we are going through, with the efforts, the struggles, for the construction of socialism, with the struggle on a world scale against imperialism, the bourgeois ideology and its variant, modern revisionism, etc.

The consciousness of man, and that of society, is not something petrified, unchanging, formed and developed once and for all. It undergoes positive and negative changes, it alters in accord with the material-economic forces, with the class struggles, the revolutionary situations, the relations between the antagonistic and non-antagonistic classes, with the ideas which inspire the class struggle, the revolution, and so on.

We say «class consciousness», «proletarian consciousness», bourgeois and «capitalist consciousness», we say «he has a clear conscience» or «a troubled and heavy conscience», and so on. This means that in life and struggle people do not display a standard consciousness; consciousness reflects different world outlooks, which derive from the developing economic situation. But there is more to it than this, although, as Engels says, this is the main thing, the decisive thing that opens the way. It is also dependent on other social factors and on

the superstructure of every economic system, because, on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism, the prevailing ideas in one or another country, in one or another historical epoch, are those of the ruling class. Both the feudal class and the bourgeoisie have each tried to proclaim the «universality» of their ideas, to create, to mould the consciousness of their class, in order to prop up and perpetuate their state power. However, at the same time, their economic system, their reactionary ideology, their class consciousness also created their gravedigger with its proletarian ideology, with its proletarian consciousness, with its social-economic system, socialism, with its science of the vanguard, of revolutions, the class struggle, and with its own ideological and political superstructure.

Socialism has transcended the borders of one single state, the imperialist bourgeois system is heading for its demise, Marxism-Leninism is enlightening, inspiring, and leading mankind to revolution, to socialism and communism.

By going through struggles and revolutions, today our Albania has become a socialist state, where the working class is in power, where our Marxist-Leninist Party is successfully and unalteringly guiding the future of the people, towards socialism and communism.

In such conditions, the tasks of the Party, and those of literature and the arts in particular, in tempering the people with working class consciousness, with the morality of the working class, in order to go ahead successfully with the construction of socialism, are glorious, but by
no means simple. If we do not examine the developments taking place in our country from the unerring angle of Marxism-Leninism, as the Party teaches us, if in our analysis and interpretation of these processes we are not guided by the compass of Marxism-Leninism which the Party has put in our hands, not only will we make mistakes in our judgement of things, but the changes and progress will be made more slowly and with greater difficulty.

Albania entered the road of the construction of socialism after a long process, after many efforts, revolutions, struggles with the external and internal enemies, a process which has its roots deep in the ancient history of the people: economic processes — economic struggles, political development — political struggles, processes of ideas — ideological struggles, literary processes — literary-political struggles, etc.

All these processes tempered the Albanian people, armed them to resist the enemies, to fight them, to fight the feudals, the bourgeoisie, reaction, fascism, and finally, to take state power into their own hands. The thinking of our people advanced, their patriotic, political, and moral consciousness was awakened and underwent positive tempering. Herein lies the key to the victories of the Party, herein lies its mastery, in that it knew how to reckon with these things in their revolutionary dynamism and development.

But, it would be a mistake to think that after every process and every victory, the past and especially the old world outlook, which is expressed in customs and prejudices, are wiped out at once, completely, and without any danger of their returning. It would be naive to think that the old regressive world outlook and prejudices in the consciousness of man, in the mode of working and thinking, in the way of life, would be wiped out automatically, parallel with the economic and political transformations which make the greatest and most rapid strides forward.

Nevertheless, it must be understood correctly that the new revolutionary men have not fallen from the heavens, but have been prepared in the new economic and political conditions. Hence the material basis for such a transformation exists and the ideology of the Party that inspires them also exists. We must push this basis forward and from it we must fight the shortcomings, mistakes, the remnants and impediments from the not-too-distant past, which show up in one way or another in the people’s consciousness and their daily struggle.

Thus, under the leadership of the Party, the energies of the entire people should be mobilized for this struggle, for the new life, for a better, more bountiful and more beautiful life and future.

I want to turn to the concrete reality and to emphasize what a sacred duty and a heavy burden of responsibility our Party and people have charged you writers, poets, artists, composers, painters, sculptors, etc., with. Like everyone else, you, too, must carry out these tasks conscientiously, with your struggle and toil. Your valuable and delicate work must be inspired by the Marxist-Lenin-
ist ideology, because only in this way and by basing yourselves on the people, on their struggle and efforts, will your militant and revolutionary spirit display itself and burst out in your creative works and activity, and thus you will become educators of the masses who create great works.

The work is extending, the level of the masses is rising, their demands are increasing in quantity, quality and range, therefore the Party and you, all of us, are faced with heavy collective and individual tasks, and we must make great efforts to fulfil them.

If we advance with the people, live and struggle together with them, if we know how to make good and proper use of the numerous material and moral means that the Party and the people's State power have put at our disposal, the literature and the arts in our country will continue to advance with great and unprecedented vigour. Among the people we should find our inspiration, the notes of the song, the rhythms of the dance, the purity of the language, the tempo of work, the inspiration to creative work, the example of heroism and sacrifice, the lofty virtues of the people's modesty, of the people's justice, and so on and so forth. The basis of creative activity in the arts and literature, as in everything else, should be the people.

Whether a great river is harnessed by building a colossal hydro-power station on it to provide the people with light and make the river irrigate the fields and create prosperity for the people, or it is allowed to flow how and where it will, to create ponds and marshes, or to flood the wheat fields, depends on us, on people.

Of course, the Party has followed the former road and has done great things. But it is known that our hydro-power stations, and the draining and irrigation of our land, at one time either marshy or parched, were not means as light as air, nor have they been created by our people merely with dreams and imagination. These people, once ignorant and today learned, have tramped all over the country, have worked and lived in water and mud, with mosquitoes eating them, others have laid down their lives while working to build the dams, just as in our beautiful legends about when the bridges and castles were being built.

Hence, when the Party advises our people, and particularly the writers and artists, that they must equip themselves with broad culture, must learn Marxism-Leninism, must go to the people and work, become inspired and create there, this is a decisive issue. The work should be conceived in close connection with the reality and the aim. This reality is at the base, not within the four walls of your study, nor the brainchild of some mountain-top god. The head adapts, harmonizes and beautifies it from every aspect.

There are some who think, and think mistakenly, that by making a flying visit to the base, by sitting in a café, cigarette in hand, in order to see the various types whom they want to put in their work passing in the street, or who think that by walking through some factory or plant, they have gathered the necessary material and go home,
where they start to write superficially, and
sometimes entirely back-to-front, about those
things and people that they «photographed» in
passing. Thus the world of such a person is re-
stricted to the narrow petty-bourgeois concept of
the role of the writer, and he thinks that his head
is capable of doing great things. But can it be
said that the engineers of the hydro-power stations
or those who drain the marshes do not work with
their heads, and that the writers alone have this
privilege? No! But the engineer, quite correctly,
works with the people, studies the nature of the
place, draws plans, checks them again with the
people, with the best experience of others, encoun-
ters difficulties, struggles with them till he over-
comes them. But should not our writer and artist
work in this way, too? Then why do we have to
point this out so many times?

Fortunately, we do not have to point this out
to all, but there are some to whom it is necessary
to mention it, because such individuals not only
lack any correct concept of work among the peo-
ple and with the people, but are the only ones
and the very first to make pretensions for themsel-
ves.

Many people have an inclination to be a writer
or poet, but not all of them can become writers
and poets. To be a writer or a poet does not mean
just to have an inclination, to link phrases imagi-
natively or to create rhyming or non-rhyming
verses, it is not sufficient just to have gone through
a special school, where you have learned the art
and technique of this skill. No! I think that this
is not enough.

You cannot become a real writer simply because
you have talent if you do not develop this talent,
this means, by learning, if you do not work on it,
test it, and hammer it into shape on the great anvil
of the people and if you do not study a great deal,
and first of all, the social and economic sciences.
Only in this way will the writers provide the work-
ing class and the peasantry with worthwhile works.

I said that the writers and artists should study
science, but they may ask, where will we find these
scientific works to study? In our country not
everything is prepared and ready to hand. Many
things are prepared, well or with mistakes, others
have to be studied and written, they have to be
studied even while preparing your novel. There
are many facts and documents in existence, not
only of our Liberation War and the construction of
socialism but also of pre-Liberation times. How-
ever, these have to be searched out, studied and
exploited by all, and not by the method of fantasy,
but scientifically. You must not say lightly, «I have
experienced these things, so I know them and
do not need to refer to the documents», or «My
grandmother told me these things as we sat around
the stove and I can write about the life of our
people in the past from my own imagination».

Such a work cannot be considered a serious
one. A serious work is one which deals compe-
tently with all aspects of the particular problem,
in a scientific way, which carries the problems
through to the end, which analyzes the process cor-
rectly and in a realistic manner, makes it completely understandable, and brings out properly, along with their good and negative aspects, the circumstances that brought this process about, the role of the main operative forces and actors of this process. Then the work becomes vivid, educational, arouses enthusiasm and opens perspectives; the heroes also come out as living people and fight, not with the moon, but with reality, with the difficulties of life.

The range of themes is extremely wide, extremely inspiring to those who want and know how to write and create. The themes are just as numerous, with as great a variety as our life, as the struggle and efforts of our Party and people.

I do not want to repeat anything of what was said in the report delivered by comrade Ramiz [Aliaj], in regard to the range of themes and our objective of tempering the new man of the new socialist Albania, of inspiring him with the heroism of the National Liberation War, with the heroism and the sacrifices of the people and the Party, with the ideas of the partisans, with their aspirations and dreams, in order to inspire and educate him with the rich, exultant reality of the construction of socialism in our country, of this period which is one of the most brilliant in the history of our people.

Beautiful works have been written about these periods, and an endless series of hundreds of others will be written, which will perpetuate the majestic work of the Party and the people. The main stress should be put here. The men of the new Albania, who under the Party’s leadership, in the course of their work and struggle are performing miracles, should experience this reality intensively, should understand it properly, in order to go armed into the coming battles, which will no doubt be difficult, and which will certainly be won by our people.

These two periods are an inexhaustible source for our writers and artists; they are the great base of inspiration and I shall say no more about this. However I want to re-emphasize the importance which the past epochs of our people have for our literature and arts. I am thinking, especially, of the romantic epoch of the Renaissance, without going back into ancient history.

The history of our people is an indivisible whole. For purposes of study we may divide it into periods, epochs, on the basis of economic-social development, on the basis of wars and revolutions with arms and pen, etc., but the history of our people is a single whole, and as such it should be made the subject of an all-sided scientific, literary, artistic study by all our people of all fields of creative historical and literary studies, and these should complement one another.

The history of our people must be a subject for study not just by historians, but also by economists, lawyers, philosophers, sociologists, ethnographers, linguists, composers, writers, painters, sculptors, architects, critics in various fields, etc., etc. Without all-sided, detailed, careful work unearthing every document, every legend, every custom, while studying and interpreting them
correctly, in their dialectical materialist development, we are not going to have the literary works we need. These broad fields of the history of our people are not separated by walls, which require that the jurist, for example, should do his work first so that the writer can then take over and base himself on it.

Let us take a concrete example. Suppose I am a writer and have in my head a theme about the pre-Liberation period of Albania. There are two ways I can choose, either to indulge in fantasy, simply, relying on what I have heard from my mother or grand-father about the sufferings, struggle and efforts of our people, or to take these things into account while making concrete studies.

Where should I carry out these studies? First, among the people; the people are the greatest book, even greater than grandmother's; then in the archival documents of the regime of that time. Do they exist? Yes, they do, but they are covered in dust. These documents are the shame of the tyrannical regime of Zog, but there you find reflected the struggle, the grievances, the law court records of our people, you find there reflected the political, economic and social situation, the oppressive measures, the usury, the plunder, the brutality of the regime, etc., etc.

How can a writer fail to make use of them, how can he wait till the jurists carry out and complete their studies? The writer ought to knead the dough with his own hands, otherwise he has chosen the easiest, but least fruitful way. With this

I want to bring to writers' attention that there is a gap in our pre-Liberation literature for the reasons we know. It falls to us to fill this gap, to cover it with realist works, which will bring out the continuity of the life, the struggle, the work and thinking of the Albanian people even in those dark periods of their existence. If we fail to do this, we shall be making a mistake and the coming generations, who have not lived in that period, will not know the past of our country and people properly, and will not treasure the efforts of our people and Party to mount the difficult steps one by one, as they ought to.

But there is an important question we should always bear in mind, that the emphasis laid on the values of the past of our people should not create even the slightest confusion in the minds of the people of our time of socialism. It is our duty to cleanse the national treasures of their bad aspects, and these treasures should serve the socialist order we are building. We should bring out very clearly those things which help and not those which hinder the development of our society today. The aim of the Party is to create new values. Our revolution demands new heroes appropriate to the time, the efforts, and the aims of our period. Not all the deeds and attitudes of the heroes of our people's past are in conformity with the requirements and ideals of the people of our epoch.

There is also another reason. We carried out the revolution, now we are building socialism, but the past, in various forms, is a burden on our
backs. In order to combat the negative consequences of the past, we have to explain to the younger generation the origin, the reasons that caused the development of these things. Our forefathers and our generation have experienced those situations, but the others have not. However, in this direction the page is not entirely blank. Some valuable novels have been written about pre-Liberation times. The novels of the epoch of socialism, too, can speak about the past. We must not neglect these periods and must enrich our literature and art.

Literature and art reflect the existing social relations. This is true of all periods, from Homer and the Greek society of that time to capitalism, from the Enlighteners to Gorky, Mayakovskiy, and the Great October Revolution.

Our new literature and art, national in form and socialist in content, follow this course, too. Many beautiful, realist works have come from the hands of our people... When you read them, hear them, or see them, you are seeing and feeling the pulse of the life and struggle of our people. The talent of our writers and artists is developing successfully and advancing with their efforts to learn, to study, and to link themselves with the people.

A great inspiration is urging onward a new generation of wonderful writers and artists, who are winning renown and becoming dear to the people. Our Party, through its work and material care, must protect, educate and encourage these young people with all its means.

We must encourage the new talents. To do otherwise would be a mistake but, without checking their impetus, we must educate the new talents in a correct way. We must teach them not to become conceited because they have written a couple of poems.

Let us tell you something that happened. Some years ago, in the paper of a house of culture, I read some simple poems by a young girl, a teacher. I said to myself: her verses are not without an idea. I lost sight of her, but some months ago I received a letter from her, the tone of which seemed to me very brash and arrogant in regard of the Publishing House and the people of education, who do not publish her «works» allegedly because of jealousy, and so on. Well, I thought, youth is youth, and we can forgive its impetuosity, and I advised the comrades to keep close to her, to make things clear to her and help her. Later I received another letter from her, full of anger and arrogance in regard to our publishing organs. In a word, she is just almost about demanding that «they put up a statue to her». Such things are not good, but, after all, she is a young girl and we should be indulgent, but I want to tell of another instance, this time about an elderly man, who was in the War and has written some verses to the rifle. They are some three separate poems without any great value, but the Publishing House has published them in a booklet of 8 or 10 pages. Somebody made a serious criticism of it. Apparently this friend considered his poetical «rifle» insulted by this criticism and
wrote to the Central Committee that measures should be taken against the critic, who, he claims, made this criticism out of spite, «because, — listen! — when he was my student, I gave him a bad mark for his composition!».

From these and other examples of this kind it should be understood, that to write for the people and publish for the people is one of the most serious and delicate things. Those who write should keep in mind Marx’s idea when he said to Engels:

«Nothing has been, or ever will be, published from my hand that is not perfect».

But there has been only one Marx.

However, we should feel that when we set about writing for the people we are doing a great service, but the people want us to be modest. We should also understand that the Party and the State have set up the printing houses and the press, not to publish any rubbish somebody chooses to produce, even though he may be an old writer who has produced good stuff in the past, but has now run out of ideas and produces worthless things. Everything should be examined with a critical eye by the critics, the publishing houses and other enterprises, without bias (because, unfortunately, there are cases of bias). The Party and the organs of State power should be vigilant. I am of the opinion that we should not wait for masterpieces to be turned out, and then print; by no means, because we would soon run out; but nei-

ther should the press be used by a few people, and fortunately there are not many of them, for their own financial profit, or to spread ideological confusion or valueless works. There are such petty-bourgeois elements, who rush themselves into the limelight, who with their ill-formed or petty-bourgeois ideological and political baggage, distort the ideas of the proletariat.

Engels severely criticized Liebknecht for having allowed such people to penetrate into the party and its press. We should not think that we have escaped of such unhealthy elements. These we must cure in a correct way and not by patting them on the back.

Marx said that,

«Of course, the writer must earn money to live and write, but in no instance should he live and write to earn money». 

And we should not think that we have escaped these unhealthy elements, either. These, too, we must cure and teach them how to go straight.

The Party’s policy in the field of art and literature has been and is clear to everybody. It will always give powerful support to the good works, the correctly inspired works, those that educate, mobilize and open perspectives. Mistakes are made and will be made, as happen with every work. They should be corrected; criticism should be constructive and not denigrating, and he who is criticized should respond, not with petty-bourgeois pride, which keeps all its sins to itself, but with an open heart.
With those who are confused in their works from the ideological, political and artistic point of view, in content or in form, it is the duty of the Party to correct them. I agree with the criticisms, which were made in a correct spirit and with good aims about two or three plays and some works of prose or poetry. I know that their authors have honestly admitted their mistakes and I am sure that they will not repeat them. I am convinced of this because they are sons of the Party, in whom the Party has confidence, because they are talented writers, determined to serve their people on the road of the construction of socialist society and socialist culture, and their mistakes can be considered momentary ones. The Party will look after them, will extend its hand to them, as always. But when it happens that it pleases someone to produce mistaken things, in bad taste, which nobody needs, he has no reason to complain about the Party, it will neither publish nor sell them. Let whoever so desires go on producing for his own cupboard, and we shall not disturb him so long as he does not become socially dangerous.

In regard to the literature and art, which are developing in our country, as in regard to the other issues, there are not two moralities, but only one, the proletarian morality of the working class. The ideas expressed in the works should conform to this morality. A work devoid of ideas and of this morality may occasionally appear to be of some limited interest from the viewpoint of its artistic skill, but from the ideological-political viewpoint it cannot have any value. Therefore, we should always bear in mind that the maintenance of a stand in literature and art is part of the political struggle waged by our Marxist-Leninist Party, in complete unity of thought and action with its people.

In the report and the discussion of it, there were many correct things said about folk music and folklore. I am not going to enlarge on this important problem and the principles guiding us in our work, but I shall underline some ideas.

Folklore should not be identified narrowly with folk music. Folklore is not only folk music, the music is only one of the expressions or manifestations of folklore. Folklore covers a very wide range, as wide as the life of our people. Folklore is the lahuta, the pipe, the drum, the folk songs of Labëria, Myzeqeja, Devoll, Dibra, Shkodra, etc. On the other hand, neither the popular satire, verse, or fables, nor the weddings, joys or sorrows nor the multicoloured costumes with all their variations in cut and style, the popular handicraft with its national flavour can be divorced from folklore, any more than the customs, the written and unwritten laws, etc., etc. can be divorced from it. In my opinion, if we fail to understand this problem in this way, do what we may to preserve our «folk music», we shall not achieve this if we destroy its basis. In order to preserve our folk music, the basis for it, or the main parts of this basis must be preserved. The improvement of folk music should proceed parallel with the improvement of the basis for it.

