WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

SPEECHES, CONVERSATIONS
AND ARTICLES

(1969-1970)

THE "8 NËN" HING HOUSE
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THE DEMAGOGY OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS CANNOT CONCEAL THEIR TRAITOROUS COUTENANCE

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Demagogy has always been the favourite weapon of all traitors. That is very typical of the modern revisionists, especially of the Soviet revisionist leadership. This clique of renegades, while always advancing on the same road of treachery, has made use, according to circumstances, of various masks to conceal its real countenance.

The Alleged Return to Stalin's Correct Policy — the Basest Hypocrisy and the Most Desperate Manoeuvre of the Soviet Revisionists

Khrushchevite revisionism in the Soviet Union has gone through several stages, in conformity with which its forms, methods and tactics of strug-
gle and action to practise and camouflage its anti-Marxist, traitorous course have changed, too.

The first stage was that of the emergence, build-up and establishment of the betrayal accompanied with a great and scandalous fanfare and with a sham «optimism» to distract the minds of the people. It was characterized by the campaign of frenzied attacks on J. Stalin, to discredit the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the work of the Bolshevik Party, under the fraudulent pretext of the «fight against the personality cult and its consequences».

But what was the line of the Bolshevik Party, the line of Stalin, which the Khrushchevite revisionists attacked so furiously, and what were its consequences for the development of the Soviet Union and the international communist and revolutionary movement?

In the ideological field, the line pursued by the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin was the line of consistent defence and creative development of Marxism-Leninism in a merciless fight against enemies and distorters of Leninism in the Soviet Union and outside it — against the Trotskyites, Bukharinistes, social-democrats, Titoites, etc., the line of the fight against the pressure and influences of bourgeois ideology and culture, and of efforts to implant and develop socialist ideology and culture, the line of lofty proletarian partisanship in all spheres of spiritual life, for the communist education of the working people.

In the socio-political field it was the line of the ceaseless strengthening of the proletarian party and its leading role in the whole national life, of the strengthening and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the alliance of the working class and peasantry, of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the unity of the entire Soviet people around the party and the Soviet state through a fierce class struggle against the overthrown exploiting classes and their remnants outside the party and inside its ranks, the line of constant strengthening of the country's defence potential in order to withstand any possible imperialist aggression.

In the economic field it was the line of the building of socialism at rapid rates on the basis of self-reliance, even in the conditions of complete capitalist encirclement, and in a life-and-death struggle against the tide of petty-bourgeois spontaneity, the line of socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, of the constant improvement of socialist relations of production, of the vigorous development of socialist production and of the uninterrupted growth of the wellbeing of the working people.

In the field of international relations it was the line of resolute opposition to imperialism, to its policy of war and aggression, as well as of the utilization of contradictions in the imperialist camp to weaken it and the strengthening of the positions of socialism, the internationalist line of powerful and unreserved support for the world revolutionary and liberation movement, the line of fraternal relations of mutual support for and aid to the socialist countries and the fraternal communist and
workers' parties, the line of ceaseless strengthening of the militant unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the common struggle for the triumph of the cause of socialism throughout the world.

As a result of the implementation of the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin, the socialist transformations were successfully carried out throughout the country, the backwardness inherited from the czarist regime was liquidated within a short period of time, and the Soviet Union was transformed into a powerful socialist state, with modern industry, with large-scale collectivized agriculture, with most advanced technology and science, with tremendous economic and military potential, the great historic victory over fascism in the years of the Second World War was achieved, and the role and importance of the Soviet country in international life grew considerably. The consolidation and growth of the influence of the communist movement in the world, the creation and consolidation of the socialist camp after the Second World War, the weakening of the positions of international imperialism as a whole and the great successes in the development of the world proletarian revolution are due, to a considerable extent, to the internationalist revolutionary line consistently implemented by J. Stalin.

The Khrushchevite modern revisionists, who, after having taken over the leadership of the party and the state, relied on the great results of the Stalinist epoch and used them to spread and consolidate their treacherous revisionist course, launched a frontal attack on all the Marxist-Leninist principles which guided Stalin's policy and were the basis of the tremendous power of the Soviet Union which they usurped and appropriated.