To put it more concretely. We know how all
our great folklore has been developed and enriched. Whole books should begin to be written about it, for this is a priceless asset. We have set up a Folklore Institute and think that everything has been done. The institute is working, but rarely does anyone go to make a thorough study of those valuable things it has collected, not to mention the music and art schools, whose programs, if I am not mistaken, deal very little with our folklore but almost entirely with classical and modern music.

What occurs in the majority of cases? The banal verses of some poets, to whom an article in the «Zeri i popullit» gave a well-deserved thrashing, are preferred by our musicians and around them they compose their music. If some one were to tell these musicians to have a look at the popular verses of uncle Selim from Brataj, they might smile ironically, and even make fun of you saying: «He is not in his senses». But the people themselves have put the verses of the Uncle Selims to music and have been singing them for centuries those verses which you boast about in principle, but which you scorn in reality. There is inconsistency here, you say one thing and do another. With this I do not mean that you should not write beautiful new verses and set them to music.

Let us take the question of musical instruments. On the one hand there is talk about the beauty, the variety of folk music, on the other the houses of culture are filled with accordions, guitars, mandolins, whereas you will find few of the pipes, clarinets, tambourines, drums, lahutas, bagpipes, etc. with which the people have sung and which are a great foundation for our folk music in the houses of culture, and especially among the people. I am not in the least against new instruments and the best of the new muscis, on the contrary, but I am also for the old instruments, for producing and spreading them among the people because, through the centuries, the people have sung with them about their joys and sorrows, the struggle they have waged, and they want to sing with them, and will continue to do so.

Such an incorrect action has brought its own consequences. The new instruments have spread the modern songs, to which I am not opposed, but, willy-nilly, there is a danger that they will gradually take the place of the folk songs, and this would be a great mistake. They have led to the spreading of European dances, to which I am not opposed if they are kept in proportion, but we must not eliminate the folk dances, because this, too, would be a great mistake. We teach the people who graduate from the schools, whom we send to the houses and centres of culture, to organize modern choirs and a number of standard things, but they are not taught to inspire the workers to sing folk songs, either when they are alone, or when they are at work, to put their heads together and sing in pairs, as is the custom with our people. Indeed they forget that the people love

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1 Selim Hasani, a well-known singer of folk rhapsodies.
to sing, that they do sing, because their life, their traditions and customs demand it.

The folk songs and dances go well and in unity with the jokes, the marvellous humour and the costumes. But, little by little, we are eliminating them, forgetting the jokes and popular humour, displaying these costumes in museums, and what is worse, we are doing this in an administrative way, through orders and campaigns (I am not referring to either the baggy Turkish trousers, which are not national and should be put away in museums or at the bottom of clothes chests, or the ugly woollen breeches worn by women in some districts).

The Party has been right to say the money should not be spent uselessly on folk costumes, that people should go to work in plain clothes. But what harm does it do us if a girl wishes to dress in a beautiful national costume when she marries, or a man from Dibra wants to wear a pair of the traditional trousers? This does no harm; on the contrary, it is all to the good, because it helps preserve our traditions. We are not ashamed of our national costumes. On the contrary we are proud of them, and they are beautiful. But he will spend a lot of money, they say. That is his business. Let him reckon up his own budget. After all, why should we interfere?

The Party's advice is that there should not be great useless expenditure on funerals, weddings, dowries and other such manifestations of life. This instruction is correct, but in many cases it is understood and applied wrongly. What connection has this with folklore? It has a great deal to do with it, because our folklore and our customs have been developed and enriched during these important events in the life of men. There are also some bad customs, that come under this heading, and the Party has issued instructions that they must be eliminated, but not to prohibit the fine customs of the people. To advise someone not to involve himself in heavy expenditure when his son gets married is correct, but to instruct him how many people to invite, or advise him not to invite some friends and relatives to sing, dance and enjoy themselves is a mistake. To combat the idea of a dowry for a daughter, as it was understood and practised in the past, is absolutely right, and this fight must be continued, but it is wrong to prohibit a parent from seeing his daughter has some clothes, a bed, and some other things. But in this latter instance when such a fuss is made about these things that every girl feels she has to bring her husband a dowry, or otherwise he will not marry her, as actually occurred in an ugly incident in Korça, this must be combated.

But how can we fight these evils among the many fine customs of our people? With administrative measures? No! They must be fought with well-considered actions towards various manifestations in life. These evils can be combated through our manysided folklore itself. The people have a great deal of humour in their songs, they make many pointed and witty jokes which make you laugh, but educate you, too. The variety shows can do a great deal in this direction...
The institutions and the works they perform must be of the people and for the people. These works must express the struggle of the people for the construction of socialism, their finest and purest aspirations, must follow the efforts of the people step by step, inspire them correctly, open up new perspectives and be in the vanguard.

If our institutions are to achieve this, the authors and actors must live with the people and with the line of the Party, must know and feel the problems of the people, their joys and sorrows, their victories and defeats. This reality can be neither written nor expressed on the stage, on the basis of formal lessons alone. The school teaches actors, musicians, etc., a great deal, but life, with its toil and struggle, teaches them other, very valuable and inspiring things. The play, the author, the director give the actors their instructions, but neither the author nor the best director can teach them what the life of the people, their feelings and experience teach them. Life and the revolutionary struggle full of the vigour and enthusiasm of the people and the Party are the most talented authors and directors there can be.

However talented the artists and the writers may be, I will never use the bourgeois term «stars». No, compared with the talent and the creative skill of our people they can never be «stars». Therefore, if these «stars» lose contact with the earth, they lose all their brilliance.

The repertories of our opera and ballet theatres should be simple and understandable to the masses. This does not mean that they should be «banal and devoid of ideas».

In a simple presentation the ideas are expressed more clearly and fluently, like the clear waters of a mountain stream.

A complicated, intricate and exaggerated presentation, in most cases, hides unclear, equivocal ideas.

The people need clear ideas, not obscure ones, therefore the Party will support the former and not the latter.

In our musical and theatrical works the people should be presented in struggle and in work, just as they are, with their noble sentiments, their heroic character, their modesty, their fine qualities and their shortcomings, and these shortcomings should be pointed out because they must be corrected, but they should not be presented for purposes of denigration or disparagement or for the sake of some evil decadent, revisionist theories, by means of which a few aesthetes do not fail to brag and beat the air in order to show how learned, profound and talented they are or in what an allegedly independent spirit they go about their creative work.

To imagine, invent, to conjure up, even with the greatest skill, non-existent situations, unreal characters and types, out of a possibly fertile though unhealthy imagination, inspired either by excessive reading of foreign dramatists, without any sort of critical attitude or Marxist-Leninist dialectical method, or by pseudo-progressive, or Freudian, philosophical trends are things which
our people do not like, which the Party will not permit and will combat as harmful to the people's culture.

The wrong outlook of some authors that «everything they write should be put on the stage without delay», should be rejected. The good ones will certainly be put on stage, while the rotten ones will be thrown into the waste paper basket. Spiritual food is far more delicate than physical food; that is to say, good, fresh meat is eaten, stinking meat is thrown out.

The theatre, the ballet, the variety shows, the opera cannot be at the service of those who are sick in the head, but of those whose heads are in order and whose hearts beat in unison with the heart of the people.

The overwhelming majority of the repertoires should comprise popular revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Albanian subjects. Foreign pieces should be somewhat less and be subjected to the most careful selection, not on account of xenophobia, because we know that xenophobia will undoubtedly lead to self-isolation and conceit.

In no way should we cut ourselves off from the best of the world repertoire, but however good it may be, it cannot be understood except by a limited section of intellectuals of extensive culture. The masses do not understand it properly and enjoy it, or else we make them dream outside their objective reality, if during the performance, a critical dialectical attitude is not maintained and the stress is not put on its positive aspects.

Some may say, «But we must make our people acquainted with foreign reality and the finest foreign creative works, too.» This is indispensable. I am in complete agreement and do not reject this idea. Therefore, I say that our people should be given a taste of this healthy dish, but it should be only one among many healthy and delicious dishes from the Albanian cuisine.

Some may say, «But we have no repertoires». What reasoning! We must create them! At first, they will not be perfect, but that is something everyone has to go through.

If we proceed from the idea of staging foreign ballets, because we have none of our own, and sometimes stage unsuitable ones, we have solved nothing but have created a grave situation. Such an idea is incorrect, is not realistic, because our composers have produced truly beautiful, praiseworthy national operas, our ballet masters have staged choreographic works with folk motifs over which one can enthuse, our solists sing folk songs and songs of the war that fill one with joy and inspiration and the authors of novels, plays or film scripts have produced works of a great value to the people.

Therefore, in order to create something good, which will serve the people and the Party in this great battle for socialism, we must not choose the easiest way, but the most arduous, full of toil and struggle.

I have said already that we may also stage foreign works: possibly our authors, too, will be inspired by foreign subjects, but only in the right way. Always, before commencing work on any
undertaking, they must ask themselves the question, «Does this thing I am doing serve the great cause of the people?» One’s phantasy, imagination, ought to work, but not in order to create phantastical things.

I will give two examples of a differentiated choice of compositions:

Some weeks ago, my friend, the well-known composer Kristof Kono, sent me his new composition «Prometheus». He had told me about this opera in a talk I had with him on music and compositions. I wished Kono success in composing his opera even though it was a subject that many well-known composers have tackled. But since he had started work on it, and since I, for my part, consider this theme positive, as I shall explain in a minute, I made some suggestions to him. Kono’s composition may be beautiful, and this is what we hope, and then we shall say that his efforts have not been wasted, because, as you know, Aeschylus made Prometheus, the hero of mythology, a symbol of the fighter for the happiness of mankind. Whoever has read «Prometheus» will remember the words of the hero to Hermes, the servant of the gods.

«Be sure, I would never want to exchange my miserable fate for your servitude, because I would rather be bound with chains to this rock than be the obedient lackey of Zeus… In a word, I hate all the gods». *

* See Aeschylus, «Prometheus Bound», p. 71, Tirana, 1950 (Alb. ed.).

Marx said:

«Prometheus is the noblest saint and martyr in the philosophical calendar». *

However, I told Kono that in the history of our people there are many heroic subjects which ought to inspire him, therefore instead of going back to mythology, he should compose something beautiful and purely Albanian, beautiful, and inspiring not only to our own people, but also to people outside the borders of Albania. He gave me his word and I believe that he will keep it.

On the other hand, some days ago I read in the paper that our ballet ensemble, in preparing performances for the people, has not found any subject other than the Strauss waltzes, arranged in a special composition, allegedly with a theme of proletarian morality, that has nothing to do with the epoch and craziness of these waltzes. What are the Strauss waltzes? An excitant, the expression of an epoch, a symptom of the transformation of the society existing at the end of the 19th century. This concides with the decline of a regime of unrestrained luxury for the bourgeoisie, of an epoch of pleasure-seeking, and which is always a disturbed epoch — the «Blue Danube» is not blue, but turbid if we analyse the social and political situation of the time when that waltz was composed. But the music is beautiful. This is an undeniable fact, and I am not against putting this and other waltzes on the radio, but for our

* K. Marx and F. Engels, On religion, p. 12 (Alb. ed.).
works have resisted the passage of time, have foresen the future, prepared it, but they cannot be considered perfect in their entirety and models for every period, for every epoch. There are people who are passionately devoted to certain of their idols and who, with non-Marxist judgement, seek to introduce these idols everywhere, to adopt them for every period, to copy them in place and out of place, to dress them up in some garments of our time and pass them off as socialist works.

Writers, poets, composers and others must read, study, and learn from the others. It has never been said that they should not be passionately fond of some of them, but what they learn and study from foreigners should always be taken with a critical spirit and with a definite aim, and what is taken should serve their own people, should serve the creators of literature and art so that they live with their own people, with their struggles, aims, aspirations and customs in order to create what is suitable and understandable to their people, appropriate to the time and the struggle they are waging. In this way, they will write really original works.

Thus, study of the works of foreigners must serve the acquiring of knowledge of the life, struggle and development of those peoples. This does not mean that the struggle, ideas and development of your own people are the same as theirs, in spite of the fact that there may be some similarities or connections with those of others. This lesson, this experience from the foreign works, must serve you to open horizons in order to study
the history of your own people better, but your people's history has its own peculiarities, your people's ideas have their particular development in the particular social situation of your people. This interests us in the first place, because it has also interested that foreign writer of genius, Balzak, when he wrote his great work, «The Human Comedy».

We should learn their art of writing, their style, their method of work, rhythms and metre, but we should learn them not to become slaves to them, because our people have their own style and rhythms, we are creating our socialist style which is our basis, on which we shall work, build, and create our own originality, for only in such a way will our people understand us and will we inspire them.

I think that we should not step beyond these correct, objective limits, because, notwithstanding the fact that you may be very knowledgeable and learned, wisdom and learning are worthless as long as you do not know how to channel them in the interests of the people; as long as the purpose of them is not to enrich the treasury of the people's marvellous creativeness, they will be only an ornament hanging from your personal neck, but an ornament of no value to the people...

Some of my conclusions in this closing speech may seem rather blunt. This is not unintentional, first of all, because the conclusions in the report are complete and your contributions to the discussion supplemented them, and second, because I want to stress that in all our activity we must not for-

get the existing situation of the geographical encirclement of our Homeland and that this encirclement is an iron one and not merely a figure of speech. The bourgeois and revisionist ideology is attacking us from all sides. Our enemies and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism would like us to occupy ourselves with weighing up details on a set of «gold scales» and entering into academic discussions while we let the wolf into the sheep fold. We must shut the door to the wolf and shoot it dead. Of course, they will call us savage, because we play the pipe and the beat of the drum and clarinet rings out from our stage, or because we have given the place of honour to dances in our national costumes. For us, the only important thing is to defend the Homeland, the people, Marxism-Leninism, and socialism. And these are defended when everything national in form and socialist in content is defended, when the line of the Party is always borne in mind and properly applied.

To you, the people of literature and art, worthy sons and daughters of our Party and people, as in the time of the War, the Central Committee directs the call: always hold high the banner of the Party, and always march into battle and to victories with the fire of the Party and the people in your hearts.

Taken from the book: Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches (1965-1966), Tirana 1971 (Alb. ed.).
THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU SANCTIONED THE GENERAL LINE OF KHрушCHEVITE REVISIONISM, ITS POLICY OF BETRAYAL AND CAPITULATION

"Article published in the newspaper "Зëri i popullit""

April 22, 1966

For some days the Soviet revisionist propaganda has been boasting, both at home and abroad, about the results of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. It is trying to convince the Soviet people and world opinion that the Congress ended with success, that allegedly it turned into an important national and international event, that its «ideas» will exert a great influence in people’s minds, that it marks a new epoch in Soviet history, and so on and so forth. Obviously, the Khрушchevite revisionists are trying by means of words and propaganda to achieve what they wanted their Congress to have been, to arouse a little enthusiasm among the people, to neutralize the negative impressions, both in the Soviet Union and in other countries, in short, to raise the morale of all those who had expected something grand and important from the meeting of the highest organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and who were badly disillusioned.

"Pravda", "Известия" and the other organs of Soviet propaganda are now accusing the bourgeois press of a lack of realism, since, according to them, it had expected something «sensational» from the Congress, and was now left disillusioned because there were no «sensations» there. If it were only the bourgeois press disillusioned, because this time it was out of luck, as the Soviet newspapers say, this could, perhaps, be seen as something quite normal. But we do not believe that this lack of ability of the bourgeois press to foresee events correctly is what is worrying revisionist leaders so much. The trouble for the revisionists is that the proceedings of the 23rd Congress have disillusioned the Soviet people, the Soviet communists, who of course, did not expect sensations, but a comprehensive clarification of the political line of the party at the present stage. By combating the idea of expecting «sensational» things, the Soviet press is trying to inflate the «value» of the mediocre results of the Congress, which in reality was very low. In the first plane and above all, the proceedings and decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU did not satisfy the Soviet people, who saw clearly, once again, that the present Soviet leadership is just as treacherous as Khрушчев, that the line it laid down at the Congress
is an anti-Marxist one, a line leading to the political, economic, and ideological degeneration of the Soviet Union to capitalism, a line which, above all, dealt a blow to, and darkened, the future prospects of the Soviet people. The results of the Congress may arouse some interest outside the Soviet Union, but this is by no means the main thing. The efforts to draw the attention of public opinion in this direction, as the Soviet press is doing, show that things are not going well for the Khrushchevite revisionists with their own people, and that they want to divert attention from the gloomy, pessimistic atmosphere which the Congress created in the Soviet Union.

The Congress itself was a great worry to the Khrushchevite leaders. Should they or should they not speak openly about all the cardinal problems which are concerning the Soviet people today, should they or should they not openly propound opportunistic line — this was their dilemma.

During these last ten years the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has held three other Congresses (the 20th, the 21st and the 22nd) which defined and canonized the revisionist line of the Khrushchevite group which usurped the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet State by counter-revolutionary putsches. In them decisions were taken, directives were laid down, objectives were set and time limits set. Now the time has come to render account. Should the Congress hear a report on these things? During this period the Soviet Union has pursued a foreign policy totally different from that which had been worked out jointly by the socialist countries. Should this be mentioned? Not very long ago (in 1957 and 1960) the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had signed certain very important documents of the international communist movement which clearly defined its joint program. It rejected these documents and followed its own individual line of action. Should an explanation be given about this? During this period it pursued the line of deviation from Marxism-Leninism and the greater adoption of modern revisionism. In the internal field it went about undermining the victories of the October Revolution and restoring capitalism with great zeal, while in foreign policy it adopted the line of collaboration with US imperialism to establish the domination of two great powers over the world; it turned away from the friends of the Soviet Union and made approaches to its enemies; worked with all its might to split the international communist movement and the anti-imperialist front, sabotaged the peoples' national liberation movements and renounced the revolution and the ideals of communism. What have the results of this line, of these attitudes and acts been? If the Khrushchevite clique had the support and backing of the Soviet communists and people, as it pretends, then why did it not come out openly in the Congress to defend its views, when it calls them correct, «Leninist», «realistic», «scientific», and so on?

Apparently, this is not such a simple matter. Its contradictions with the party and the people are such a tangled skein that it does not know
where to start to unravel them. If the Soviet leaders had expounded their line openly at the Congress, they would have exposed themselves as traitors to Marxism-Leninism and dangerous counter-revolutionaries, the plots and dirty methods by which they seized the leadership of the party and State could have been revealed to the Soviet people and to all the world, and their fiendish plans against the revolution, socialism and peace would have come to light. The confrontation with the reality, with the truth would have been a mortal blow to them. Therefore, their main concern at this Congress was to avoid grappling with the basic problems of Soviet and international life, to pass over the great worries, doubts, and alarm of Soviet people, in silence, to give no reply to the embarrassing questions which Soviet life has now brought to the fore as a result of the treacherous activity of the revisionists.