In the ideological field, the revisionists replaced the ideas and the consistent Marxist-Leninist line of Stalin on all the fundamental questions with the ideas and the anti-Marxist line of modern revisionism. Opportunists, and various Trotskyite, Bukharinite and Zinovievite, nationalist and other enemies in the Soviet Union were proclaimed «victims of Stalin» and placed on the pedestal of «martyrs» and «heroes». The renegade Tito clique in Yugoslavia was rehabilitated and Titoism was proclaimed as a variant of «creative Marxism-Leninism» and «socialism». In various former socialist countries condemned traitors were rehabilitated and revisionist cliques attached to Khrushchev's chariot were brought to power. They launched the slogan of unity with the social-democrats on a national and international scale «in the joint struggle for socialism», and the way was paved for the complete ideological, political and organizational rapprochement and merger of the communist parties with the social-democratic parties. The principle of proletarian partisanship was discarded and, under the slogan of liberalization and «freedom of creative thought», the revival of all sorts of decadent and anti-socialist trends in the field of culture, literature and the arts was encouraged.
In the political field, Khrushchev and his group besmirched and discarded the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice about the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, calling it a «Stalinist distortion» and proclaiming the whole historic period of Stalin’s leadership a «dark, anti-democratic period, a period of violations of socialist legality, of terror and murders, of prisons and concentration camps». Thus the road was opened for the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its replacement with the bureaucratic and counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the new «socialist» aristocracy which had emerged and was developing, all this being covered with the deceptive slogans of «democratization» and «restoration of the freedom and socialist justice» allegedly lost and now regained.

In the economic field the Khrushchevite declared the Stalinist line and methods of development and management of the socialist economy to be wrong and distorted in all branches, especially in that of agriculture, rejected Stalin’s directives on the further improvement and development of socialist relations of production in the historical period of the transition from socialism to communism and, under the pretext of overcoming the economic «stagnation» and difficulties allegedly created as a result of Stalin’s «dogmatic» line, undertook a series of «reforms» which paved the way for the gradual degeneration of the socialist economic order and the uncontrolled operation of the economic laws of capitalism.

In the field of international relations, the Khrushchevite revisionists proclaimed as «erroneous», «rigid» and «dogmatic» the Stalinist line in foreign policy, the line of the blow-for-blow fight against imperialism and of determined internationalist support for the revolutionary and liberation struggle. They replaced it with the policy of «peaceful coexistence» as the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet state, they trumpeted peaceful coexistence in all directions as a «great discovery», as an «invaluable contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism» and as the «beginning of a new era in international relations». Everything — the cause of revolution, the liberation of the peoples, the independence and sovereignty of the socialist countries, was subordinated to the needs of «peaceful coexistence» and «peace at any price» with imperialism, especially with US imperialism. This was, in fact, the line of capitulation to imperialism, of renouncing the struggle against it, of rapprochement and collaboration with it.

The anti-Stalin campaign served the Khrushchevite renegades to pass over to the second phase, that of efforts to strengthen and stabilize the betrayal in the economy, policy and ideology at home and in foreign relations. This was the phase of the codification of the viewpoints of Khrushchevite revisionism and of the implementation of its policy on a broad scale.

N. Khrushchev and his group completely liquidated the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, transformed it into a weapon of the revisionist counter-revolution, replaced the Leninist norms of
the structure of the party with revisionist norms and, finally, proclaimed it a «party of the entire people». Likewise, the dictatorship of the proletariat was liquidated and proclaimed as a past stage, under the pretext of the transformation of the Soviet state into a «state of the entire people», which is nothing but a «democratic» mask, hiding the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the new bourgeois class represented by the revisionist renegades. The process of the wholesale restoration of capitalism in the economy began. The proclamation of «profit» as the fundamental criterion and incentive of economic development, the decentralization of some vital links of the management of the economy, the encouragement of tendencies towards private property, the transformation of socialist property into a means of exploitation of the working people and of ensuring large profits for the leading strata of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the opening of the doors to the free penetration of foreign capital and, as a consequence of all this, the ever more powerful operation of capitalist economic laws, anarchy in production and competition between enterprises, the considerable revival of the black market, profiteering, abuses, graft, etc. — such are some of the fundamental features of the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet economy. Alongside of this, the anti-Marxist course of the Khrushchevite revisionists flung the doors wide open to the unrestricted penetration of the decadent bourgeois ideology and culture, to the moral degeneration of the people, and in the first place, of the rising generation, to the spreading of the Western way of life.

In the field of international relations, this phase was characterized by the complete establishment of the counter-revolutionary alliance of the Soviet leadership with US imperialism for sharing their domination of the world at the expense of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the vital interests of the socialist countries, and the cause of revolution and socialism. The sell-out of the interests of the liberation struggle of the Congolese people, the deals with US and West-German imperialism to the detriment of the national interests of the German Democratic Republic, the betrayal of the Cuban people in the days of the Caribbean crisis, the joint plots with the US imperialists and the Indian reactionaries against the People's Republic of China, the signing of the ill-famed Soviet-American-British Treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, the sabotage of the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people against the US aggressors, and of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the imperialist-Israeli aggression, etc. — all these, and other acts are links in the long chain of the counter-revolutionary alliance of the Soviet revisionist leadership with US imperialism.

In this period, when Khrushchevite revisionism was still on the rise and had fairly strong positions, it did not hesitate in many cases to discard its disguise, to openly express its views, trying to place them on the Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundation and to justify them with the «new
conditions». It is precisely in this period that the entire revisionist chorus, under the absolute direction of the «baton of the conductor» — Khrushchev, were loudly singing of «peaceful coexistence», «peaceful competition», «the peaceful road», «the state and party of the entire people», of «a world without weapons, without armies and without wars», and they were openly saying that imperialism and its chiefs had become «reasonable» and «peace-loving», that «the fate of the peoples would be decided by UN resolutions», that the «Soviet-US alliance was the greatest guarantee of world peace», etc., etc.