The 23rd Congress Was a Congress of the «Freezing» of All the Problems That Are Worrying the Soviet People Today

In the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there has never been so colourless a Congress as the 23rd Congress which the new Khrushchevite leaders organized and held in recent days. To sum up its proceedings in one word we could say that this is the Congress of the «freezing» of all the problems which are worrying the Soviet people today. The report which Brezhnev presented to the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, was more like a speech by an ordinary agitator to a normal commemorative meeting in a factory. The schematic discussion and the monotonous repetition of the figures of the new five-year plan drawn from the draft which had been published and discussed long before, could not breathe life into a spiritless corpse. Since the real problems had been buried in advance, the recital at the Congress was bound to be lifeless.

The question here is, of course, not that the organizers lacked the power of oratory or did not know how to write speeches. We have met these paladins of Khrushchevite revisionism at the 20th Congress and especially at the 22nd Congress, where they let their tongues loose. The lowering of their tone of voice is not a sign of maturity or wisdom, as some may interpret it. It is determined by a definite situation of contradictory relations, not only between the leaders of the party, on the one hand, and the party member and the people, on the other, but also between the Soviet revisionist leaders and their revisionist allies of other parties. It is not difficult to see, for instance, that Brezhnev's political report is a selection of compromises carefully compiled to avoid dealing with the most fundamental questions with which the Soviet people have been preoccupied in recent years, and to formulate the revisionist line, while avoiding anything that might arouse doubt or discontent among their allies. It is not accidental that such important members of the Khrushchevite clique as Suslov, Shelyepin, Mikoyan, Polyansky,
and others did not speak at all at the Congress. It is hard to believe that none of them had anything to say. But at a Congress held with great reserve where things could be said only in general forms, where even the slightest attempt to go thoroughly into any matter, however unimportant, would risk letting the cat out of the bag, under such circumstances silence is golden. This silence, as well as the presentation of the Soviet Union, at the Congress, so weak politically and economically, was very much to the liking of the allies of Khrushchevite revisionists, because they are very eager to see the Soviet Union weakened from every aspect. In this way, they can more easily escape the conductor’s baton and secure the support of their national bourgeoisie.

At a congress of a genuine communist party, its central committee not only renders account to the members of the party, but reports on the policy and activity of the party to the people as a whole. In particular, it presents the balance of the fulfilment of tasks and directives set by the preceding congress and analyzes all the important events that have taken place or the various measures the central committee has taken during the interval between two congresses. But such a thing was not, and could not be, done at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. Apart from a few general, unspecific and vague words, nothing was said about what had occurred and what had been done to apply the line of the 22nd Congress and what had been achieved in its application. The 22nd Congress had especially attacked Stalin and had called for a fight to the end against the «cult of J. V. Stalin». Why were the results of this campaign not reported to the present Congress? At the preceding Congress, Khrushchev attacked the Party of Labour and the People’s Republic of Albania; in the Resolution of the Congress calls and threats were issued and «hopes» and «demands» expressed in the direction of our country. But what was done after that? What policy did the Soviet leaders pursue towards our Party and our people? Khrushchev and his close collaborators broke off diplomatic relations with Albania, established an all-round blockade against our country, plotted against the freedom and independence of a socialist country to which they were bound by numerous publicly accepted obligations. Should the party and the Soviet people not be given some kind of explanation about all these things?

Immediately after the 22nd Congress, the Soviet leaders launched their notorious campaign against the People’s Republic of China and its Communist Party, joined with the United States in the encirclement of China and the creation of an anti-Chinese «ring of fire», helped the Indian reactionaries to attack China, and so on and so forth. Finally, following the invitation it received, the Communist Party of China refused to take part in the 23rd Congress and sent a letter to the CC of the CPSU, explaining the reason for this. But why did the Soviet leaders not speak in the Congress about the state of Soviet-Chinese relations, why did they not announce the receipt of the above-mentioned letter, in short, why did they not
publicly defend their stand towards China? Moreover, in July, 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published its anti-Chinese Open Letter and its 1964 February plenum adopted an anti-Chinese party resolution. These were, by no means, insignificant past events, the consequences of which were not worth reporting to the Congress. After the 22nd Congress came the well-known Caribbean events in which the Soviet Union was directly involved. What policy was pursued at that time, how is it assessed now, did they act well or badly?

It is already a fact that the communist movement is split just as the socialist camp is split, that a major and bitter polemic has been going on for a long time between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists. The Soviet leaders have made and continue to make major efforts to establish the hegemony of the «conductor’s baton» over the communist parties, they interfere brutally in the internal affairs of those parties which remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism, support renegades in various parties, and so on. The Soviet communists and the Soviet people are eager to know what is being done in this field, but the organizers of the Congress passed over these matters in silence as if they did not exist at all, or as if they themselves were not direct participants in them.

Of those who spoke at the Congress, not one failed to eulogize the 1964 October plenum which was allegedly the «salvation» of things. But no one mentioned the name of Khrushchev or said what was done at that plenum. It is known that it ousted Khrushchev, who up to that time, had held the highest functions in the Soviet Union, that of first secretary of the central committee of the party and of chairman of the council of ministers, not to mention others. At that time, the official communique of the plenum said that he was removed from the posts held for reasons of his advanced age and poor health. This formula was neither confirmed nor denied at the Congress. One may well ask: How is it possible that no report was made to the party about what happened to its first secretary, and the people were not informed why the government was changed? Whatever the case, the new Soviet leaders should either have paid public homage to Khrushchev who «was retired because of advanced age and poor health», or should have denounced him publicly for his «subjectivism», «voluntarism», and so on? A silence like this has never been maintained by a serious communist party.

We have mentioned only some of the problems of concern to Soviet society which the 23rd Congress totally ignored, as if they did not exist at all. It is, of course, clear to everybody that by failing to speak of these matters, they do not disappear, they do not lose their sharpness and actuality. In its editorial of April 6, dedicated to the winding up of the discussion of the first item on the agenda of the Congress — Brezhnev’s report — the newspaper «Pravda» praised «the unanimity and solidarity» which was allegedly observed in the Congress during the first part of its proceedings. The paper did not explain where this uni-
mity could be seen, in what was said, or in what was left unsaid, or which according to the opinion or ratio of forces in the ranks of the leaders, should not be raised and dealt with. But compromises do not last long, they never give a complete and permanent solution. The history of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since Stalin’s death is itself a major example of how unfortunate these compromises been and what consequences they have had.

Now it is an incontestable fact that in Soviet society there is no political or ideological unity, and despite the great concern of the leaders to avert any expression of this in the proceedings of the Congress, it still emerged, in one way or another, there too. This could be seen in the concern of many speakers who appealed for political and ideological unity, in the preoccupation of some about unhealthy symptoms in the education of the youth, or about the liberalism which prevails today in the field of literature and art, in the disorganization in the economy, and so on.

Under pressure from the serious internal and external contradictions which have arisen and are developing as a consequence of the defeats which Khrushchevites have suffered so far, the new Soviet leaders did their uttermost to get approval of their future line from the Congress. To this end they resorted to all means, from passing in silence over the most acute problems to dropping all such favourite terms of the Khrushchevite revisionists, as the «state of all the people» and «the party of all the people»; from manoeuvring with the figures of the new five-year plan to the absence of boasting of the Khrushchev type; from avoiding the raising of new «theoretical questions», or the formulation of «new codes of communism, to demagogic outbursts for «unity» and an «anti-imperialist» stand, etc. Of course, this «new style» was not adopted to stress the difference from Khrushchev's line. It is part of the demagogical tactics of Khrushchev's successors, who are striving to preserve the ideological heritage and political line of their predecessor, but without making a lot of noise and fuss about it. The tactics of the new leaders are the familiar tactics of double-dealing, of under-cover acts, of silent plots and intrigues behind-the-scenes. The proceedings and decisions of the 23rd Congress prove once more that they are determined to proceed along this road, that is, to implement Khrushchevism without Khrushchev, to fight Marxism-Leninism, but not by his crude and authoritarian methods, to continue on the course of collaboration with US imperialism, but without boasting openly about it, to continue undermining the international communist movement and the socialist camp, but to do it in the name of «unity», in short, to say one thing and do another. But nothing can save the present-day Soviet leaders. The dialectics of things is such that any attempt to overcome the difficulties and contradictions on the basis of the line which has caused them, can bring about nothing but a deepening of those difficulties and contradictions, hence the inevitable and ultimate defeat of Khrushchevite revisionism.
Congress of Khrushchevism Without Khrushchev

What did the 23rd Congress show? It showed that the new Soviet leaders still insist on following the treacherous anti-Marxist line of capitulation of the 20th and 22nd Congresses faithfully and to the end, on carrying out the Khrushchevite revisionist line of betrayal and capitulation embodied in the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at all costs. On all internal and external questions, the line is still the general line of Khrushchevite revisionism. The theses of the 20th and 22nd Congress remain, just as they have been up to date, the gospel of Soviet revisionists to which they are pledged and which inspires them to new counter-revolutionary acts. Indeed, in some directions, such as the management and administration of the economy, the new leaders have gone even further on the revisionist course. They compelled the Congress to adopt the new economic reforms, which mark a further step towards creating more favourable conditions for the re-establishment of the capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Brezhnev, Kosygin and many other speakers brought many figures to the Congress and performed with them just as jugglers perform at a circus. They strove to convince their listeners about the «benefits» which this five-year plan will allegedly bring the Soviet people, about the place which the Soviet economy will take in the world, about its international influence, and so on. But the Soviet people have heard such promises from revisionist leaders many times before in recent years. Some years ago, Khrushchev and his collaborators, who remain today the top leaders of the party and the state, promised the Soviet people that by 1970 they would have reached the highest peaks of human wellbeing, that if not altogether in communism, by that time they would be on the threshold of it. «In the draft general plan the increase of production of consumer goods had been envisaged in such proportions», declared Kosygin at the 22nd Congress, «that by 1970 we shall outstrip the level of the most developed countries, including the USA, in production for head of population». At the present Congress, Kosygin said nothing about his former promises. Indeed, he was obliged to admit in a way that the revisionist course has brought about many failures. By way of justification, he tried to throw the blame on the backwardness of agriculture which, according to him, led to «failure to fulfill the targets for the development of the food processing and light industry, a thing which could not but influence the slackening of the rate of increase of the national incomes and the material wellbeing of the workers». He said also that another factor which had exerted an influence in this matter was the decrease in the productivity of labour which was lower during the last five-year period that it was during the preceding one. In his report, Kosygin tried hard to avoid revealing the true causes of the failure to achieve many of the targets of the seven-year plan. He said that mistakes and ill-founded calculations had been made, but he did not say who had made these mistakes, who
was the person or persons who had maintained "an ill-considered, voluntarist stand toward the solution of many complicated economic problems", who had "envisaged targets without any economic basis, which could not be accomplished". Everybody knows that because of the post\(^1\) he occupied at the time the seven-year plan of the USSR was drafted, Kosygin was one of those who drew it up, and before the fall of Khrushchev, was one of its most ardent propagandists who often pointed out the "scientific" basis of the plan, its "realistic" nature, and so on and so forth. Here, for example, is what he said at the 22 Congress: "The successful development of national economy demonstrates convincingly how correct and timely is the course undertaken by the Central Committee of the Party, under comrade Khrushchev's leadership, for the further improvement of the economic structure of production on the basis of the data of science and technology... We have now achieved such a level of development that the building of communism has become a direct practical task of the Soviet people... The program of the CPSU and comrade Khrushchev's speeches to the Congress represent a brilliant example of the thorough analysis of social life, a creative development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory". Whereas at the 23rd Congress, he denounced "the subjectivism in the solution of economic problems, the amateurish disdain for the data of science and technology".

We do not know what Kosygin will say at the 24th Congress. But such clowning has nothing to do with either science or Marxism. He speaks to suit the occasion: what said yesterday he denies today, what he proclaims today as the culminating achievement of science and technology he will reject tomorrow as "amateurish disdain for science". Under such conditions, can the Soviet people believe the new promises of Brezhnev, Kosygin and company? Can they put any trust in the "scientific" assurances about new reforms and economic plans? The Soviet people and all the revolutionaries of the world see very clearly that all these manoeuvres, all this play of words, are intended to conceal one thing: the defeat which the treacherous revisionist line has suffered, a line which with its anti-Marxist economic policy is intended to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev introduced many reforms, and his successors are introducing as many again. But they have brought no benefits to the Soviet people. On the contrary, they have led to the wasting of large amounts of valuable things created by the toil and sweat of the people, have given rise to a feeling of pessimism in the country and have disheartened the creative forces, and the active work of Soviet people is being strangled by repeated organizations and reorganizations which have caused confusion and disorganization among the people. The only concern of the revisionist lea-

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1 Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and President of the State Planning Commission.
dership today is to satisfy and fulfill all the desires of the privileged strata of top functionaries of the party and of the state, of the technocrats and senio

ar army officers on whom it relies to maintain its power and to carry out its plans for the bourgeois degeneration of Soviet society.

Little by little, the economy of the Soviet Union is adopting those forms and methods which turned the Titoite economy into an appendage of the economy of the capitalist world. Apparently, the Soviet leaders have found ready-made recipes for carrying out their treacherous schemes which undermine the very foundations of the great victories of the October Revolution, the brilliant results and successes which the Soviet people had achieved over several decades of struggle and enormous efforts in the construction of socialism. The head of the delegation of the Titoite clique at the 23rd Congress, Alexander Rankovich, known as the hangman of the peoples of Yugoslavia, rabidly anti-Stalinist and a ruthless enemy of socialism, spoke about this with great enthusiasm. He used the tribune of the Congress, which the Soviet revisionist leaders offered him, in order to advertise the «Yugoslav experience», and to put forward the need for a further «improvement» in exchanging this experience. But no matter how much the sympathizers and close associates of the Titoite clique, who now stand arbitrarily at the head of the party and state in the USSR, may applaud him, the Soviet people cannot fail to know what the «Yugoslav road» represents, cannot fail to know what is happening in Yugoslavia today and what the situation of the Yugoslav people is.

Despite the countless «certificates» and «documents» with which the Soviet revisionist leaders have proclaimed it a «socialist country», the present-day Yugoslavia represents a state completely under the political and economic control of the imperialists and the reactionary internal bourgeoisie represented by the Tito clique. The ugly bourgeois phenomena of competition, unemployment, the uneven development of districts and regions, the chauvinist pressures of economically more powerful groups, the struggle for markets, etc., are showing up more and more clearly every day in its economy. A paradise of this kind lies ahead for the Soviet Union, too, on the course on which the present revisionist leaders are impelling it. And the first signs are very alarming to the Soviet people. Their top leaders, following faithfully in Khrushchev's footsteps, have begun to call for investments of foreign capital in the Soviet Union. Important negotiations are going on with Japanese capital about investments in the Far East, while the large Italian firm Fiat has concluded a very important agreement to open a branch in the Soviet Union. Under the form of long-term credits, and free international economic exchanges, which as Kosygin alleged in his speech to the Congress, «are required because of the technical and scientific revolution», the Soviet leaders intend to link the economy of their country with the capitalist economies of the USA, Britain, West Germany, Japan, etc. By such means they hope to speed up
the capitalist transformation of the Soviet economy and create another base to strengthen their own power. Of course, these are their calculations. But the last word will be said by the Soviet people, who have not fought and shed their blood for their country to became a new Czarist Russia.

Stubborn Continuation of the Pro-imperialist Policy

One of the issue most hammered at the 23rd Congress was that of the problems of foreign policy, which occupied a major part of the speeches of the Soviet leaders and their cronies invited to the Congress. All of this concern is quite understandable. Because of their treacherous, capitulationist, counter-revolutionary policy, the Soviet revisionists have come into general conflict with the anti-imperialist forces of the world. The line of Soviet-US collaboration to establish the domination of two great powers over the world is encountering the opposition of countries and peoples who see a direct threat to their freedom and independence in these imperialist-revisionist plots. The important revolutionary events that have taken place in the world have made it impossible for the Soviet revisionists to keep up the anti-imperialist disguise which they would like to maintain in order to mislead public opinion. Therefore, just as expected, at the Congress, Khrushchev's successors were engaged mainly in justifying their policy of capitulation and in the further elaboration of their well-known demagogic tactic of throwing the stone and hiding the hand that threw it. The analysis which they made of the international situation, which was almost a word repetition of that of the 20th and 22nd Congresses, was intended to find, or better, to fabricate some fresh «proofs» to justify their course of collaboration with imperialism under the notorious forms of «peaceful co-existence», «peaceful competition», «peaceful transition», and so on.

But unlike Khrushchev, the new leaders do not blab their intentions out openly; judged by their words, they might appear to be the most intransigent anti-imperialists. At the Congress, there were so many harsh verbal attacks on US imperialism, so many terrible curses aimed at it, that who knows what would happen if they were in earnest about them!

But anyone who followed the proceedings of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU could not fail to observe that the «anti-imperialism» of the Soviet revisionists is false from start to finish, like an actor's make up, which comes off at the first wash, simply to mask their concrete acts in support of imperialism. Whether in the reports of Brezhnev and Kosygin, or in the contributions to the discussion of Gromyko and other speakers, the condemnation of US imperialism and its aggressive policy never amounted to more than formal, abstract, general reproaches. With regard to concrete matters of international relations, the Soviet leaders expressed their readiness to cooperate with the USA, as they have done up till now, to solve
them within the framework of Soviet-US relations. For example, in his speech to the Congress, Brezhnev, after loudly proclaiming the revisionist anti-imperialism, and after speaking a great deal about the US aggression in Vietnam, stressed: «We have frequently expressed our readiness to develop our relations with the USA and we maintain the same stand now». With this he wanted to tell the Americans: Take no notice of the words we are obliged to say about you. We shall continue to pursue the policy of rapprochement and collaboration in the future. And it must be said that the Americans made the correct interpretation of the language used at the 23rd Congress. The US newspaper «Christian Science Monitor», commenting on the speeches of foreign policy delivered at the Congress, summed up the whole essence of the revisionist attitude in a few words: «hard line, soft deeds». The entire Western press is very enthusiastic because the Congress «left the door open to collaboration with the West».

Great demagogy was indulged in at the Congress with anti-imperialist slogans, but such manoeuvres can no longer deceive anybody. Everybody knows that the Soviet revisionists’ desire above all is to continue and extend the Soviet-US collaboration for the domination of the world. Just as before, the Khrushchevite revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union are working persistently to conclude a new agreement with the USA on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which will ensure the atomic monopoly of the two great powers, are striving in every way to subjugate UNO

and to turn it into a tool of Soviet-US combinations, are struggling furiously, together with the USA, to complete «the ring of fire» around China, are helping, in collusion with the US imperialists to arm Indian reaction and incite its war-mongering and anti-Chinese desires, are actively coordinating their activities, with the US «global strategy» to sabotage the liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are persisting in the policy of reconciliation with German revanchism, and for the sake of their rapprochement with the USA, are sacrificing the vital interests of the German people and the peoples of the socialist countries of Europe, and so on. It is precisely these concrete acts, to mention only a few, that represent the treacherous revisionist policy, that demonstrate its dangerous trends, and capitulationist aims. All the rest is demagogy to deceive people, nooses set to snare the peoples, dangerous manoeuvres to stab the revolution and socialism in the back.