All this counterrevolutionary line and the anti-Marxist-Leninist views of the Khrushchevite revisionists were consecrated in the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, especially in the program of the CPSU adopted at this congress, which, due to the dominating position of the Soviet leadership in the revisionist camp, became the code of the main trend of international modern revisionism.

At this ill-famed congress the monstrous attacks and calumnies against Stalin were repeated openly and publicly now. This showed, first, that the feelings of admiration for J.V. Stalin had remained alive among the Soviet people and this greatly worried the Khrushchevite leading clique; second, that this clique was stubbornly persisting in its anti-Marxist course; and third, that it needed the «bogy of Stalinism» in order to overcome the ever more resolute resistance which was rising in the international communist movement against its treacherous line.

But the logic of betrayal is such that the deeper they sink into the mire of betrayal, the tighter the noose round the traitors’ necks. Revisionism was born as a retrogressive trend to rescue capitalism from its general crisis. But in this role it got itself into a deep general crisis from which nothing can rescue it. For the head of revisionism, for the Soviet ruling clique, the situation has become especially grave.

The struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, and life itself, which is the best judge of any policy, have refuted the line and theories of the Soviet revisionist leadership, exposed their anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary essence. Difficult days have come for the Khrushchevite revisionists. Khrushchevite revisionism has entered the third phase, which is the phase of its decline, of its deep and general crisis, the phase when the betrayal develops but yields bitter fruits and brings defeats for the revisionists.

The efforts of the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership to impose its revisionist course and its chauvinistic dictate on the whole international communist movement failed ignominiously. The great and irresistible process of differentiation in the communist movement in various countries and on a world scale developed rapidly. The principled and resolute stand of the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties in defence of the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and their consistent fight against the treachery of
Soviet revisionism played the main role in this important historic process. Within a few years scores of new Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, which have raised high the banner of the struggle against modern revisionism and have taken the cause of the revolution into their own hands, have been formed. This is a heavy and irreparable defeat with lethal consequences for the revisionist renegades in all countries.

The persistent pursuit by the Khrushchevite revisionists of their criminal course of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, of counterrevolutionary alliances with imperialism, of sabotage and division of the world communist and revolutionary movement, the repeated defeats in their domestic and foreign policies, accompanied with serious economic and political difficulties—all this has thrown the Soviet revisionist leadership into a deep, irreconcilable, and ever more abrasive contradiction with the Soviet people and the revolutionary peoples of the whole world.

The contradictions of the Soviet revisionist leadership with the other revisionist groupings have become extremely acute, too. In conformity with the special interests of their national bourgeoisie, whose representatives they are, these groupings demand faster rates of the degeneration of the socialist order into an order of bourgeois democracy, and greater independence and freedom of action from Moscow. The dominant positions of the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union in the revisionist mob are being weakened and destroyed more and more day by day. The clearest testimony to this can be seen in the «rebellions» of the Czechoslovak and other revisionists against the dictate of the Soviet leadership and the repeated discrediting failures of the latter in its efforts to organize an international meeting of the revisionist communist and workers' parties.

The positions of the revisionist cliques in power, especially the Soviet clique, have been shaken to their foundations. No longer are they in a position to conceal the deep splits and the struggle for power which are developing ever more fiercely in their ranks. The failure and inglorious downfall of the inspirer and head of the Soviet modern revisionists, N. Khrushchev, were the clearest expression of their deep crisis and instability.

N. Khrushchev's successors were obliged to change tactics. They dropped the bombastic slogans and preachings of N. Khrushchev and preferred to pass from words to deeds. If the «merit» for the working out of the general line of modern revisionism belongs to N. Khrushchev, the «merit» for the full implementation of this counterrevolutionary line belongs to his successors, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique.

But the «cautious» tactics of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique did not and could not lift Khrushchevite revisionism out of the mire into which it has sunk. The iron laws of history are pressing on relentlessly, deepening the crisis and difficulties of the revisionist renegades from day to day.

In face of irreparable defeats, both at home and abroad, in face of the resistance and revolutionary struggle being waged against them from
outside and inside by the Soviet people and revolutionaries, by the Marxist-Leninist parties and the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries throughout the world, the Khrushchevite revisionists are striving to salvage their domination by establishing a military fascist dictatorship. This they need to suppress the revolt of the working masses of the Soviet people, and any activity of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, to curb the discrediting actions of the "impatient" liberal revisionists at home, to keep the revisionist cliques of the other countries under control and to re-establish the Soviet dictate over their revisionist partners.

This policy found its most flagrant expression in the aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites against the Czechoslovak people. This aggression completely tore the mask from the Kremlin clique. The methods used, beginning with the pressures, blackmail, the kisses of Judas Iscarioth in Czerna na Tissu and Bratislava, and ending with the surprise attack, in the darkness of the night, without any grounds whatsoever, be it even as a matter of form that could justify the brutal armed intervention, gives this intervention its true meaning — an imperialist, fascist aggression.

The strengthening of the aggressive, imperialist, fascist tendencies of the domestic and foreign policies of the revisionist Soviet Union, which is an expression not of the strength, but of the weakness of the Khrushchevite leadership, demands by all means its own ideological foundation. The ideological servants of revisionism are now meeting this need. For this purpose, the Soviet press has recently published a series of so-called theoretical articles, full of pseudo-revolutionary demagogy, which are intended to create a smoke-screen so that the people cannot see what in reality, is hidden behind it. It is a question of disguising the revisionist betrayal under new cloaks at these very critical moments which the Khrushchevite leadership of the Soviet Union is going through. Above all, they are striving to justify the complete going over of the Soviet revisionist clique to the fascist dictatorship and methods, and to conceal this with their alleged return to Stalin and his Marxist-Leninist line.

To attack Stalin with the most unrestrained ferocity over his correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist policy in all the fields, as the Khrushchevite revisionist renegades did, and now, faced with their full defeat in all directions, to try to hide behind Stalin's name, claiming sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly that they are allegedly returning to the correct Stalin's policy, this is out-and-out deception the most shameless hypocrisy, the basest and most desperate demagogy on the part of the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists.

It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists to completely expose this fraudulent attempt of the Soviet revisionists and to wrest this dangerous weapon from their hands.
The Establishment of the Fascist Military Dictatorship under the Disguise of Safeguarding the Idea of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

One of the demagogical manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionist clique to justify its transition to the fascist dictatorship, is the noise which it is making in these recent times allegedly in defence of the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the dictatorship of the proletariat, although, as is known, it is precisely the Soviet leading clique itself that has destroyed the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and has slung the dirtiest mud at it, presenting it as a «savage, barbarous, inhuman dictatorship which has done nothing but commit crimes against the working class and the labouring people».

Those who are coming out today waving the banner of champions of the dictatorship of the proletariat are precisely those that have proclaimed it liquidated in the Soviet Union, under the pretext of the transformation of the Soviet state into a «state of the entire people». The Soviet revisionists are now striving to create the illusion that the so-called state of the entire people is allegedly the direct continuation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This illusion can deceive only the naive, because there is and can be nothing in common between the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and «the state of the entire people». The latter, in reality, is the complete negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its transformation into something entirely the opposite — into a counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

«The continuity between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the entire people,» write the scribblers of the Moscow «Pravda», «is clearly apparent in the preservation of the leading role of the working class.» But how does the working class play this leading role when the socialist state and the communist party have lost their proletarian class character and have become a «state and party of the entire people», as the revisionists claim? It is obvious that we are faced here with a very clumsy and banal deception. In reality, the working class in the Soviet Union has not been in power for a long time. It is now a class which is being oppressed and exploited, being corrupted and exposed to degeneration. It has been transformed from a leading force into a mere productive force, from a political force into an economic appendage. In fact, in the Soviet Union it is the new bourgeois class that is ruling and leading now in savage dictatorship over the Soviet working class and Soviet people.

The Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists, who are speculating with slogans of the dictatorship of the proletariat today, are precisely those that have vigorously defended and propagated the revisionist theses which advocate the supra-class character of the present-day capitalist state and its use as a means for transition to socialism, that deny the necessity of smashing the bourgeois state machine as an indispensable condition for the establishment
of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that deny the leading role of the communist party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat without which the latter cannot exist, etc.

The falsity of the whole demagogical clamour of the Soviet revisionists, allegedly in defence of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is quite obvious also in the fact that just as before, indeed with a still greater intensity, they attack us for our unshakeable loyalty to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as at the time of the savage campaign against Stalin and his work, they are furiously attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, calling it a «bureaucratic-military regime, strangler of freedom and socialist democracy», etc. They especially attack the Marxist-Leninist thesis of our Party that the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable till the victory of communism on a world scale, because during this period the class struggle continues at home and in the international arena, and the struggle continues between the two roads — socialist and capitalist, a thesis which has been fully confirmed by revolutionary practice. The most convincing proof of the correctness of this thesis is the very fact of the revisionist counterrevolution and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union nearly 40 years after the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution.

From all this it is more than clear that the activity of the Khrushchevites is not by any means a denial of the previous revisionist theses and a return to the Marxist-Leninist positions on the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat, but a deceptive attempt to disguise with «revolutionary» slogans what is happening in reality in the Soviet Union: the complete transition to the methods of fascist military dictatorship. The dressing up of fascism with «socialist» and «revolutionary» phraseology is by no means new. Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy used this tactic in their time.