Typical in this regard is the unbridled, unrestrained demagogy in connection with Vietnam, which reached the acme of its ugliness at the 23rd Congress. There were many fine words about the war of the Vietnamese people, against US aggression, and of course, there was no lack of promises of aid and support. But what is this aid, what does it represent at the moment, and what will it amount to in the future? Brezhnev said that «the aggressors will run up against the ever increasing aid of the Soviet Union for Vietnam», Kosygin that «we shall continue this support at the neces-
sary level», while Gromyko confined his remarks to: «the Americans should take these declarations seriously».

But these are only words. In fact, neither Brezhnev, nor Kosygin, nor Gromyko said a single word regarding the imperialist plot of «peace talks», did not expose or reject this cunning manoeuvre of imperialism intended to bring about the capitulation of the Vietnamese people. This is by no means fortuitous. It is known that the Soviet revisionist leaders, like the Titoites, the Indian reactionaries and others, are supporters of the imperialist thesis of «talks without preconditions». The Khrushchevite leaders boasted a great deal about the «aid» they are giving Vietnam, but the worth of this aid in the war against aggressors is quite insignificant. This was proved by one very simple fact: if the Soviet arms are such dangerous a factor for the US imperialists, why have they not expressed the slightest concern about this Soviet action? It is known that in 1962, when Khrushchev dispatched Soviet missiles to Cuba, the US imperialists were not only worried, but they compelled Khrushchev to capitulate completely, to withdraw the missiles from Cuba, and even accept US control. Hence it is not that the American attach no importance to the problem of armed aid. But the US imperialists are saying nothing because, undoubtedly, there is some secret agreement between the Soviet leaders and Johnson and the Pentagon (for what other reason do they need the Red Teletype?) in which the limits of the Soviet «aid» for Vietnam, how much and what can be sent without endangering in the least the imperialist aggressors, have been clearly defined.

The Soviet leaders have boasted a great deal that they possess continental and intercontinental missiles capable of travelling through space to other universes, that their atomic submarines sail the oceans of the world undetected, that they have set up «blue circles of defence», and so on and so forth. But to what extent is this influencing the war in Vietnam to halt the imperialist aggression? Such boasting brings out even more clearly the great truth that the revisionist leaders are not giving Vietnam any effective aid, that their so-called «aid» is quite insignificant in comparison with the potential and possibilities of the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the aid and support they are giving the US imperialists in their aggressive war is much more effective. Does not the fact that the Americans are withdrawing tens of thousands of troops from Europe to send them to Vietnam, since there is nothing in Europe for the imperialists to worry about, confirm this?

The revisionist demagogy, which was employed so extensively at the 23rd Congress, cannot cover up the obvious fact that Khrushchevite revisionists have no intention at all of assisting the Vietnamese people and supporting their just cause, because the liberation war of the people of Vietnam, their tooth and nail resistance to US imperialism, their historic victories in the field of battle against the greatest military power in the world, have knocked the foundations from under the whole revisionist edifice of «Khrushchevite coexisten-
ce». It is now striking more terrible blows at the pacifist and capitulationist revisionist theories about the nature of wars in the present period, about the revolution, and peaceful co-existence. Above all it has become the touchstone of socialist internationalism, which is ruthlessly sorting out friends from enemies, showing the whole world who is with the peoples and who is with imperialism. It is precisely on this account that the Khrushchevite revisionists, who have long ago betrayed Marxism-Leninism, who have totally departed from the revolutionary traditions of the October Revolution, and the principles of proletarian internationalism, have no desire at all to see the Vietnamese people triumph, and precisely on this account they are coordinating their plans and actions with those of the United States to get «peace talks» underway, that is for the subjugating of Vietnam to US imperialism.

The Most Dangerous Splitters and Enemies of the International Communist Movement

The 23rd Congress marked a new step, the final step, in splitting the international and workers' movement. Of course, in connection with the problems of the communist movement, as in all other matters, the Soviet revisionist leadership strove to hide its true aims. This shows that the successors to Khrushchev have drawn certain lessons from the bitter experience of Khrushchev. At the 23rd Congress the Soviet leaders loudly proclaimed their «loyalty» to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declarations, expressed themselves in favour of the «unity» of the movement, indeed, in his political report, Brezhnev even «offered» the hand of friendship to the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China.

This attitude in not only hypocritical and phoney, but it also reveals the cynicism of the Khrushchevites. While making such declarations for the sake of appearances, they are secretly plotting against the communist movement and the parties which stand loyal to Marxism-Leninism, making approaches to and collaborating with the Titoite clique, which has been publicly condemned by the Declarations of the two Moscow Meetings, and organizing slanders and plots against the PLA and the CP of China. Not only this, but, immediately after Brezhnev's report, many speakers, both local and foreign guests, used the tribune of the Congress to launch unbridled calumnies against the Marxist-Leninist parties, accusing them of being «war-mongers», «pseudo-revolutionaries», «adventurers», «splitters», and so on. There was even one, who going «deeply into theory», coined the term «anti-Soviet communism», in order to slander the socialist countries and the Marxist-Leninist parties, although it is known that this «inventor», himself, one of those pioneers of modern revisionism, some years ago, as a banner-bearer of anti-Sovietism and liquidator of the communist party, became a member of a counter-revolutionary government.

This campaign within the Congress, directed
against parties which stand loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, as well as all the disruptive and subversive activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists, was a very clear exposure of the demagoguery and aims of the Khrushchevite leaders. Through their false slogans about "unity", they want to deceive communist opinion, to divert attention away from their betrayal, to achieve a cessation of public polemics so as to gain time to carry out their treacherous schemes against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in peace.

The "friendship" they offered China and Albania is unscrupulous demagoguery, a premeditated gesture for subversive aims, to mask their counter-revolutionary objectives and deeds. Today, their anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian, anti-Chinese actions comprise one of the main components of the foreign policy of the Soviet revisionist leaders. The Khrushchevite revisionists cannot cover up this truth with any propaganda gesture, or any manoeuvre or trick.

The demagogic manoeuvres of the Soviet leaders are also dictated by the great difficulties and contradictions that can be seen among the various revisionist groupings, and by the defeats which the revisionists have suffered and are suffering from day to day. As a result of the resolute and principled struggle of the CP of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, the CP of Japan, the CP of New Zealand, etc., and all genuine revolutionaries to expose Khrushchevite revisionism, and as a result of the anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary actions and the ever more open collaboration with imperialism of the Soviet and other revisionists, the ground is slipping more and more from under the feet of Khrushchevism. The fall of Khrushchev is a very significant forewarning. The contradictions between the Soviet leaders and the revisionist leaders of certain parties have increased, as a result of the chauvinistic actions of the Soviet revisionists towards their parties and socialist countries, as well as of the economic difficulties which have emerged for all of them due to the implementation of the revisionist-Titoite policy, and the bourgeois nationalism which has raised its head wherever the revisionists are in power. On the other hand, in the ranks of many revisionist parties the resistance of revolutionary communists is growing day by day, for they are becoming more and more aware that their revisionist leaders are leading them to disaster. This is what is happening in various countries where the revisionists are in power, and this is what is happening in the communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries. In some places Marxist-Leninist forces are operating secretly, in others openly; in some places, new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups have been formed which are operating under conditions of complete illegality; in others these parties and groups have come out openly against revisionism. This process is now in the course of development. It is an irresistible process, which like a powerful avalanche, will sweep the revisionist betrayal from the face of the earth. The Soviet Khrushchevites and their allies sense the danger. They need a breathing space to pull themselves
together and gather their strength to launch their attack with renewed energy.

In order to deceive the communists and blunt their vigilance, at the 23rd Congress, the Soviet revisionists tried to minimize and wipe out altogether the distinction between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, to present the differences in the communist movement as «not of great importance», while loudly stressing that «what unites us is the main thing», and so on. Our Party of Labour has stressed, over and over again, that nothing unites the Marxist-Leninists with the revisionists, who have betrayed socialism and communism, but everything divides them. At the 23rd Congress, too, the Soviet revisionists had a great deal to say about «unity of action» in the struggle against imperialism. But is there anything to unite Marxists with revisionists even in this field? Not a thing. While Marxists and revolutionaries are fighting imperialism with doggers drawn, the revisionists are allies and lackeys of imperialism and enemies of the people’s anti-imperialist struggle. To decide on «unity of action» with the revisionists means to give up fighting imperialism, to capitulate and submit to imperialism.

The 23rd Congress showed, once again, that the Khrushchevite leaders are splitters and sworn enemies of the international communist and workers’ movement. The Marxist-Leninists and genuine revolutionaries must intensify their struggle to expose Khrushchevite revisionism. A clear line of demarcation from Khrushchevism must be laid down, in the field of policy and ideology as well as in that of organization. Revolutionaries loyal to the cause of communism have the full right to organize themselves into new anti-revisionist groups and parties, and the time has come for this. The fight against revisionism, this agency of imperialism, must be raised to an even higher level. The revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists must launch a general offensive so that Khrushchevite plans of deception and betrayal which were worked out at the 23rd Congress will fail completely. Every communist who is loyal to the triumphant ideas of Marxism-Leninism must take a definite stand. An indefinite, centrist stand, neither one way or the other, the neutral attitude, does not serve the cause of the revolution, the cause of communism. The Khrushchevite revisionists, as it was pointed out at their 23rd Congress, are making great efforts to unite the obedient revisionists around themselves and to set up a united front with them against the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. But they are also striving to win over «new friends», by pursuing the tactic of neutralizing them, first, with the hope of drawing them completely in the revisionist front, later.

Under the present conditions when the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism has become very fierce, when the treacherous acts of the Khrushchevite revisionists are directed not just against one group of communists within the country, or against one group of the communist movement, but against the entire communist movement, against the revolution and socialism, genuine communists, even if they are right in the
laire of Khrushchevite revisionism, cannot renounce their principles, nor replace them with obscure, abstract, or semi-opportunist formulas. History has proved that equivocal, middle of the road attitudes are very dangerous. They are in the interests of revisionism which wants them and encourages them.

The establishment of a clear line of demarcation, the ideological, political, and organizational split with Khrushchevite, Titoite, and any other revisionism, has become an unavoidable and necessary historical exigency. In the future, the Party of Labour of Albania will continue, as always, to intensify its principled fight against modern revisionism and will give unreserved support to all the anti-revisionists, communists and revolutionaries.

In the «Zëri i popullit» article entitled, «The Khrushchevite Revisionist Traitors Go to Their Congress with a Balance of Major Failures», published on March 22, we wrote:

«The activities of the treacherous Khrushchevite leaders, the whole policy they have pursued so far, show that at the Congress they will seek to sanction Khrushchevism, but without Khrushchev. They will strive to get authorization, however formal, from a party congress to proceed on the line they worked out together with Khrushchev, to go further in the process of the capitalist degeneration of the social order in the Soviet Union, on the road of splitting the world communist movement, and to increase and deepen the collaboration with US imperialism in the name of the domination of the world by the two great powers». Now that the Congress is over we can say that there is nothing to add to these conclusions. Its results were precisely what had been predicted. And it could not have been otherwise.

The Soviet revisionist leaders went to the Congress as bearers of the line of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, but they could not say such a thing openly to the Soviet people. They went there as splitters and saboteurs of the communist movement, but as long as they are working from within, they must maintain their disguise at all costs. The two-faced tactic of the Khrushchevite revisionists is not something they have chosen themselves. It has been imposed on them by the circumstances, by their traitorous mission, by the counter-revolutionary aims they seek to achieve.

The proceedings of the 23rd Congress brought to light more clearly than at any other time this demagogical tactic, the duplicity, the separation of words from deeds, the hypocrisy and cynicism of the revisionists. But this demagogic tactic built on sand is the product of insurmountable contradictions, of the exigencies of the day, the result of their fear and the defeats they have suffered. As such, like the revisionism which gave birth to it, it is doomed to failure.

Now that the Congress is over, the Khrushchevite revisionist leaders are trying to pose as happy that they managed to preserve the appearance of unity at the Congress, and to avoid any expression of the contradictions they have with their
own party and their people, and with their revisionist allies and friends. But this is a false joy which has no basis whatsoever, wishful thinking rather than reality. The uneasy atmosphere, the worries about something unknown that might occur, the lack of complete certainty about what was said, which was expressed, in one way or another, in the contributions of the delegates, are some of the symptoms which show that even when the revisionist leaders do not want to shift from their spot, the people around them are moving, processes are developing which they are powerless to stop.

The Soviet people are a great people, with a glorious revolutionary past, with a highly developed national and internationalist consciousness. Whatever may happen, they will not tolerate for long that a group of incorrigible renegades, who have usurped power in the Soviet Union, should draw them on to a dangerous course which is utterly contrary to their vital interests. There will certainly come a day when the banner of Leninism will again be flying high in the sky of the Land of the Soviets.

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The tragedy which the Indonesian people and communists are experiencing should shock the conscience of all progressive people. The Indonesian fascists, assisted openly and indirectly by the US imperialists and the Khrushchevite revisionists, are repeating, on an even larger scale, what the nazis once did after they took power. Their hand
must be stayed. The powerful voice of protest of every honest man, every revolutionary, every anti-fascist should be raised against the massacre of Indonesian communists and progressive people. Today this is the most elementary duty of all, because it is a real and unpardonable crime that the most rabid reactionaries should murder hundreds of thousands of innocent people (probably in no war, except the world wars, have there been so many victims) and go unpunished.

The Albanian people and communists express their internationalist solidarity with the Indonesian communists, victims of the fascist terror. We are convinced that regardless of the great damage it has suffered, the Indonesian Communist Party, which is a Marxist-Leninist party, will reply to the fascists with a determined revolutionary struggle for the total defeat of reaction. Now it is clear that there is but one way open to Indonesian communists and patriots: they must respond to the counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, with the armed struggle of workers and peasants in defence of freedom and democracy, to oppose fascism and its terror.

The developments in Indonesia are a bitter fact for the communists and all revolutionaries. Nevertheless, what happened in Indonesia constitutes a major experience which must be carefully studied and from which valuable lessons must be drawn. The revolution never goes straight ahead. It advances through triumphs and setbacks. It is the duty of revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists to consolidate the victories, while they must learn from temporary setbacks and draw the necessary conclusions so as to raise the revolution to a higher level and wage it with even greater force. The experience of a revolution is of advantage not just to the revolutionaries and communists of one country alone, but to all revolutionaries, to all the Marxist-Leninists of the world. Therefore not only the Indonesian communists, but all the revolutionaries and communists of the various countries should draw the appropriate lessons from the Indonesian events. This is of first-role importance.

The Indonesian Communist Party grew up and developed as a Marxist-Leninist party in stern class struggle against internal and external enemies. After the heavy blows it received from reaction in 1927 and 1948, when thousands of communists and the whole leadership of the party were massacred, the Indonesian Communist Party recovered again, through struggle and effort, until it became such a force that, from the number of its members, it represented the biggest communist party of the capitalist countries. There is no doubt that, despite the major losses it is suffering now, little by little, through courageous and consistent revolutionary Marxist-Leninist struggle it will recover once again. We Albanian communists are firmly convinced that the Indonesian communists will carefully analyze their work up to date, that they will discover the shortcomings, mistakes and weaknesses which have been manifested in the work of the party, and will draw the necessary conclusions, so that in the future, the Indonesian Communist Party will lead the Indonesian people
to success in their revolution. No one can do this better than the Indonesian communists themselves.

The Indonesian events are not an isolated phenomenon. They are links of a single chain, a component part of the assault of international reaction against the communist movement and the peoples' liberation struggle. They are linked with the aggressive activity of US imperialism in Vietnam and elsewhere, with the bloody imperialist intervention in San Domingo and throughout Latin America, with the organization of counter-revolutionary coups against several new states in Africa, with the subversive, disruptive activities which the Khrushchevite revisionists have long been engaged in within the ranks of the international communist movement, with their sabotage of the peoples' national liberation struggle, with the active support they are giving US imperialism and all the various reactionaries, and so on.

For this reason the revolutionaries and communists of various countries must give these phenomena serious consideration, must analyze them carefully and draw the necessary conclusions so that the revolutionary struggle will advance steadily from victory to victory.

How Much Are «Democratic Freedoms» Worth in a Bourgeois State and how Should they Be Utilized

The bourgeoisie, and together with them, the modern revisionists have a lot to say about and count heavily on the so-called democratic freedoms.

In fact, for the sake of appearances, in every bourgeois state considered democratic there are certain relatively democratic «freedoms». We say relatively, because they never go beyond the bounds of the bourgeois concept of «freedom» and «democracy», because they extend just so far as will not jeopardize the vital interests of the bourgeoisie in power.

Naturally, the working class and progressive people utilize these conditions to organize themselves, to propagate their views and ideology, and to prepare for the overthrow of the exploiting classes and the seizure of power.

Following the Second World War, as a result of the victory over fascism and the role played by communist parties in the anti-fascist war, communist parties in many capitalist countries of Europe succeeded in taking part in the government (as in France, Italy, Finland, and so on), in having a large number of deputies in the parliament, important posts in the state apparatus and even in the army, and so on.

Likewise, at various periods during the past 15 years favourable conditions for the party of the working class and progressive forces were created in certain countries of the Middle East, such as Iran and Irak; in Latin America, such as Guatemala, Brazil, Ecuador, Venezuela, etc. In Asia, a very favourable situation was created in Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party grew rapidly, it took part in the government, exerted a major influence in the internal and foreign policy of the country, and so on.
But even under the conditions of «democratic freedoms», a bitter class struggle, a struggle for life or death, goes on between the revolution and reaction, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If the proletariat and their party strive to consolidate their positions, reaction and the bourgeoisie, on their part, are not asleep. On the contrary, by using the bourgeois state apparatus, the police and armed forces, corruption and subversion, by nurturing opportunism and reformist and pacifist illusions within the ranks of the working class, and so on, they make serious preparations to strengthen their positions and to smash the revolutionary forces.

The development of events after the Second World War shows that, within the framework of «democratic freedoms», the bourgeoisie has acted energetically in various ways to liquidate the revolutionary movement of the working class.

When the bourgeoisie and reactionaries had consolidated their positions, they ousted the communists from the government, from important state posts and from the army, as in Italy, France, and Finland. In Britain, Austria and elsewhere the communists were left with not even one seat in parliament, whereas in Greece they were thrown into prison or shot.

When the bourgeoisie and reactionaries see that their powers is in jeopardy as a consequence of the mounting prestige of the communist party and the revolutionary movement of the masses, they play their last card: they set the armed forces in motion, organize pogroms, in order to smash and liquidate the revolutionary movement and communist parties, as they did in Iran and Irak, and now, recently, in the tragic events of Indonesia. In such cases the bourgeoisie and reactionaries of one country have directly employed the aid of world reaction and even of its armed forces, as in San Domingo and elsewhere.

What conclusions can be drawn from this historical experience?

First, the so-called «bourgeois freedoms» and «democratic freedoms» in the capitalist countries are not such as to allow communist parties and revolutionary groups to attain their objectives. No. The bourgeoisie and reactionaries allow the activity of revolutionaries as long as it does not endanger the class rule of the bourgeoisie. When this rule is endangered, or when the reactionaries find the opportune moment, they suppress these democratic freedoms and employ every means to crush the revolutionary forces, with no moral or political scruples. In all countries where the communist parties are allowed to work openly, the bourgeoisie and reactionaries utilize this situation to get to know all the activities, persons and methods of work and struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionaries. Therefore, the communists and their genuine Marxist-Leninist parties would be making a fatal mistake if they were to put any trust in the bourgeois «freedoms» which circumstances made available to them and advertise everything openly, if they fail to keep their organization and plans secret. Communists should take advantage of conditions of legal work, and more-
over should use them in order to carry out extensive work of propaganda and organization, but at the same time, they must be prepared for work in illegality.

Second, the opportunist illusions about the "peaceful way" to assume power are false and constitute a great danger for the revolutionary movement. On the surface, the Indonesian Communist Party seemed to have the most suitable terrain to achieve its goal by this method. However, the Indonesian communists had stated more than once that they nurtured no illusions about the peaceful road. In the greeting of the delegation of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party addressed to the Congress of the Communist Party of New Zealand, they affirmed that "events in Indonesia have proved once again that there is no ruling class... and reactionary force which will allow the revolutionary forces to attain victory in 'peaceful ways'". From the tragic events in Indonesia, the communists draw the lessons that it is not sufficient just to reject the opportunist illusions about the "peaceful way", nor to recognize that the only way to take power is the revolutionary way of armed struggle. The party of the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninists, and every revolutionary must take effective measures to prepare for the revolution, from educating communists and the masses in a militant revolutionary spirit to making concrete preparations to meet the counter-revolutionary violence of the reactionaries with the revolutionary armed struggle of the popular masses.

Third, regardless of the favourable conditions and positions which the party of the working class may enjoy at a given moment, it must never, for a moment, slacken its revolutionary vigilance, overestimate its own strength and that of its allies, or underestimate the strength of its opponent, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The Indonesian Communist Party had great influence in the country, but apparently, it overestimated and had excessive confidence especially in the political strength of Sukarno and of that part of the bourgeoisie which supported him. At the same time it seems to have underestimated the strength of reaction, especially of reaction in the army. It seems the Indonesian comrades had the idea that whoever had Sukarno on his side had the key to Indonesia in his hand, without making a careful analysis of where Sukarno's strength lay and how real this strength was, especially among the people. The recent events in Indonesia showed clearly that Sukarno's prestige and authority did not have any sound social, economic or political basis. The reactionary generals managed to neutralize Sukarno and even to utilize him, to the extent necessary, for their counterrevolutionary ends.

Fourth, the Marxist-Leninist party and every true revolutionary must consistently and resolutely pursue a revolutionary line and fight courageously against opportunism and its ugliest manifestation, modern revisionism, Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionism. The opportunists and modern revisionists have made the struggle for "bourgeois freedoms" their banner and have renounced the revolution, they advocate "the peaceful way" as the
only way to take power. It is precisely this opportunist and revisionist line, the influence of Khrushchevite and other revisionists, that have turned many communist parties, which once represented a major revolutionary force, into parties of social reform, into appendages and assistants of the reactionary bourgeoisie. This has occurred in the Italian, French, Finnish, British, Austrian and other communist parties. Opportunism and following the opportunist line of the 20th Congress of the Khrushchevites led the Communist Party of Iraq, the revisionist Brazilian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Algeria and others to catastrophe and liquidation. The Indonesian Communist Party is a Marxist-Leninist party. It opposes modern revisionism. The recent events in Indonesia and the undermining role which the Khrushchevite revisionists played there show that a genuine, revolutionary party, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and determined to carry the revolution forward courageously, must have a clear-cut stand towards opportunism, towards Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionism. It is not enough just to be in solidarity with the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against revisionism, but the party must fight uncompromisingly and openly against the revisionist betrayal, because only in this way are communists educated in a revolutionary spirit and the party protected from any danger of revisionism. Without a courageous and consistent struggle against opportunism and Khrushchevite revisionism, imperialism cannot be fought, reaction cannot be fought, and the cause of the revolution and socialism cannot be carried forward.

Communists and Alliances with the Progressive Forces

Historical experience shows that in their revolutionary struggle the communists have always entered into alliances with various progressive forces. This is because, especially in the case of democratic revolutions or of national liberation from imperialist and colonialist oppression, the broad strata of the population, ranging from workers and peasants to the national bourgeoisie and other progressive people apart from the communists and genuine revolutionaries, are also interested in them. It would be wrong, sectarian, and harmful to the revolution, if all those that can be united are not united to carry it through. And communists and genuine revolutionaries, as the most courageous fighters and most faithful representatives of the broad masses of people, are always interested in the unity of all those who want to carry the revolution forward.

The events in Indonesia are a great lesson also in regard to the question of alliances. NASA-COM, which represented the alliance of nationalist, religious, and communist forces, had been in existence for a long time in Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party did well to take part in NASACOM. By this means it consolidated its position and that of the working class in the whole
life of the country. But as the events show, sound organizational and revolutionary work was not done there. Harmful euphoria was permitted and NASACOM itself, the alliance of its three constituent forces and «freedom» of action were boosted excessively. The fact is that one storm was sufficient to bring the whole NASACOM structure tumbling down. NASACOM was not so strong a dyke as to keep out the tide of counter-revolution.

In their revolutionary struggle, therefore, the communists and revolutionaries should never be content with the formal conclusion of alliances. They should not be over-enthused by «declarations» about the «vitality» of such alliances but should work to ensure that these alliances should be of maximum benefit to the revolution.

For this, it is essential that in the various popular, democratic, national and national-liberation fronts, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties should win the trust of their allies through their work and struggle, should emerge at the head in these fronts and exert effective leadership over them. The leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, its correct revolutionary line in the interests of the broad masses united in the front is the guarantee of the strength and vitality of fronts and their major role in achieving the objectives of the revolution. It has been proven more than once that when these fronts are led by other social forces and political parties they do not last, do not follow a consistent revolutionary line, are often used for counter-revolutionary purposes, and collapse at their first encounter with reaction.

In following the line of unity with all those that can be united in the front, Marxist-Leninist parties, contrary to the views of modern revisionists, must not only preserve their independence and their role of leadership but must, at the same time, struggle against the vacillations of various allies, against their reactionary tendencies, against their attempts to split the front and start bargaining with reactionary forces. The line of unity and struggle helps strengthen the fronts, cleanses them of reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements, increases their solidarity and revolutionary spirit, and assists to attain a higher level of unity on solider foundations. Following the line of unity alone, neglecting struggle, creates a false, formal unity and enables reactionary elements and forces to undermine and eliminate it more easily dealing a heavy blow to the cause of the revolution itself.

In their alliances with various social strata and elements to achieve one objective or another in the various stages of the revolution, the communists must never lose sight of their ultimate goal — the triumph of socialism. «One must know how to unite the struggle for democracy with the struggle for the socialist revolution, subjecting the former to the latter», says Lenin. «Herein lies the whole difficulty, herein lies the whole essence... Don’t forget the main thing (the socialist revolution), put it in the forefront... subject it to it and coordinate with it... all your demands for demo-
cratic rights*. The communists are sincere in their alliances with other social forces. They are resolute fighters for putting into practice the programs of united fronts, but at the same time, they make no secret of their ideals, and once they have accomplished their democratic and national tasks, they are determined not to stop halfway, but to carry the revolution forward to the triumph of socialism and communism.

The struggle of our Party during the National Liberation War, its agreements, talks with progressive elements, and even with the factions of the reactionary bourgeoisie, taught us how to find our bearings successfully in this labyrinth. This experience gained in the war has been and is of immense assistance to our Party in its correct policy with the broad masses of workers, helps the Party in its internal policy and in orientating its foreign policy.

The International Unity Of Marxist-Leninists Must Be Strengthened

The world proletariat, Marxist-Leninist parties and all genuine revolutionaries are engaged in a stern struggle against imperialism, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, against the modern revisionists and against their ideology. This is a life or death struggle, a struggle of great international importance. The struggle between us and our ene-

must be united against the enemies of the proletariat and people, against the capitalists, imperialists and their allies, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, against variants of its ideology, one of which, at the present time, is modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism.

The enemies of the proletariat and of Marxism-Leninism have fought international Marxist-Leninist unity with all their might. To this end they have used all the means at their disposal and coordinate all their efforts. This is what world imperialism, headed by that of the USA, is doing today; this is what modern revisionism, headed by Khrushchevite revisionism, is doing; this is what all the various reactionaries of the world are doing, because the unity of the Marxist-Leninists of the world is fatal to them, but is salvation for us Marxist-Leninists.

The traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists and their lackeys, have worked to a well-defined plan to hinder the unity of the Marxist-Leninists, and in general, to discount the objective necessity for this unity. In the first place, with a view to achieving their treacherous goals, they attacked the idea of any international organization of communists. The revisionists had to do this in order to rehabilitate the traitors and the Trotskyite betrayal, and particularly to discredit the idea of internationalist Marxist-Leninist unity, which, to them, constituted the greatest danger at any time. Soviet revisionists set about discrediting every sound Marxist-Leninist thing so that they could build a new kind of unity on the basis of revisionism and under the Khrushchevite dictate. Of course, this was a castle built on sand, for no unity can exist outside Marxism-Leninism. The preaching of the Khrushchevite revisionists about «unity» is aimed mainly against the idea of Marxist-Leninist unity and for the purpose of hindering the realization of this unity. The Khrushchevite revisionists preach that kind of «unity» in order to oppose the true Marxist-Leninist unity for which we, Marxist-Leninists, are fighting and will fight to the end, and we shall certainly achieve our objective. The revisionists talk about their «unity», but developing day by day within this «unity» are many forms and ideas of disintegration, centrifugal ideas, which will lead to the open degeneration of pseudo-Marxists under whatever guise they may be hidden. The heroic and consistent fight of the Marxist-Leninists will tear off many a mask. Sooner or later, there will also be an unmasking of the game of those who want to play the role of centrists, who defend principles in words, but who, in reality, distort them under the guise of «independence», «specific conditions», which they are still using to conceal their gradual departure from Marxism-Leninism, their deviation from the international Marxist-Leninist unity in the world. Marxist-Leninists must consolidate their unity without heeding the slanders and opinions of revisionists. As to the organizational forms this unity is to take, they should be considered and worked out in concrete form.
Khrushchevite revisionists are making a lot of noise about the thesis of the independence of the communist and workers’ parties and their acting in conformity with the concrete conditions of each country. In fact, this is a Leninist thesis which only we, Marxist-Leninists, really adhere to consistently. But the modern revisionists are trying to ensure the nominal independence of parties in words, because in reality, the Khrushchevite revisionists want the whole movement to be dependent and under their leadership. To them, independence means something separate from internationalism, means that Marxist-Leninists should not have a common line on the most fundamental issues, like their attitude towards imperialism and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, observance of the universal laws of the revolution and socialist construction, and so on. While strictly respecting the independence of every party in determining its own line and policy, Marxist-Leninists must, at the same time, submit to the principles of proletarian internationalism, to the universal laws of the revolution and socialist construction, must work out a common line and a common stand on the most fundamental issues, especially in regard to the struggle against imperialism and the struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism from modern revisionism.

The events of Indonesia and the joint attack of the imperialists and the Khrushchevite revisionists against the peoples, against Marxism-Leninism and socialism show that we must strengthen the international unity of the Marxist-Leninists. All revolutionary communists, all the genuine Marxist-

Leninist parties must bodily and unhesitatingly surmount and crush all the obstacles that the modern revisionists have raised to our course of Marxist-Leninist unity. They will accuse us of setting up new international organs; they will be doing us an honour.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph over Revisionism», Vol. 6, Tirana 1967 (Alb. ed.).
WHEN THE FRONT IS LED BY A GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, VICTORY IS INEVITABLE

From a conversation with a delegation of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Laos

May 25, 1966

You are fighting far away from us, but we are always there beside you, in the just war your people are waging. In this direction, it is up to us to give you more help, therefore in our propaganda for the European area, we shall give you all our assistance, by continually publicizing the heroic struggle of the Laotian people, the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, the great struggle and efforts of all the peoples who are fighting imperialism and reaction. We consider it our lofty internationalist duty to publicize, support and assist all the wars the peoples are waging for freedom, independence and social progress.

Our comrades have already told you this, but I, too, wish to stress that we have complete confidence in the just war of any people and are convinced that only such a war, consistently waged, can lead to victory. Now, you have the experience of the war which you have waged and are waging according to the conditions of your own country. Here I am speaking mainly of your tactics, which nobody else can decide better than you. Naturally, in order to determine the most correct and skillful tactic one should profit from the experience of other countries, too. Like every other country, we, too, have our own experience in this direction. Let us take, for instance, the question of the Front. In your country, you have set up the Neo Lao Hak Sat, whereas we, during the Anti-Fascist War, set up the National Liberation Front. We know that your Party takes part in the Neo Lao Hak Sat, just as our Party did at that time in the National Liberation Front. But there is one difference: we openly
proclaimed our Party the leader and organizer of the war, and the Party not only founded and strengthened the National Liberation Front, but also remained in its leadership. In your country, as far as we know, the Party has not come out openly in the Front. Undoubtedly, this is a question which you must decide for yourselves, because you are living and fighting in Laos and know which is the best course. Our experience, however, proved that the legal existence of the Party in the Front helped us a great deal, because this gave a great forward impulse to the National Liberation War of the Albanian people. By coming out openly in the Front with a correct line, with a clear program for the war, our Party made things very clear to the masses, wiped out their illusions, quickened the process of differentiation, and exposed the undermining work especially of those reactionary bourgeoisie and feudal elements, who managed to insinuate themselves into the ranks of our Front and tried to carry out sabotage within it. The National Liberation Front, which was headed by the Communist Party, did not conceal its objectives, its minimum and maximum programs, from the people, did not conceal the existence of the Party or its general line from the people. This line was for the mobilization of the entire people in the armed struggle against the foreign invaders, and along with this, was intended to support the aspirations of the workers and peasants for freedom, independence and social progress, to liquidate the vestiges of feudalism, to put an end to the regime of oppression and exploitation, and to lead the country to the establishment of the people’s democracy.

Our experience here, in Europe, shows that the legal existence of the party and its leading role in the Front played a decisive role for the future. Bourgeois «democracy» existed in Europe, but our people did not have a high regard for it, because life had convinced them that it served the interests of the big imperialist powers. Many courageous people, progressive groups, progressive bourgeois elements emerged in our country, not just during the National Liberation War, but even earlier, but they never achieved any success, because there was no sound party which could become the real leader of the entire people. They could never have done what our Marxist-Leninist Party did. This is understandable: within the framework of bourgeois «democracy» the people can be mobilized, and through their bloodshed, the country can be liberated from the foreign invader, but this done, the bourgeoisie disarms the people, and does not allow them to carry on the fight for their social liberation. In our country, King Zog seized power in the conditions when feudalism existed, and at first, he came out with the slogan of democracy, but later he established the monarchy, the oppressing and exploiting dictatorship of his class. Thus our people understood what bourgeois democracy means and where it leads to. Therefore, when we created our Party, we thought that it was indispensable to come out openly before the people, to tell them that we were for a consistent fight to the finish, that our objective was not just the
liberation of the country but also the «establishment of a People's Democratic Albania», and we knew that the people were not afraid of the policy of the Party. On the other hand, while always bearing in mind that we must not damage the line of the Party, we thought that it was necessary to work with the non-communist elements, even with the bourgeoisie of the countryside and the town, and tried to unite it in a single Front together with the people, while always preserving the leading role of the Party in the Front. Life proved that this was the most correct course. Within a short time, relying on our sound line, we saw the process of differentiation take place among various elements: the sound elements stayed with us, while all the remnants of the bourgeoisie chose the road of reaction and joined the enemy. Within a short time, we saw that this line, which our Party decided on and followed, linked the people more closely with the Party. This tactic which we followed, showed us that the people understood and accepted the existence and the leadership of the Party, and we also noticed that in the course of the war, a clear differentiation between those who were for this war and those who were against it, took place.

The Yugoslav revisionists were opposed to this line followed by our Party. The Yugoslav betrayal came out in the open in 1948, but they had been sworn enemies of socialism long before that, and this was seen in our country as early as the period of the war. Then, for the first time, they displayed their tendency to conceal the existence of the Party behind the Front. They did not want our

Party to lead the Front in our country, therefore, they did their best to conceal its role. But their efforts encountered the clear-cut opposition of our Party. After Liberation, the Yugoslav Trotskyites sought to liquidate our Party altogether and to preserve the Front instead, allegedly as an organization capable of the construction of socialism. But, here too, they failed. This is our experience.

Of course, this is our experience, whereas in your country there are other conditions, therefore nobody can judge better than you about what is the opportune moment for the Party to come out openly before the people. We are sure of one thing: when the Front is led by a party which takes a sound Marxist-Leninist stand victory is inevitable.

Our experience also shows that, during the war, the Communist Party must never, for a moment, lose sight of the perspective, and in the framework of possible alliances that may be concluded within the Front, it must never for a moment permit a policy which brings the bourgeoisie very much to the fore. For example, the Indonesian Communist Party, through excessive reliance on a few such bourgeois elements like Sukarno, brought about that, at a given moment, this policy endangered and seriously harmed the party. The Party may make its zig-zags in the struggle, it may even make some concession, but it must be borne in mind that this concession should be of a dialectical character and it must never occur that it creates difficult situations later, which catch you asleep, in the face of reaction and fascism, which, within the framework of bourgeois democracy,
never sleeps, but prepares itself, gathers its forces to put an end to the bourgeois «democracy», and first of all, to attack the Communist Party. At such moments, one must be especially vigilant, because the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists, their propaganda about the «peaceful road», unprincipled alliances with the bourgeoisie etc., has seriously damaged the international communist movement and the national liberation of the peoples.

Our Party considers that the Soviet revisionists are currently engaging in reactionary activity, they are closely linked with imperialism in order to impede socialism and the people's liberation wars. They may be compared with the British, and Italian so-called democrats, who, in the beginning of the war, spoke out for the liberation of the people, and so on and so forth, while, on the other hand, they were preparing the yoke for these peoples. That is how the Soviet revisionists are. We say this openly to our comrades, and whether they open their eyes to it or not, that depends on them.

Our Party is of the opinion that not only in the theoretical sense, but also in their practical activity, the revisionists are nothing but sold-out traitors, who are fighting socialism with all their strength. Everywhere in the socialist countries of Europe, in Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Germany, etc., a great degeneration can be seen. They talk about the war of Vietnam, Laos, and other countries, they even give some material aid, but this aid of theirs is like giving sugar-coated poison, for on the one hand, they give «aid» to conceal their treachery, and on the other, they stab the peoples who are fighting for freedom and independence in the back. That is why we say they are traitors.

Our Party says openly and is convinced that these traitors must be fought, for they are doing their utmost to sabotage the struggle, and to liquidate socialism.