The coercive measures, the calls for the strengthening of the ideological struggle, of discipline, unity, etc., are measures serving the consolidation of the fascist dictatorship of the Khrushchevite revisionist clique. In reality, the coercive measures are actions of the fascist dictatorship for the suppression of all revolutionary activity of the Soviet people and the genuine bolsheviks. The intensification of the ideological struggle on their part is, in reality, the intensification of the fight against all truly revolutionary thought. The discipline demanded by the Soviet leaders is the discipline of the «black hundreds», to muzzle anyone who rises against the revisionist treachery. The unity about which the Khrushchevite revisionists speak, is a unity on revisionist foundations, around the revisionist party and for the counterrevolutionary purposes of the revisionists.

The Soviet leadership is trying to create the impression that its measures are mainly directed against the liberal extremists who, of late, especially after the events in Czechoslovakia and Poland, have become still more active. Although the Soviet revisionist leaders and the extremist liberal elements are essentially advancing on the same anti-
Marxist course of betrayal, the activity of these elements is undesirable for the revisionist leadership. It fears another counterrevolution within the counterrevolution and does not wish to suffer the fate of N. Khrushchev or the Novotny clique. But what worries the Soviet leadership most is the fact that the frenzied and incautious activity of these elements openly reveals the revisionists' game, causes their demagoguery to fail, clearly exposes their betrayal, and this cannot fail to open the eyes to the Soviet people, cannot fail to intensify their resistance and struggle to sweep away both the liberal revisionists and the «conservatives», both the ultras and the «moderates», with the great broom of the revolution.

Therefore, all the measures and the fascist dictatorship of the Soviet revisionist leadership are directed precisely against this revolution. But however hard it may try to strangle this revolution through repressive measures and deception, the revolution is inevitable. The Soviet people will not tolerate the revisionist treachery for long. In the end their word will be decisive.

Complete Degeneration of the CPSU under the Call for the Defence of the Party Principles

In order to achieve their counterrevolutionary aims, all the class enemies have always directed their main attack against the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party which is the brain and heart of the working class. This is how the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, too, began their betrayal. And now, it is precisely they who have transformed the great Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin into a revisionist, counterrevolutionary, anti-communist party, who have paved the way to the revisionist and bourgeois degeneration of many communist and workers' parties of other countries, precisely they are coming out today allegedly in defence of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the party and «criticizing» those that violate these principles. Seeking excuses for their fascist aggression in Czechoslovakia, they accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists, in particular, of having «launched a furious campaign against the healthy cadres of the party, who make up its fund of gold», of having «risen against the leading role of the communist party», of having «advocated pluralism of political parties», of having «sought to make the party a sort of cultural-illuminist or idea-preaching organization», of having «stood for the so-called equal partnership of all the social organizations with the communist party», of having «attacked the Leninist norms of internal party life», etc.

On the lips of the Soviet revisionist renegades such accusations sound like downright hypocrisy and unprecedented cynicism, for it is precisely they themselves and their allies that are still advocating, defending and committing these crimes in their own parties just as before.

The Party of Labour of Albania has pointed out long ago and more than once the utter betrayal by the Soviet revisionist leaders of the teachings
of Marxism-Leninism about the proletarian party. But in order to expose the great demagogy of the revisionists in alleging that they are returning to the positions of the defence of these teachings, to the implementation of the Leninist norms of the party, it is necessary to dwell once again on some well-known facts.

If the Dubček counterrevolutionaries attacked and purged the Soviet agency — the Novotny counterrevolutionaries, whom the Soviet leadership calls «the party’s fund of gold», the Khrushchevite counterrevolutionary clique of the Soviet Union attacked and purged the real revolutionary cadres in its own country, who remained true to the Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party and the ideals of socialism. Under the slogan of the «fight against Stalin’s personality cult», or under the pretext of circulation of cadres, the Khrushchevite revisionists rode roughshod over the CPSU. Seventy per cent of the members of the Central Committee elected at the 19th Congress of the CPSU in 1952 no longer figured on the list of the CC members elected at the 22nd Congress in 1961. Sixty per cent of the CC members who were elected at the 20th Congress in 1956 no longer figured on the list of the CC members that were elected at the 23rd Congress in 1966. A still greater purge has been carried out in the lower party organs. For instance, during 1963 alone, more than 50 per cent of the members of the central and regional committees of the party in the Republics of the Soviet Union were relieved of their functions, while in the city and district party committees three quarters of their members were replaced with others. The purge of revolutionary cadres has been carried out on a large scale also in the state organs, especially in the army and state security organs.

As to the question of the leading role of the communist party, which the Soviet leadership accuses the Czechoslovak revisionists of negating, this role has long since been liquidated in the Soviet Union itself. Of what leading role of the revolutionary party of the working class in the Soviet Union can we speak when the Khrushchevite revisionists have discarded the Marxist-Leninist line and the proletarian class character of the CPSU, have imposed upon it a treacherous revisionist line in the service of the new Soviet bourgeoisie and of world imperialism, headed by the United States, and have transformed it into a «party of the entire people»?! In essence, the slogan of the «party of the entire people» is not denial of its class character in general, because there are not and never can be non-class and supra-class parties, but is denial of its proletarian class character, a label to conceal its transformation from a revolutionary proletarian Marxist-Leninist party into a counterrevolutionary bourgeois revisionist party.

Of what norms can the Soviet revisionists speak when they have long since buried these norms in their own party, when they have transformed them from Marxist-Leninist norms into revisionist norms which serve their counterrevolutionary aims and line? The Soviet revisionists speak of democratic centralism, but in reality
their is bureaucratic centralism; they speak of bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, but in reality they are hypocritical; they speak of conscious party discipline, but in reality theirs is a fascist discipline; they speak of proletarian morality, but in reality theirs is bourgeois morality; they speak of freedom of opinion, but every free expression of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist opinion leads to jail, to a psychiatric clinic or concentration camp. Irrespective of the disguises, the present-day norms in the CPSU are anti-Leninist, bourgeois, reactionary, fascist norms.

It was precisely the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU that paved the way not only for the degeneration of this party itself, but also for the degeneration of a number of other communist and workers' parties in the former socialist and the capitalist countries. It was precisely this counterrevolutionary course that inspired and encouraged the spreading of all sorts of anti-Marxist views of the revisionists in various countries about the transition to socialism under the leadership of non-proletarian parties, which, indeed, do not even call themselves socialist, about unity with the social-democratic renegades, through to complete organizational merging with them in a so-called single party of the working class, about the liquidation of the communist parties and merging them in the fronts led by the bourgeoisie, etc. As a result of this revisionist line, in reality, the communist parties in many capitalist countries no longer exist as such; they have been transformed into a new variant of the old, discredited social-democracy, have abandoned all revolutionary ideals and are collaborating with the bourgeoisie for the defence of the capitalist order. Meanwhile in the former socialist countries they have been transformed from working class parties for the building of socialism into parties of the new bourgeoisie for the complete restoration of capitalism.

Pluralism, the multi-party system, against which the Soviet revisionists are making a noise today, exists not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in many other revisionist countries, and signs are appearing everywhere of the revival and political and organizational activation of other parties to obtain leading and ruling positions in the «socialist state», which is ever more assuming the features of a bourgeois state. These views are being noisily defended and propagated also by many other revisionists in the capitalist countries, especially in Italy and France, who are bringing pressure to bear upon their colleagues in the former socialist countries to advance as quickly as possible on this road, to adapt «socialist democracy» more and more to bourgeois democracy.

Why then is the Soviet leadership displaying such concern about the question of the leading role of the party and coming out forcefully against pluralism precisely at this moment? They are not doing this merely to find additional justification for the legalization of their aggression in Czechoslovakia. Apparently there are other deep reasons. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique is extremely concerned to safeguard its dominant position from the
great dangers threatening it, both inside and outside the party. There is not and there can be no unity in the Soviet revisionist party. Revisionism means certain division. In the Soviet Union, as well as in any other revisionist country, there exists the factional struggle for power between revisionist groups and trends, as is clearly confirmed by the fall of N. Khrushchev and the other changes in the Soviet leadership. This process of disorganization and disintegration will inevitably become ever more pronounced. The course of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union cannot but lead to the revival of the various bourgeois and nationalist groups and this prepares the objective conditions for the birth, sooner or later, of the bourgeois multi-party system. With a view to preserving its dominant position the Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist clique is striving and will strive with all its might, without hesitating to use even means of violence, to restrain this process. To this end it is also trying and will try to exploit the tradition of the existence of a single party and the fight of the bolsheviks against factionists and deviators. The Soviet leading clique is opposed to the disintegration of the single party, also, because of the position of the Soviet Union as a great multi-national state, for this would lead to internal national division and consequently, to the undermining of the role of the revisionist Soviet Union in the international arena as a great imperialist power.

But above all, the Khrushchevite revisionists are striving to exploit the bolshevik tradition of the single party with which the Soviet communists and the Soviet people have been imbued, to keep them attached to the CPSU, of which nothing communist remains. They are striving to exploit this tradition in order to prevent the organization of the Soviet revolutionaries and the creation of a new Marxist-Leninist party in the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that not all the communists and the working class in the Soviet Union see that the present-day Communist Party of the Soviet Union has nothing in common with the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, bolshevism is always alive in the Soviet Union and the Soviet bolshevik revolutionaries will not be broken in the face of the tragedy which the land of the Soviets is experiencing but will renew the great traditions of the October Revolution, of the heroic times of Lenin and Stalin. And the only road to this is the recreation of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist revolutionary party, that must take up the banner of the struggle for the overthrow of the revisionist clique and the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to return the Soviet Union to the road of communism.

The Revisionists against Revisionism!?