Let us take, for example, their stand towards our country. All these things they have done against us show clearly that here we have to do with organized sabotage. However, their stand towards us also shows up their great weakness, because they were not capable of liquidating a little Albania of only one million eight hundred thousand people, which is completely encircled by enemies. We fought with all our might against this gang, which was ready to attack us openly. When we saw their traitorous activity, we thought: «Why are they doing all these things? What evil has Albania done that they behave in this manner?» Then, why all this attack? Because our Party disagreed with many of their erroneous views that had begun to appear. The further they went in their treacherous work, the more severe our struggle became.

What were we to do in face of the revisionists' pressure and blackmail? Capitulate? No. We said: Very well — you are going to attack us, the Yugoslaves are going to attack us, all right then, attack, here we are! Of course, we did not remain idle. They attacked us with the weapons of treachery, subversion, sabotage, we struck back at them with the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism, with the truth, which was on our side. Thus, in the end,
they saw that in order to liquidate Albania they would have to take account of the risks, that to do this, they would have to involve themselves in a war, but it would be no easy war, because from the angle of political propaganda alone, they would suffer a great defeat. The Soviet, Czech, and other revisionists established a strong cordon all round our country, but in this direction, too, they suffered defeat. Therefore, they were forced to change tactic, to pose as though they are now willing to settle everything, to reach agreement with us.

But, about what should we reach an understanding with them? About restoring capitalism, as in their countries? About opening the road to degeneration and liberalism, about encouraging hostile elements, as occurred in Czechoslovakia on the First of May when such elements paraded carrying placards with pro-American slogans, and the police did not react in the slightest in order to avoid compromising the dirty negotiations that are going on between the revisionists and imperialism?! This stand of the revisionist heads has been welcomed by the imperialists, who are applauding the revisionist slogan of building bridges. Thus they say, «Let us build bridges», and such bridges, meant to link them with imperialism, are steadily being built.

Now, ever more new bridges are being built by the revisionist countries to link themselves with imperialism. Who must bear the blame for this? We? They want us to become traitors, but not, by no means, this we will never do. Thus, we shall go our own correct road, and they may do their worst. In this way, we do our duty, and remain loyal to our correct Marxist-Leninist principles.

Comrades, we have great admiration for the peoples of Laos and Vietnam, who are waging an heroic war, and we are convinced that by following a correct, Marxist-Leninist line, victory will be yours. Today Indochina has become a revolutionary hotbed, and your war, like those of Vietnam and other countries, has extremely great importance because it is striking at, and exposing, imperialism and its revisionist lackeys. Today the eyes of all revolutionary peoples of the world are on your fight. We see that US imperialism has got itself into an impasse from which it does not know how to get out. That is why the Soviet revisionists are trying to rescue it, but cannot do so. Whatever they do, the Soviet revisionists cannot save imperialism, the reactionaries and themselves from the mire into which they have plunged and from the end awaiting them.

Once again, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, we wish you success in your work and your war, and you can be sure that in our Party, in our people, in the Central Committee of our Party, you will always find all-out Marxist-Leninist support for your complete victory.

Published for the first time from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party
WE NEVER ALLOW THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOMELAND, THE HONOUR AND DIGNITY OF THE PEOPLE TO BE TRAMPLED UNDERFOOT

From a conversation with the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Algerian People’s Democratic Republic

June 13, 1966

Welcome to our country, comrade Ambassador of the Algerian People’s Democratic Republic. We nurture sincere and heartfelt feelings for the Algerian people, because your people have a rich and heroic history, because they have suffered and fought like our own people.

We have followed the struggle of your people for liberation with admiration and say to you in all sincerity that the Albanian people are in solidarity with your just cause at every moment. Our Party has done its utmost to ensure that the justice of the struggle of your people, their fighting spirit, become better known every day in Albania. We rejoice greatly when we hear that Algeria is fighting for the consolidation of its political and economic independence and for its national development.

The Albanians have never concealed their opinions. We have always said everything openly and sincerely. Our decisions have not been taken lightly, on the contrary, we have pondered them well, proceeding from the principle that a people must never be hasty or involve themselves in adventures, but neither must they capitulate. Therefore, we have pondered deeply in order to make correct decisions, have taken into account that they may cost us something, demand sacrifices and efforts, but regardless of such considerations, we have never bargained over principles and have never allowed the freedom and independence of the Homeland, or the honour and dignity of the people, to be trampled underfoot. We have made many friends in the world, as well as many savage enemies. But we do not fear the enemies. They have always done us harm, they have never wished the Albanian people well. Now we have the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, in this role. We have been very patient, have remained absolutely cool in response to their attitude, both in the past and at present. At first, we did not recognize this traitor, because he posed as a communist. We learned about his treachery later, and this not from his words, but from his anti-Marxist attitudes and hostile deeds. Then we attacked him and his treacherous policy sternly and ruthlessly. This is how we shall fight to the end against all the enemies of the peoples and the
revolution, be they open or disguised, and we are certain that we shall triumph.

Similarly, when we discovered the game that the traitor N. Khrushchev and his followers were playing, disguised under the authority of the party of Lenin and Stalin or the parties of Dimitrov or Gottwald, when Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites showed in practice what they were, we flung the truth in their faces, and this is how we shall always act with these renegades, because they have betrayed the cause of their own peoples, the common cause of all peoples, and the cause of our people, who, though small in numbers, are fighting with all their strength today, for the just cause of Marxism-Leninism, the peoples and the revolution.

The experience of the struggle against these traitors taught us a great and bitter lesson, therefore, now we are in a better position to distinguish friends from foes, to see what is hidden beneath their bombastic, high-flown words, and to appreciate the sincerity of simple words which come from the heart. We have learned a great deal from those who have betrayed the revolution and their own peoples, we regard them as detestable and warn our friends to remember that they are gambling with the interests of the peoples, therefore they must not be supported in their vile course, but on the contrary, must be fought and ruthlessly exposed.

Honest folk have to be thoroughly aware of who are the traitors and their enemies, and in their struggle must always rely on their own people, because our only strength lies in the people.

We have followed the principle: when in difficulties, however great and intolerable they may be, go to the people, seek their support, and they will help you with all their might when they see that you are fighting for their great cause.

We fought the occupiers and traitors because we had the all-out support of the people, who were thirsting for freedom, independence and a better life. They had fought all through their existence against various occupiers, and it was precisely this uninterrupted fight for the freedom and independence of the country which made it possible for our valiant and indomitable people to remain alive, and today even the most modern weapons will fail to subdue them. We crushed the foreign invaders, just as you conquered the savage and very experienced French colonizers, who inflicted such great misfortunes and suffering on the Algerian people. We triumphed over Italian and German fascism which had occupied our country, and at the same time we waged a fierce and merciless struggle to the end against all the local traitors, the collaborators with the invaders. And we achieved these victories because we had the people with us, we fought for their interests, for their great cause. This is the road we have marched on and will always march on.

There are some who think themselves geniuses, that allegedly the ideas which their heads produce make history, but we tell them that they have no genius at all, because they have not
understood the most essential thing — the majesty and genius of the people as the real makers of history. With their mistaken ideas, such ideologists may confuse and momentarily hold back the movement of the masses, therefore such enemies must be combated with might and main. The modern revisionists come within this category. In words, they say all sorts of things, appear to be ready to exterminate American, French, and other imperialisms immediately. But they are nothing but lackeys of these imperialists; what they say is only empty words to disguise their betrayal and their hostile activity.

This has been proven by events, but fortunately, with us, their manoeuvres and plots have never been successful because our people, under the leadership of the Party, have won their independence and freedom arms in hand and cannot be deceived by the enemies of the peoples. This is very important. In the process of world developments, crucial moments may occur, but a people who have fought and shed blood and are conscious of their mission cannot be subjugated or deceived by those who are not on the right road and insincere. Freedom cost us very dear, and when freedom is paid for in blood, you must never leave it to the mercy of wolves, as a saying of our people has it.

You are well aware that the revisionists and the imperialists attack us with every means, say all kinds of things against us, but this has never frightened us and never will. Our enemies are nothing but cliques, while our friends and those who agree with our struggle, are more numerous in the world, and we have the peoples on our side, because we are fighting for a just cause, for socialism, for a happy and prosperous future.

The imperialists and the revisionists say that they are for peace, but in fact they are for aggressive war, for the oppression of nations. A wolf never becomes a lamb; it may change its hide, but never its nature. Their words do not deceive us because we do not judge people and governments by their words; but by their deeds, by the stands they maintain, the policy they pursue. We have not been and are not for a sham peace. We are for the kind of peace for which the peoples have fought and are fighting, for that peace in which there will no longer be oppressors and exploiters. This is the kind of peace we stand for, and we shall do so to the end.

We are glad that your government has sent you as ambassador to Albania. The ties and relations of our people with yours are ancient. We, too, have an ambassador in your country, who on every occasion points out to us the sincere affection of your people for Albania. This rejoices us and encourages us in our work, because there is nothing greater than the sincere friendship among peoples.

Sincere friendship does not require sweet words on every occasion. It is possible that sometimes you may sincerely disagree, or even quarrel, with your friends on this or that question. Our people have a saying, «Do not put much trust in the flatterer». There are things which we see from
one standpoint, while somebody else may see them from another. There may be differing views not only between two peoples, but even between two brothers. But this does not mean that we must shut our mouth and leave our views unexpressed, regardless of whether this pleasures or displeases others. Everyone has his own policy, has a head on his shoulders, and is responsible for the future of his own people, just as we are responsible for our people.

At the head of the people, we are successfully building socialism in our country. In our work of construction we had the good fortune to be assisted by Stalin, by the Soviet people, at the most difficult moments, when we had just emerged from the war. Despite this, the people, their work and struggle have been and are the main factors. What could the Soviet assistance have achieved without the great revolutionary work of our people? Khrushchev made the accusation that we did not say enough about the Soviet aid. We did speak of that aid but the reality is that, in comparison with all the work that was being done at that time for the construction of socialism, it represented only a small percentage. We value the aid given today by the People's China as internationalist aid, but this, too, is not and cannot be decisive and so important as the force of the people. Therefore, the force of the people, their great work, are the decisive factors for the economic and cultural development of every country. That is to say that every country must rely on its own efforts, on the forces of the people. This has been and still is our course.

Your people have great creative strength. The Algerians have accomplished great things, but unfortunately, it has always been the imperialists who appropriated the fruits of the creativeness of your people. They say that the Algerian people are allegedly «illiterate», «backward», and so on. That's what they said about the Albanian people, too. But both our peoples, the Algerian and the Albanian peoples, were left in illiteracy and backwardness by their internal and external enemies. It was not the fault of their birth. Now those times have gone. As you have seen for yourself in the course of your visits around Albania, after putting an end to the state power of oppression and exploitation, our people headed by their Party, have thrown themselves into the work of construction. With all their own genius, they gave the illiteracy, misery and poverty the order of the boot. Thus, the backward situation is a thing of the past. With this I do not mean that we have achieved everything already. No, we have still many difficulties and shortcomings, but what we have won and which guarantees our future has great importance. Now the people have the leadership of the Party, which awakened them, developed their consciousness, educated them, so that now they know where they are going and where they are going to go. This is the greatest victory, we think.

The unity of the people is also of great im-
portance. Do you know what the reactionaries said about our people: «The Albanians are like hares, they cannot be united». This was logical for them, and they worked to ensure that our people were always divided, because they wanted to perpetuate their domination in this way. But the time came when they saw that the Albanians were united round the Party with great strength, and this brought the enemies to their final catastrophe. They are always prowling around us like wolves, but they know there are «limits to what they can do», because our people have given them clear warning not to cross our border because death awaits them here. For years on end our neighbours, incited by the imperialists and their friends, did their utmost to harass us, but they have been quiet for a long time now, not because they wish us well, but because they see that it is dangerous to continue such activity against our country. They know now that the Albanian people cannot be kicked about.

Now, once again, we have obstacles and difficulties, indeed, no small number of them. We are encircled by savage and experienced enemies, but the steel unity of the people around the Party is stronger than ever. We have strengthened this unity and will continue to do so unceasingly, because it is the reliable guarantee for achieving any success and overcoming any danger.

You may be sure, comrade Ambassador, that in the Albanian people you will always have a sincere friend, that we, on our part, shall strive to develop our relations with you, simply from our desire for the strengthening of our sincere friendship, without any ulterior motive, in the interests of the peoples of our two countries.
THE ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST AGGRESSIVE INVADERS AND LOCAL REACTIONARIES
— THE ONLY ROAD OF THE PEOPLE ASPIRING TOWARDS FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

From a conversation with the Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

June 18, 1966

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: I am very glad to meet you, the representative of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, today. We follow the great heroic war of the Vietnamese people and their successes with close attention, day by day, and we are happy and very glad to hear about the further defeats the US imperialist aggressors are suffering every day and the routing of the puppet troops in the south of your homeland.

THE AMBASSADOR OF THE DRV: The Central Committee of our Party has instructed me to express our gratitude to your Party and Government for the support and aid you have given and are giving us in our war. It also instructed me to report to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania that we, on our part, are exerting all our efforts to fight and triumph over the US imperialists, so as to be worthy of the support you are giving our people in their struggle.

Following the instructions of the CC of the Workers’ Party of Vietnam, the Ambassador of the DR of Vietnam went on to give comrade Enver Hoxha detailed information about the situation in South Vietnam, and the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people against the US aggressors and local reactionaries; about the new plans and efforts of the imperialists to further extend and escalate the war in Vietnam; about the major defeats the enemies are suffering on the fighting front; about the profound contradictions that had flared up in the ranks of the puppet government of South Vietnam and the endeavours of the US imperialists to escape from the grave situation by the intensification both of the military aggression and of the «peace offensive», etc.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Thank you, comrade Ambassador, for this wide-ranging, frank and comradely information which you have given me, which is very useful to us. On behalf of the Central Committee, please, convey to the Central Committee of your Party and to comrade Ho Chi Minh the revolutionary thanks of the Central Committee of our Party for this communist solidarity, because we consider this information as reflects the correct appreciation which the Work-
ers' Party of Vietnam has for our Party and the Albanian people, who fully support the heroic war of your people and Party.

You have seen for yourself that in our country the people and the Party, politically, spiritually and ideologically, are totally with your fight, with all the forces in the forefront of battles in defence of the just and sacred cause of the Vietnamese people and the Workers' Party of Vietnam both in the North and in the South. We consider this solidarity a vital issue, not only for Vietnam but also for our own country, for all the peoples of the world and for the defence of Marxism-Leninism. I stress this because the principal task of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties at the present time is the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries who support the US imperialist aggression against the fraternal Vietnamese people.

As you said yourself, besides the savage war of aggression with arms that the US imperialists and the Vietnamese reactionaries are waging, there is also the «peace offensive», which is just as dangerous or even more so than the former, and which openly and very clearly shows the great weakening that the heroic fight of your people has brought about in US imperialism. This is a major defeat not only for US imperialism, but also for all those who support this peaceful offensive.

We are firmly convinced that the Soviet revisionists are trumpeting the «peace offensive» so loudly and have made it their banner, in the first place, because they have proclaimed and are pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence, especially with US imperialism. We observe with satisfaction that, regardless of the tactics that are used, the Vietnamese people, headed by the Workers' Party of Vietnam remain unwavering in the fight against US imperialism and the local reactionaries, and are opposing their peace offensive. This is a guarantee that victory will be achieved and is directed against all those who are trying to put a spoke in the wheel of Vietnam's just war, which is being waged with weapons and other political means. But our enemies will not succeed.

The Americans or the modern revisionists may hatch up all sorts of plans to defeat Vietnam, but their plans will be defeated in face of your determination. The concrete stands taken towards your war are sorting out and will tell apart better in the future who are for the Vietnamese people and who are against them, and day by day, this will become ever more clear.

Our Party does not know a great deal about the concrete details of the pressure which the modern revisionists, led by the Soviet revisionists, are exerting against the determined stands of the Vietnamese people and communists, but our Party is taking note of and drawing the proper conclusions from their whole policy and activity. From the articles appearing almost daily in the organ of the Central Committee of your Party against the inveterate agent of US imperialism, Tito, we draw our own conclusions. To us it is as clear
as daylight who Tito is, what pastures he frequents, with whom he keeps company, just as it is clear who they are who call this renegade a "communist", and kiss and embrace him. In this colossal clash that is going on, such an heroic people as yours and a Party like yours cannot fail to see who are their real friends and who are their enemies.

The stern struggle the Vietnamese people are waging is a brilliant proof that the armed struggle against the US aggressor invaders is the only salvation for the people who want their freedom and independence, which, as you said, are the main, indispensable and vital demands for a people. The facts have consistently demonstrated that when the peoples and the Marxist-Leninist parties which lead the peoples in the fight for liberation, are clear that victory can be achieved by this means, and this means alone, then there is no power or difficulty which can stop them from triumphing in their just cause. This is the foundation of the most correct policy of a party which is leading the permanent liberation of a people, this is the only road which ensures that a people can never be conquered. To consider other means implies that freedom and independence can be handed to a people as a gift, out of charity, but this can never happen because nobody can give you freedom, it must be won through struggles, battles, and sacrifices.

It is clear to our Party that the US imperialists are doing their utmost to extend the war. To this end, they have made and are making great sacrifices, are ready to accept great losses, in materials, money and men, for otherwise, they lose their political prestige. Therefore, they will continue to extend the war, to step up their barbarous actions in order to ensure that they remain in Vietnam and keep the fire of war ablaze there, as a basis for spreading it to other zones and engaging in their aggressive, subversive and hegemonic activity against different peoples and countries in that or other regions.

Imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries in the world are resorting to all ways and means to get out of this impasse. That is why their peace offensive is so very desirable for them. Our people say that the imperialists are doing this not from choice but from compulsion. They see that the people and the Workers' Party of Vietnam are standing firm on their four points. Should the US imperialists accept these four points, it means that they must clear out of Vietnam, however, this means that their prestige in the world would suffer a disastrous failure. In our opinion, the Soviet revisionists and all their minions, are now striving to convince the United States of America to accept some sort of face-saving compromise. Their objective is to rescue the US aggressors, but the latter are not giving up, because they want to have a finger in Vietnam. Meanwhile the just demands of the Government of the RD of Vietnam are inviolable, they are not empty words, but have been thoroughly instilled into the bloodstream of the Vietnamese peo-
ple and have stood the test of their colossal sacrifices.

We are convinced that US imperialists and the other enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples are doomed to failure in their plans. All the fierce contradictions that are appearing and will appear in the ranks of the imperialist enemies and the local reactionaries in South Vietnam, are the result of the great defeats which the US imperialists and their policy towards the local puppets are suffering, one after another. These contradictions among the enemies have been caused, in the first place, by the struggle of the people, by the Vietnamese partisans. Now the puppet elements are striving to find a way of compromise. As you said, the army of the puppet government is a support for the US armies in Vietnam, but the efforts to smooth the contradictions, to achieve a sort of compromise between the Buddhists and the adherents of Kao Ky, to form a «civilian government» against that of the generals headed by Kao Ky, is a manoeuvre of the US imperialists and the local reactionaries to back up their peace offensive. We think that these attempts are the result of the situation which has been created in Vietnam. If we were in the place of your Party and the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, we would strive to gain the maximum advantage from these contradictions and situations in order to attack, defeat and liquidate the morale and resistance of the puppets and all the Vietnamese reactionaries.

When the ship is going to sink, the rats begin to leave it to save their skins. But where to go? That's what is happening now in your country with the Vietnamese puppets. The ship of the Americans and Kao Ky in South Vietnam is sinking, therefore, wherever they are, the rats are scrambling to get off it, so they won't go down with it. That's what happened in our country, too, towards the end of our National Liberation War.

Near the city of Tirana there is a village, called Mukje. When the Albanian reactionaries and Quislings, gathered around the traitor organizations «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti», saw that the «Italian ship», on which they had been «fellow-travellers», was sinking, they were forced to leave the «Italian ship» and came to Mukje to negotiate with us. To this village we sent our delegation of the National Liberation Front, led by two men, one of whom was a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and the other a member of the General Staff. We gave them clear instructions as to the questions they were to discuss, and ordered them to tell the representatives of the «Balli» and «Legaliteti» explicitly, on the basis of the situation and since this was their desire (for it

1 This refers to the enemies of the Party and the people, the capitulationist traitors Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi.
was they that sought to hold talks with us), that they must get into the fight: «But the war is over,» they replied. The order of the Party was to tell them, «No, the war is not over, because the Italian fascists will undoubtedly be replaced by the Germans. Up till now, you have made common cause with the Italians and have fought against us, politically and with arms. Now that we have defeated the Italians, with whom you had made a common cause, you have come here. Can you tell us, gentlemen, why you came here?» «To set up a joint government», they said. The representatives of the National Liberation Front had clear directives to call on them to take up arms, to take part «together with us in the merciless armed struggle against the German nazi invaders, to jointly purge all the traitors, because we still have a lot more fighting to do, then when we have smashed the enemy, we'll have time to set up the government.» Those were the directives of the Central Committee of our Party for the Mukje Meeting.

But our envoys, who were opportunists, or better say traitors, disregarded these clear directives of the Central Committee, and when they went to Mukje, they came to terms with the Quislings, the Ballists and Zogites and others, about forming a so-called «Committee for the Salvation of Albania», and decided to proclaim the «independence of Albania», and in this way, according to them, our country would become a state of bourgeois democracy. This would have meant that even those who had been collaborat-

ing closely with the Italian fascist invaders against our National Liberation Front, up till that time, would be in such a provisional government, hence it would have meant that all the blood which our people, with the Party at their head, had shed in torrents for years on end, would have been in vain. Being in time of war, our means of communication and information were feeble and difficult, however, two days later we learned about the results of the Mukje negotiations, about the capitulation of our two representatives to the manoeuvres of Albanian reaction. We immediately denounced this disgraceful compromise before the people, tore up the notorious agreement concluded contrary to the directives of the Central Committee of our Party, expelled the two representatives we had sent to Mukje from the Central Committee and from the Party, continued the fight with the same determination as we had done up till that time, and kept the leading role of our Party in this people's war intact.

Of course, in determining the correct tactics, the Marxist-Leninist class analysis of concrete situations and events of each country is important. We think that the Vietnamese people and the Workers' Party of Vietnam, who are fighting, are advancing to victory, whereas the enemies, yours and ours, are weakening and will become steadily weaker. The National Liberation Front of Vietnam, which has great experience in the struggle against imperialists, will find the opportune moment and will sift out properly the people it must approach today, so that tomorrow they will not become
dangerous in any way and hinder the attainment of the ultimate objective and platform of our Party.

If you read the documents of our Party, either of the period of the National Liberation War or of the four or five years immediately after Liberation, you will observe that we had non-Party people in the government. During the war, we had such people even in the leadership of the National Liberation Front, for instance, merchants, moslem and catholic priests, just as you have Buddhists today.

In connection with these elements, our Party had done a great deal of work from the beginning to bring them close to the National Liberation Front, to convince them about the open struggle they should wage against the foreign invaders. In the course of the war, a differentiation took place among them. Some of them did not accept the platform of the National Liberation Front from the start, linked themselves with the invader and placed themselves at their service against our people and Party. Some others accepted the platform of the Front, took part in the war and were elected even to the leadership of the Front. But, regardless of this, in no instance did the Party allow its leading role in the Front to be infringed — on the contrary, it consolidated it unceasingly. After Liberation, too, the Party followed a patient and correct policy towards these elements who had taken part in the war, continued its work for their further education, and some of them were entrusted with important posts in the government and in the organs elected by the people. In the course of work, the majority of them were educated and linked themselves closely with the Party and the people, but there were others who could not go on any longer, who linked themselves with the conspirators and plotted against the people’s power together with the Anglo-American imperialists. When discovered, they were brought before the people’s courts where they received sentences appropriate to the offences they had committed.

Such is our experience on this important problem, which, as life has proved, was solved correctly in favour of the people and socialism. The unerring compass which guided us in following this correct line was and is Marxism-Leninism, which we have implemented and shall implement and defend with unswerving consistency and loyalty.

The heroic war of your people and Party, with its countless sacrifices, is a great victory for all peoples of the world. Not only must all the peoples of the globe have a great admiration for your people’s war, but they must also think as we think, that the pure blood of your people, which has been and is being shed in torrents, is a great contribution to the great cause of the world revolution. Therefore, seeing the question in this light, the peoples, the true Marxist-Leninist parties, and all the revolutionaries of the world, must always be beside you in your just war, must support and aid you with all their struggle and possibilities.

On this occasion, I wish to express to you, once again, the purest, most heartfelt and fraternal
feelings of the Central Committee of the Party, the Albanian people and myself personally, for the heroic Vietnamese people. We assure you that our hearts beat in unison with yours and we express our complete confidence that the victory of the heroic people and the Workers' Party of Vietnam will certainly be achieved, with the routing of the gangsters of US imperialism, which will receive a colossal blow from your people's war.

Please, convey my kindest regards and greetings to the leading comrades of the Vietnamese Party and State, and my heartfelt wishes for your further successes.

Published for the first time from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION WILL BE DESTROYED ONLY BY REVOLUTION AND NOT BY MAKING COMPROMISES WITH THE IMPERIALISTS OR THE REVISIONISTS

From a conversation with a delegation of the CP of Ceylon

June 20, 1966

It is a great joy for us to meet a leading comrade of the Communist Party of Ceylon. Our Party has always considered its meetings with the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist sister parties as very fruitful, because in this manner we become better acquainted with one another's experience, coordinate our common struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction better, and strengthen and temper the Marxist-Leninist unity of our parties in order to honourably discharge our duties on the national and international plane.

Frequently questions are asked of the Central Committee by the party members, especially by
the cadres attending the Party School, at which they study the history of the international communist movement. They ask us about the situation in your Party, in your country, about your struggle, and we, to the best of our ability, have kept them informed about the struggle you have waged against the modern revisionist Kumaramasiri, for the defence of the correct line of your Party. These meetings serve us to come better acquainted with each other's struggle. We shall have another opportunity for this, especially when we hold our Congress by next autumn, to which we shall invite a delegation from your Party, and we hope that we shall be honoured with a delegation from your Party.

Our Party was born in struggle, grew up in struggle and has gained and is gaining its experience always in struggle. But we feel, indeed we know, that there are new battles ahead of us, and to win them we shall have recourse to our own experience as well as to the experience of all the world proletariat, to the experience of all the Marxist-Leninist Parties, one of which is your Party.

Our Party was especially moved by the Marxist-Leninist stand of your Party towards our Party following the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. This was of very great assistance and encouragement to us, for the reason that not only is the great cause of the struggle against modern revisionism a common cause of the Marxist-Leninist parties, but it also necessitates a great, joint struggle by all genuine proletarian parties. This struggle against revisionism cannot be conceived as separate from the fight against world imperialism, headed by US imperialism, it cannot be conceived outside the anti-colonial, national liberation struggles of the peoples. All these constitute the links of a single struggle of the world revolution.

Modern revisionism is very dangerous. It is a variant of capitalism and in its service, hiding behind Marxist-Leninist phraseology.

But Marxist-Leninists are not afraid of difficulties or the struggle against revisionists of whatever hue and whatever their slogans. The Marxist-Leninists have never carried on their struggle in peace and quiet. They have always been and always are in struggle and in perils; however, they fight unflinchingly against demagogy, intrigues, slanders and bullets, and have always triumphed because of the correctness of their line, the clarity of their stands, both in the strategy and in the tactics they adopt. With their organizational, political, ideological work, they build ever closer ties with the masses, inspire them and lead them on the long, hard, but glorious road of revolution.

For example, your Party has a great role in leading the people, the working class, the trade unions and the peasantry of Ceylon. The fact that your Party has few members at present is not important. Our Party, too, which was born in the heat of the war against fascism, was a Party of small numbers when it was founded, but its unyielding struggle tempered it and made it invincible. You know that if you have a strong Party,
a proletarian party, which makes its people think and live always in a revolutionary spirit, they can move mountains, face up to any difficulty and obstacle, assess the situations correctly, and when they see that the revolutionary situation is ripe, they demolish the foundations of the bourgeoisie and its agents and seize state power.

I may be mistaken, for we are far away from one another, but our Party thinks that in Asia and another zones of the world there is a highly revolutionary situation, which must be correctly utilized by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in order to ensure the triumph of the cause of the peoples and to foil the enslaving plans and efforts of the imperialists, headed by the US imperialists, and the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists. We think that we, all the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces, must unite, and strengthen the real Marxist-Leninist unity, of which the modern revisionists are so afraid. They are talking a great deal about a certain «unity», but they are doing this in order to discredit genuine Marxist-Leninist unity. Under the mask of «unity», they are striving for their own hegemony in the ranks of international communism. Therefore, we must foil their intentions, and this is achieved by struggle against all the enemies and reactionaries, whether imperialists or revisionists. In this respect, the struggle of our parties is contributing, and must contribute more, to the arrival of the day when revolution will break out in the Soviet Union and wherever the revisionists are in power. The counter-revolution will be destroyed only by revolution, and not by uniting and making compromises with the imperialists or the revisionists. It is precisely the modern revisionists who want compromises, with the aim of establishing their hegemony, therefore we must expose and defeat them over this.

In Indonesia the party suffered a heavy blow. It was a misfortune for the Indonesian people and the Indonesian communists, but also a great lesson for them and for all the Marxist-Leninists in the world. Our hearts bleed for the hundreds of thousands of the Indonesian communist comrades with Aidit, Njoto and the others that were massacred, imprisoned and murdered. But the party and Marxism-Leninism have not died there. The Indonesian comrades must now draw lessons from these unfortunate events, but all of us must also draw lessons to be wary of the bourgeoisie, we must form alliances with them, with the elements of the progressive bourgeoisie, but we must always bear in mind that all the alliances that may be formed with the bourgeoisie are temporary. We must never have absolute faith in the national bourgeoisie, never tie our Party to its chariot. On the contrary the Party must safeguard its independence at any cost, defend the Marxist-Leninist principles like the apple of its eye, be clear about its immediate strategic and tactical objectives and never lose sight of the perspective.

We have great faith in the revolutionary strength of your people, who have been tempered through sufferings and misery, who have been left in backwardness and ignorance, but have always
striven to get out of this situation. The anti-popular regimes of the past had plunged our people, too, into illiteracy, ignorance and poverty, but their patriotic and revolutionary spirit had never waned; they had fought the foreign invaders and internal enemies continually to win freedom and independence and to embark on the road of social development. Then you have a very numerous working class, which is the basis of the revolution, while we, when we started the National Liberation War, were almost without a formed working class. At that time blood-thirsty foreign rulers as well as the local feudal-landowners and merchants were in power in our country, just as is the case today with your country, too, where, on top of other things, you have the British on your backs. But we, too, have had to face all sorts of invaders, as soon as one was driven out, another came, the Romans left and the Barbarians came, after them the Osman Turks; the Italians left, the Serbs came; they left and then came the Greeks, the Austrians, up to the fascists and the German nazis.

Our valiant people arose against all these invaders and never accepted to live under the yoke of slavery. The patriotic and revolutionary feelings of the people, which served as the sound background on which our Party based itself, when it called on the people to mobilize and hurl themselves into the decisive fight for freedom, independence and socialism, had been tempered in centuries of bloody wars.

When the Party was founded, its initial pro-

gramme was the war for freedom against the invaders and the traitors to the country, and the whole people rallied around the Party. Of course, this was not achieved at once and without difficulties. We had to do a great deal of work among the masses of the working people, and in particular, among the peasantry, which comprised the overwhelming bulk of our population. Although our peasantry was very revolutionary, it was unorganized, and the merit for its mobilization and organization in the war belongs to our Party, which knew how to understand the aspirations of our peasantry correctly, and to direct them into the correct channel of the war for freedom and the proletarian revolution. But nothing can be achieved without struggle and toil. We also had another advantage: the local bourgeoisie was unable to create its own parties, with which to try to mislead the people and attract it to its course for the realization of its own ends. Thus, politically and ideologically, you might say, we found virgin soil from the aspect of the ideological formation of the people, among whom the sentiment of struggle against the invaders, the feudal owners and all exploiting rulers was strongly dominant. Such was the ideology of the masses of our working people prior to the formation of the Party.

Naturally, your conditions are different from those in which our Party and people fought during the years of the National Liberation War. The general laws of the war and revolution, however, are the same and unvarying, they must be known and applied with consistency on the basis of the
concrete conditions of each country. The main thing is that your people are revolutionary, avid for freedom and social progress, and tempered in the struggle for the realization of their own aspirations. On the other hand, in the world today there are many genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, there is also a great revolutionary proletariat with colossal experience, and these are factors which constitute a powerful support for the national liberation movements of every people, and the world revolution.

Because of all these things, we have confidence in the victory of your people, just as we have confidence in the victory of every people and Marxist-Leninist party which fight for the success of the great cause of the revolution. Just as up to now, we shall be in support of these peoples and Marxist-Leninist parties, and shall always consider their cause as our own cause.

With all its own strength and the strength of its people, our Party will work and fight consistently on its correct Marxist-Leninist course against imperialism, against Khrushchevism, against Titoism, for our common cause, for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the revolution, for socialism, for communism. Nothing has been able to frighten us from this road and nothing will frighten us in the future from carrying our struggle through to its successful conclusion. We know that we are not and never will be alone and isolated. On the contrary, we are a colossal force in the world, and this fills us with unshakable confidence in the certain victory of our cause.

Please, convey to the Marxist-Leninist comrades of Ceylon our most ardent revolutionary greetings, our unwavering confidence in the ultimate victory of your people.

Published for the first time from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party
IN THE TIES WITH THE MASSES LIES THE STRENGTH OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S POWER

From the speech delivered at the meeting with the electors of the electoral district № 200 in Tirana

July 8, 1966

Dear brothers and sisters,
Comrades,
Young men and women,

This meeting with you, the electors of the Electoral District № 200 of the Capital, residents of the district where the Communist Party of Albania was born from the bosom of the people during the bloody days of fascist domination, with you, who like all the Albanian people, have fought and are fighting like revolutionaries for socialism, freedom and the independence of the country, is a great honour and a special joy for me.

Allow me, in the first place, to express my deep gratitude for the trust in me, which you have shown by nominating me as your candidate for deputy in your electoral district. On this occasion I want to assure you that, under the leadership of the Party and as it teaches, I shall devote all my efforts, all my life, in order to justify your trust. I shall always fight as a soldier of the Party and the people for the cause of the freedom and independence of our country, and the happiness of our people, for the cause of socialism and communism, for the cause of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

The trust you have shown in me, the trust which all the people display in the candidates of the Democratic Front, is the trust which the people's masses have, first and foremost, in their Party of Labour and its revolutionary Leninist general line and program, and their people's State power, which are the most powerful weapons of our people, the vital factors in the magnificent achievements attained so far in all fields of life, the guarantee of the brilliant future towards which an entire people, in rock-solid unity, are marching with confident steps, with heads erect and fearless.

You, like all the voters of our country, have turned the campaign for the election of deputies to the People's Assembly, which is an important national event, an expression of genuine popular democracy, into a major political and patriotic action during which, with unprecedented vigour at work and high revolutionary enthusiasm, you are carrying out your tasks with honour on all fronts of the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland. On behalf of the Central Com-
mittee of our Party, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and in my own name, I congratulate you on the outstanding activity you have carried out during the election campaign, so that it will be crowned with complete success, as is now our established tradition, by everybody going to the polls on July 10, united in opinion and purpose and by voting unanimously for the candidates of the Democratic Front.

The election campaign is one of the important periods when the political life of the country is aroused, when the electors, the people themselves, express their opinion, judgment, and assessment of the work of the government and other state organs, and of the deputies themselves during the preceding legislature. In these days, too, the people make their judgement of the work and line of their Party, and on July 10, with lofty revolutionary consciousness, maturity and patriotic wisdom, they will deliver their verdict, through their votes. For the sixth time the communist and non-party candidates for deputies to the Popular Assembly will be subjected to the judgment of the vote of the people, which represents the will, desires and aspirations, the patriotism which the Albanian expresses, and displays towards his Party and its program.

Each five-year plan, each legislature of the People's Assembly has raised our economy, culture and national defence to a higher stage. But the period of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the period of the Fifth Legislature, is undoubtedly one of the most revolutionary, most heroic periods, for our people and Party.

People and Party, with courage and determination, coped with and defeated the savage blockade by the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Titos and their patrons, the US imperialists. People and Party smashed to smithereens the prophecies of the Khrushchevite revisionists who claimed that our leadership would «sell out for 30 pieces of silver», that our Party would «surrender» to the dictate of the Khrushchevites, that our people would «starve» to death.

The revisionists thought that merely with a shake of their fist they would settle accounts with a small Party and country like ours. Poor revisionists! They measured the world with their own yardstick. How little they know, and how badly informed they are about, the Party of the Albanian communists and our people who have never kowtowed to their enemies. On this issue, too, the Khrushchevites judged like reactionaries, like traitors, like chauvinists, and they were gravely mistaken.

The whole Albanian people, old and young, responded to the call of the Party and rose to a man to overcome the difficulties, to smash the enemy attacks, to defend their freedom, socialism, the Homeland, to defend the apple of their eye, the Party of Labour.

With the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other, people and Party, communists and non-party, smashed every blockade and plot and marched ahead, displayed their great revolutio-
nary spirit, their vitality, their strength and superiority over the imperialists and revisionists. Relying on our own efforts, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, fighting on two fronts, against the external enemies, imperialists and revisionists, against difficulties created by the blockade and difficulties of growth, as well as natural calamities, our working masses in general successfully fulfilled the main targets of the 3rd Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture.

After referring to the draft-directives of the 5th Congress of the Party for the 4th Five-year Plan of the economic and cultural development of the PR of Albania, as well as the perspectives of our country, comrade Enver Hoxha went on:

Comrades,

Our people and Party are going to the July 10th elections with important victories in the international field, too. Four years ago we voted for the Fifth Legislature of the People’s Assembly, at a time when the revisionist gang of N. Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Mikoyan and Kosygin had launched their savage anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian attack against our Party of Labour and our People’s Republic.

Four years have passed, and now, after the great battle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism which is still going on on an international scale, we see with legitimate pride the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over the Khrushchevite re-

egates, the triumph of the people over their enemies.