Revisionism, as an anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary bourgeois ideological trend, has been so badly discredited that even the chiefs of revisionism themselves, especially those of the Soviet Union, are using the term «revisionist» to criticize
their most unrestrained and liberal allies. Here and there they even let out the words that revisionism is the main danger today, and the fight against it is the primary duty. They need this both to justify their aggression in Czechoslovakia and for home consumption. The tactic of the Soviet revisionists is that of the bandit and murderer who calls: Catch the bandit and murderer! They accuse others of all they have done or are doing themselves.

Modern revisionism was born after the Second World War. Its first representatives were Browder in America and Tito in Europe. But due to the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties, headed by the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin, neither Browderism nor Titoism could flourish very widely; they were isolated and fully exposed. Modern revisionism was transformed into an international trend only after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and due to this ill-famed congress. After this congress Khrushchevite revisionism was developed and raised to a whole system of bourgeois political, ideological and economic views. But while they now assume «anti-revisionist» poses, the Soviet revisionists stubbornly persist in the utterly revisionist line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses. This shows that all their present-day fuss against «revisionism» is a great bluff.

The Soviet leaders accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of having «discarded loyalty to principles under the banner of the fight against dogmatism, advocating the liquidation of revolutionary convictions, the foundations of socialist ideology», etc. But is it not the Soviet revisionists themselves who up till today proclaimed that «dogmatism», meaning Marxism-Leninism, was the main danger; and is it not they themselves who, under the banner of the fight against dogmatism, betrayed Marxism-Leninism, widely disseminated revisionism and furiously attacked the revolutionary line of Stalin, the PLA and other Marxist-Leninist parties? Is it not the Soviet revisionist leaders who, while they throw fireworks against «revisionism», are furiously continuing the fight against the parties which really stand on the Marxist-Leninist positions, which have waged and continue to wage a consistent, principled and relentless struggle against revisionism? This is another proof exposing the «anti-revisionist» demagogy of the Soviet leadership.

When the Czechoslovak revisionists made extensive use of the false slogans of «freedom», «democracy», «liberalization», «humanism», to achieve their counterrevolutionary aims, these slogans, according to the Soviet leadership, were a mask «to cover the counterrevolutionary activity», but when these slogans are used by that leadership itself, which is just as much counterrevolutionary as the Czechoslovak leadership, these slogans are allegedly revolutionary! Freedom and democracy on the lips of revisionists, whether disciples of Khrushchev, Tito, Novotny, or Dubcek, mean freedom and democracy for the revisionists, for the traitors and counterrevolutionaries; liberalization means destruction and liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat; humanism means
replacement of the class struggle with Christian pacifism and love for all the class enemies.

When the Czechoslovak revisionists speak of «grave errors in the past», «distortions of democracy and violations of legality», and they use them to blacken and undermine the gains of socialism, this, according to the Soviet leaders, is a «diabolical tactic» of the enemies of socialism. But did the Khrushchevite clique not pursue precisely this «diabolical tactic» in the Soviet Union? The attacks and calumnies by the Khrushchevites against the heroic past of the Soviet Union outdid even those of the most rabid imperialist enemies of the Soviet Union. Nobody has discredited the Soviet Union more than the Khrushchevite clique. The «secret» report of the 20th Congress is a document which is now known to everybody and Khrushchev’s successors have never put this document in the slightest doubt. Their manoeuvres in publishing some article or in producing some film, showing the great historic role of J. V. Stalin during the Great Patriotic War, cannot conceal their out-and-out betrayal of the ideas and work of Stalin. They are merely a testimony to the fact that Stalin is always alive in the minds and hearts of Soviet men and women, and are aimed at throwing dust in the eyes, and at quelling the resistance of the Soviet people towards the Khrushchevite clique which has buried the glorious historic period of Stalin’s leadership.

Just as demagogical on the lips of the Soviet revisionist renegades are their slogans about the need to intensify the struggle against bourgeois ideology and the attempts for the «erosion of socialist ideology», «against pluralism of socialist ideologies and of socialism» as a social order. Today they accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of having opened the doors to the flood of western ideology, of attempting to liquidate the foundations of socialist ideology, of advocating a new model of socialism which is not based on Marxism-Leninism, etc. In rising against these «sins» of the Czechoslovak revisionists, the Soviet newspaper «Pravda» discovered America for the second time, as it were, by pointing out that «there is and there can be no socialism without the leading role of the communist party, armed with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism», that «there can be no ‘other’ form of socialism since the birth and development of scientific socialism; no ‘other’ socialist ideology which is not based on Marxism-Leninism, can exist in our time».