Albania emerged in the international arena with enhanced dignity, respect and authority, with an honoured name and mighty friends and supporters of its just cause, such as the peoples of the socialist countries that are standing firm on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, such as the peoples of the world who have risen in the great anti-imperialist struggle, such as the proletarians and all the oppressed and exploited workers, who have risen and are rising everywhere in the class struggle against capitalism and the bourgeoisie, against revisionism and reaction.

The international situation in which our election campaign is taking place is completely favourable to the forces of revolution, socialism and the freedom of the peoples, to the forces of democracy and peace, and unfavourable to the forces of reaction, the enemies of the people and socialism, the US imperialists and modern revisionists, to the anti-popular forces throughout the world.

All the Albanian people, led by their glorious Party of Labour, are waging an heroic battle in the international arena against world imperialism, headed by that of the USA, against modern revisionism, headed by that of the Khrushchevites and against all reactionaries. We take part as revolutionary activists in the powerful line up of the progressive peoples of the world, of international communism, of progressive and revolutionary democrats, of progressive states which oppose and
are fighting courageously to defeat world imperialism, headed by that of the USA, and all the agents of world capital of whom the main ones are the modern revisionists, once and for all. We form part of the new world which has emerged and is advancing with revolutionary vigour against the old world which is rotten and is going to die, not peacefully in bed, but in fierce revolutionary struggle.

We Albanians are conscious of the responsibility we have assumed, and nothing can frighten us, nothing can shake our realistic confidence in our final victory. It is because of this correct and courageous stand that the name of socialist Albania, and that of the Party of Labour of Albania, are honoured and respected throughout the world and have become a symbol of resistance and revolutionary struggle for all who fight for the freedom and independence of their peoples and for socialism. This great trust of the peoples of the world, the revolutionaries, in socialist Albania, imposes on us serious obligations, which as always, we will fulfill, whatever the sacrifices, for we all know that the struggle demands sacrifices.

It is clear to everybody that the US imperialists are making preparations for a third world war in order to establish their hegemony over the world. US imperialism is at war with all the peoples of the world, waging a war which has long begun but has not yet turned into a general war. Meanwhile the aggressive war-mongering forces have aligned themselves on one side, and the revolutionary forces on the other. In this great clash which has already begun, US imperialism and its partners are suffering terrible military and political defeats, one after another. Despite all the means they have employed on a world scale, from bombs to aggressive military pacts and dollars, the US imperialists are suffering defeats, and are finding they have no effective means to break the peoples' resistance.

The aggressive pacts so zealously concluded by US imperialism with the other imperialist cliques of the world to obstruct and fight the revolution and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, have been shaken to their very foundations under the tremendous pressure of the peoples. The US imperialists' barbarous aims of domination in these pacts, their policy of having cannon fodder at their disposal, and the disastrous losses they are incurring on the various fronts of the aggressive wars they are waging, have frightened the partners of the United States of America, have caused them to lose faith in these pacts and alliances, to oppose the might and hegemony of the United States, and finally, to quit these alliances, as Gaulist France has done. The example of De Gaulle has begun to become a contagious disease in the monstrous structure of US imperialism.

Political resentment and opposition to the US domination and dictate is assuming alarming proportions for the USA even among the remaining partners. This discontent and continuous resistance of the big capitalist bourgeoisie of the world is being manifested overtly and covertly but it is always a worry to the US global strategy.
US imperialism has become the most ferocious international gendarme. It intervenes with arms everywhere in order to suppress the peoples fighting for liberation. The aggressive war of the Americans against the peoples of the world is the prelude of the world war the United States of America is preparing. It is the main item on their program of war preparations, along with their struggle to keep their aggressive treaties together, their political struggle and atomic blackmail, and their struggle of subversion, economic enslavement, and corruption by means of the dollar.

US imperialism is suffering major defeats on the main front of its global strategy, that is, in the various aggressions it has launched against peoples. Its greatest defeat is in the war in Vietnam. With their legendary heroism the people of Vietnam have shown the whole world that this small but dauntless people have defeated the US imperialists, militarily and politically. They have torn the mask from the cut-throats, have smashed all the most up-to-date and most barbarous weapons, liquidated the flower of their soldiery, and eliminated the rotten myth of the alleged «colossal US strength». They have given heart, courage and faith to all the peoples of the world who have risen and are struggling against the US intervention, and have mobilized the oppressed peoples for struggle, or revolution, in unanimous solidarity. That is why the peoples’ of the world admiration for, and solidarity with, the heroes of Vietnam, who will never lay down their arms until final victory is achieved, is boundless. The heroes of Vietnam are conscious of the great role with which history has charged them. The total defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam is a major victory on a world scale; it is a defeat for the Americans’ plans for world war.

The Albanian people, to whom the cause of the fraternal Vietnamese people is dear, have given the just war of the Vietnamese people unreserved and whole-hearted support. We have publicly proclaimed and reiterate our firm stand in full support of the Four Points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Five Points of the Statement of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

But, besides the heroic struggle which the Vietnamese people are waging, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America have also risen and are fighting arms in hand against the imperialists and their lackeys. The peoples of all continents, proletarians, peasants, progressive intellectuals are everywhere on the move, rising in revolution, courageously opposing the terror and economic and political oppression, fighting back against blackmail and intimidation. The US imperialist aggressors and their supporters are encircled by the peoples and are suffering blow after blow. The fight is still on, and will go on for a long time yet, but the victory will go to the people, to the revolution. US imperialism, the international gendarme, and modern revisionism, headed by that of the Soviet Union, will be smashed.

The most faithful collaborators and the most
obedient servants of the US imperialists and world capitalism in their inhumane undertaking are the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists, and their followers. The Khrushchevite revisionists, who seized power in the Soviet Union, are that stratum of the new bourgeois capitalists, who disguised as communists, are turning the Soviet Union into a capitalist country. They are closely linked by spiritual, political and ideological alliances, and by open and secret treaties with the US imperialists for domination of the world, and in order to fight Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism.

At moments of crisis for US imperialism, Khrushchev and Co., with their betrayal of the Soviet people and communists, the socialist camp, and international communism, rushed to the aid of US imperialism to suppress the revolutions and the national liberation struggles of the peoples of the world, to deceive the people and communists with their demagogy and to degrade Marxism-Leninism to a social-democratic theory. Thus, the Khrushchevite revisionists and their associates became agents of US imperialism within the ranks of the world communist movement. All their activity, together with that of US murderers, is centered on undermining the bases of socialism everywhere, on organizing a war against the People’s Republic of China and other socialist countries, and on putting down the heroic national-liberation struggle and resistance of the peoples by force of arms, by demagogy, subversion and blackmail. Wherever the Americans carry out armed intervention, there, alongside them, are the modern revisionists; together with the US imperialists they are fighting against the Congolese people, against heroic Vietnam, you will find them in the Caribbean, in Latin America, in Africa and in Asia.

The Khrushchevite revisionists, together with the US imperialists, are the most ferocious enemies of the people of fighting Vietnam. These two sworn enemies of the peoples are trying to force Vietnam to its knees by bombing and by capitulationist proposals about «peace talks» with the butchers. Faced with the catastrophe which the United States of America is suffering in Vietnam, the Soviet revisionists are making desperate efforts to persuade Vietnam to capitulate, to surrender, and thus save the USA from defeat, because the defeat of the Americans in Vietnam is, at the same time, the defeat of modern revisionism, headed by that of the Soviet Union.

The demagogy of the Soviet revisionists can hardly fool anybody now. Their masks have been torn from them and they have suffered such heavy defeats that they have been obliged to oust their chief, their ideologist, the foul villain Khrushchev. But even this has been of no great avail, for defeat is following defeat. The Soviet Union is being isolated, it is degenerating, and they are plunging it into bloody adventures.

The modern revisionists are tearing one another to pieces like wolves, for there can never be unity among them. All the revisionist cliques in power, faced by their defeat and exposure within the international communist movement, faced with the growing and threatening resistance put up by
their own peoples, faced by the economic crises which are increasing and which are inseparable fellow-travellers of the capitalism they have restored to their countries, are obliged to hold meeting after meeting, open or secret, among themselves and even with various imperialists, to extricate themselves from the iron grip which has them by the throat.

In their attempts to preserve their hegemony and domination over the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet revisionists resorted to a new plot at Bucharest1. They have betrayed the just cause of the German people and left them in the lurch. Each revisionist clique is looking after its own interests, falling into the lap, and under the orders, of that imperialist power which pays the most, and which offers the best protection from the internal revolution. These revisionist cliques are like the Zog clique, which sold the country to anyone who would pay them and protect them from the people’s revolution. But the Zog clique did not escape

1 The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty was held in Bucharest, July from 4 to 6, 1966. It adopted a Statement «On the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe». This document was in complete opposition to the former joint decisions and stands of the Warsaw Treaty member countries and of the international conferences of the communist and workers’ parties on the German question. The participants of the Bucharest meeting betrayed the interests of the DR of Germany by encouraging the revanchist policy of the FR of Germany. its doom. And the same fate lies in store for these treacherous revisionist cliques. The revolution will sweep them away. In the Soviet Union, the resistance of the people and the Marxist-Leninists is being organized under the leadership of clandestine revolutionary committees for the defence of Stalin; Marxist-Leninist communist parties are being set up in other countries. The modern revisionists find themselves amidst the flames of fire which will increase and engulf them.

Following in the footsteps of their precursor, Tito, the Khrushchevite revisionists are trying to perform like political acrobats in the international arena. Their actions are typically bourgeois capitalist actions, but of those bourgeois states which are slaves to passing circumstances and pawns of the big imperialist powers. To such a plight have the Soviet revisionists reduced the Soviet Union.

The Franco-Soviet Communiqué signed a few days ago in Moscow by De Gaulle and the revisionist Podgorny, as well as the triumphal reception accorded to the representative of the French capitalist bourgeoisie by the Khrushchevite revisionists, prove nothing but the victory of De Gaulle and the defeat of the Soviet revisionists. De Gaulle played his game and scored a threefold victory: he opened the doors of the Soviet Union to the penetration of French capital and culture, securing collaboration in all fields; he blackmailed US imperialism and increased its trepidation; and the French capitalist bourgeoisie, together with the Soviet revisionists spurned and completely discredited the revisionist party of Maurice Thorez and
Waldeck Rochet which has now become the servant of two capitalist masters: the Soviet revisionist capitalists and the French capitalists. The genuine Marxist-Leninist communists of France now have no alternative but to abandon this ship which has foundered on the rocks of betrayal and to fight the renegades.

Taking advantage of De Gaulle’s visit to the Soviet Union the Soviet revisionists, who are capitalist bourgeois too, tried to exert a sort of blackmail to ease the pressure of the demands of their despotic masters, the Americans. The reply which the Soviet revisionist lackeys received from their American masters came in the form of bombs, with the barbarous bombing of the districts of Hanoi and Haiphong. The Americans have their Caribbean experience. They know that after this barbarous bombardment the Brezhnevs and Kosygins will kneel to kiss the hand as usual. But the heroic people of Vietnam know very well who the Soviet revisionists are and what vile schemes and demagogy they are up to. It is becoming clearer and clearer to the progressive people of the world that the Soviet and American leaders are doing their best to make the «Tashkent spirit» prevail in heroic Vietnam, too. But they will suffer ignominious failure. Utter defeat lies in store for the Soviet and other revisionists. The modern revisionists will share the fate of their Titoite companions, and their countries that of Tito’s Yugoslavia, which they have taken as their model and are lauding to the heavens.

What is actually happening in Yugoslavia? Ti-

toite Yugoslavia turned into a capitalist country with all the features of a country of this kind. A few days ago we witnessed a new act of the Yugoslav drama. The Tito-Kardelj capitalist group, which represents the more powerful Croat-Slovenian capitalist group liquidated the other capitalist group of Rankovich, the Great Serbian group, reinforced by the UDB hierarchy and other parasitic elements, who, in the new combination, see their interests crippled by other groups of the new capitalist bourgeoisie.

This is a natural development of events in capitalist Yugoslavia, and we shall see and hear of other events of this kind. Yugoslavia is in a great economic and political chaos and complete degeneration. Even Tito himself could not hush this up, but was obliged to admit it in his speeches delivered a few days ago at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists. Joseph Stalin warned in time the Belgrade revisionist leadership about the wrong anti-Marxist course it had taken. And the Party of Labour of Albania, with its unwavering, consistent, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary stand, has been fighting the Yugoslav Trotskyites mercilessly for over 20 years on end, exposing and frustrating all their fiendish plots aimed both against our Party and our country directly, and has unmasked them in the eyes of world public opinion, thus serving the cause of the international communist movement, and the national liberation struggles of the peoples.

Life and the war proved that both before the war as well as after Tito’s appointment to the
to his close collaborators who are just as responsible for these crimes as he is.

The Tito gang emerged from the war with strong positions, disguised as communists, but secretly in alliance with Churchill's Britain, with anti-Soviet sentiments nurtured from the time of war, which became more pronounced after the war, until they were fully displayed following the comradely criticism of Stalin and the Information Bureau.

The Belgrade revisionist gang did not even begin the construction of socialism in Yugoslavia. The «Zadrugas» in the countryside were only a preliminary hoax, which quickly gave way to the capitalist reality in the Yugoslav countryside, that is, the strengthening of the big landowners and kulaks, and the impoverishment and elimination of the poor peasants. The Yugoslav state farms which were set up are nothing but capitalist farms serving the interests of the cliques in power. Thus, the Yugoslav countryside has never known the slightest trace even of the beginnings of any socialist reform, but is still writhing under ruthless oppression and exploitation as in the worst period of the Serbian monarchs.

The other assets of the Serb-Croat-Slovenian and other capitalist bourgeoisie were confiscated after the war by the Tito regime and allegedly became the socialist property of the people who had fought. But this was a great fraud, which was exposed after 1948 and up till now with the capitalist form of «self-administration». These assets have been transformed into capitalist property and
trusts of the Titoite clique in power, of US shareholders and various capitalist firms who have the Yugoslav economy by the throat.

In the first post-Liberation years, the reactionary hegemonistic policy of the Tito renegade clique in the Balkans and Central Europe became clear, a policy inspired also by the British and US imperialists, with a view to obstructing the building of socialism in these countries and of detaching the Balkan and Central European countries from their friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union, headed by Stalin, the Party of Labour of Albania, as well as the other parties of the countries of people’s democracy exposed and frustrated these plans of the British and US imperialists and their Titoite agents. The conspirators and traitors, agents of Tito and Rankovich, such as Koçi Xoxe, Traiiche Kostov, Laslo Reich and others received the punishment they deserved from the people’s courts. Let the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the people of the socialist countries reflect not only on these criminals and their conspiracies, but also on their friends who rehabilitated those criminal accomplices of the criminal Rankovich.

As long as Stalin was alive these fiendish plans of theirs came to naught. After Stalin’s death, with the seizure of power in the Soviet Union by the Khrushchevite traitors, and by other modern revisionists in the other socialist countries of Europe, US imperialism together with the Khrushchevite and Yugoslav revisionists are putting these plans into effect, step by step, turning these countries into capitalist countries, destroying the Soviet Union and the other countries of people’s democracy and turning them into blind tools of the global strategy of US imperialism for domination of the world and against socialism, communism, the national liberation struggle and world peace.

The heroic Party of Labour and the People’s Republic of Albania were too hard a nut for them to crack. Our Party and people fought, are fighting, and will fight against them and will always triumph over these enemies. Everything confirms the correctness of the Party of Labour of Albania, its correct Marxist-Leninist line, and its revolutionary heroism.

No one with any brain in his head can fail to understand the fraud of the Yugoslav «self-administration», to which all the modern revisionists sing praise. On the other hand, we see them trying with demagogy to prove that self-administration is allegedly «the acme of workers’ democracy» in production, and on the other, we see that the real owners of this property are tearing one another to pieces like wolves, each striving to grab the biggest share. This is the meaning and the reason behind the liquidation of the Serbian group of Rankovich.

But will this end it all? No, this is only the beginning of the end of the Titoite clique of renegades. Their rivalry, their tearing at one another will increase and even blood may flow. This is their law, the law of the jungle. The myth of Titoite unity has come to an end; their decay,
treachery and fraud are coming to light more clearly every day. The people of Yugoslavia and the genuine Yugoslav Marxist-Leninists see this, and they will not always remain passive onlookers in the face of the catastrophe that is taking place in their country. The removal of Rankovich does not easily deceive the Yugoslav people and the Yugoslav revolutionaries, because the Ranchoviches and their bloodthirsty system are still in power. The UDB will always be omnipotent, it will even perfect itself by using American police methods in order to become more suitable to preserve the Titoite regime and the US capital invested in Yugoslavia.

The whole world, all the states and all the peoples can now see clearly what lies hidden under the label of «Yugoslav specific socialism».

Modern revisionism suffered its great defeat through Khrushchev. Its second defeat is the fall of Rankovich and company. Other defeats are inevitable and certain.

The anti-Marxist Soviet conspirators who have gathered in Bucharest for the Warsaw Treaty ought to have placed on the agenda the crisis in the Belgrade revisionist camp. But they give no information of this to public opinion. They are terrified afraid of this. When it is a matter of slandering Stalin and the Party of Labour of Albania, all the modern revisionists raise their trumpets. Whereas you will not find a single word in their press about what is occurring within the Titoite gang. Dead silence! Why? Because they are afraid of their own people, because they themselves are criminals and conspirators.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people are justifiably proud that they have never lowered the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, and have fought and are fighting the modern revisionist traitors with naked steel.

Comrades,

We are marching forward with great determination on the road to the complete construction of socialism. On this road we have many loyal friends and comrades, first and foremost, the People's Republic of China.

Our Party of Labour, in complete unity with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, with the groups of revolutionary communists throughout the world, to whom it has given all its internationalist aid and support, and will continue to do so, in the future, as it has done up till now, fully aware of the difficulties, obstacles and sacrifices, will hold high the banner of the struggle against imperialism, against Khrushchevite and Titoite modern revisionism, and will give the revolutionary, liberation and anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples its unreserved support.

Let us raise ever higher the revolutionary banner of our Party, let us march forward at military pace, mobilized as never before, to fulfil the tasks of the first year of our 4th Five-year Plan, to deepen our ideological and cultural revolution in all directions, and the revolutionary ideas included in the documents of the Party.

Let us make the 25th anniversary of our
glorious Party of Labour, the leader and organizer of all the victories of our people, the year of the 5th Congress of the Party, a year of major revolutionary initiatives which have sprung up and will spring up throughout our country. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel, under the slogan of our people's solidarity, "One for all and all for one", in order to carry forward the cause of the construction of socialism, the defence of the Homeland, the strengthening of our people's state power, the cause of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the steel-like unity of the people with the Party.

Let us make election day, July 10, the festival of our glorious liberation Army and the heroic defenders of our Albanian territory and socialism, a day of great political mobilization, an expression of our fiery love for the people, the Party, the country, and socialism, a brilliant manifestation of the unity of the people around the Party, for the cause of socialism and defence of the Homeland.

Long live our glorious people!

Long live our Party of Labour, standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, freedom and the defence of the Homeland!

*Taken from the original in the Central Archives of the Party*

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