Of what fight against bourgeois ideology can the Soviet revisionists speak when revisionism is nothing but a manifestation of the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, when egoism and individualism, running after money and other material benefits are thriving in the Soviet Union, when career-seeking and bureaucracy, technocracy, economism and intellectualism are developing, when country villas, motor-cars and beautiful women have become the supreme ideal of men, when literature and the arts attack socialism, every-

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thing revolutionary, and advocate pacifism and bourgeois humanism, the empty and dissolve life of people thinking only of themselves, when hundreds of thousands of Western tourists that visit the Soviet Union every year spread the bourgeois ideology and way of life there, when Western films have infested the screens of the Soviet cinemas, when American jazz groups and those of the other capitalist countries have become the favourite orchestras of the youth, and when parades of Western fashions are in vogue in the Soviet Union? If until yesterday the various manifestations of bourgeois ideology could be called remnants of the past, today bourgeois ideology has become a component part of the capitalist superstructure which rests on the state capitalist base which has now been established in the Soviet Union.

As to the criticism against the «pluralism of socialist ideologies and the socialist order», it is the Soviet leaders themselves that have wiped out any distinction between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology, between the socialist order and the capitalist order, in theory and practice. It is precisely the Soviet revisionists who have declared, and continue to declare, that many countries newly liberated from the colonial rule of imperialism and in which the bourgeoisie and landlords and their reactionary ideology are dominant, have embarked on the road of socialism or are building socialism. Does this not indicate that the Soviet leaders themselves are advocating the possibility of transition to socialism without the leadership of the working class, its revolutionary party, and the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, in other words, the possibility of transition to socialism under the leadership of non-proletarian classes and parties, hence that there are several kinds of socialism and several kinds of socialist ideology?

Or let us take the case of Yugoslavia. In «criticizing» the Yugoslav Titoites, who supported the Dubček clique and spoke against the Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists remembered to point out that the program of the LCY is the complete embodiment of the ideology of revisionism. But how does this comply with the other statements of the Soviet leaders who, after having kissed and embraced the Tito clique, proclaimed Yugoslavia a «socialist» country and continue to describe it as such to this day? What is this socialism which is allegedly being built in Yugoslavia on the basis of revisionist ideology, which is nothing else but a variant of the bourgeois ideology? Does the Soviet leadership itself not admit with this that socialism can allegedly be built also on the basis of revisionism, that is, of anti-Marxism, of bourgeois ideology?

Expressing dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Tito clique towards the Czechoslovak events, the Soviet propaganda accuses the Titoites of being «inspirers and supporters of the Czechoslovak counterrevolutionaries». But the Soviet leaders themselves, who, in an entirely arbitrary way, rehabilitated the Tito clique as an «innocent vic-
tim», introduced it into the communist movement, proclaimed it a «fighter for socialism» and maintain close ties with it, are they not themselves inspirers and supporters of the inspirers and supporters of counterrevolutionaries, hence, just as much counterrevolutionary as the Tito clique? After the 1956 Hungarian events, also, the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union undertook a campaign of criticism against the Yugoslav revisionists, but only for the sake of appearances because they had collaborated behind the scenes to bring the counterrevolutionary Kadar to power, and as soon as tempers had cooled a little the honeymoon started again. This is what is sure to happen this time, too. Indeed, now the anti-Yugoslav propaganda in the Soviet Union is already in much lower tones. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique can deceive nobody by its sham criticism against the Tito clique. They are two revisionist cliques which, despite the contradictions they have about the questions of the roads of development of revisionism and of relations between revisionist countries and parties, belong to a single counterrevolutionary trend — modern revisionism.

The Soviet revisionists have allegedly discovered in Czechoslovakia a «new», «unknown» form of counterrevolution, peaceful or quiet counterrevolution. The sin of those who condemned the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia as aggression, they say, is allegedly their «profound failure to comprehend the essence of this new historical phenomenon», as people have been accustomed up till now to «envisage counterrevolution only in its armed form, through violence».

Summing up the experience of the revisionist tragedy that has occurred in the Soviet Union and in other former socialist countries where the revisionist cliques are in power, the Marxist-Leninists have long since drawn the conclusion that threat to the future of socialism stems not only from external imperialist aggression, not only from the armed counterrevolution by the exploiting classes and their remnants, but also from peaceful bourgeois revisionist degeneration, which is the result of the influence of bourgeois ideology from inside and the pressure of imperialism from outside.

The first example of the peaceful counterrevolution was provided by the Titoites, then the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union followed this course and then the cliques of the other former socialist countries of Europe, in succession. The attempt of the Soviet revisionists to present peaceful counterrevolution as a «new historical phenomenon» observed during the Czechoslovak events, is in reality an attempt, on the one hand, to justify their aggression against the Czechoslovak people and, on the other hand, to camouflage the peaceful counterrevolution which they themselves have carried out in the Soviet Union.

Although the ideologists of the Soviet revisionists speak a great deal about the peaceful counterrevolution, they only skirt around this phenomenon, presenting it in a very simple way, as something directly instigated and organized by
the remnants of the exploiting classes and by the agencies of imperialism. In reality, the peaceful counterrevolution is a counterrevolution which is carried out from above, by the degenerated and bureaucratized cadres of the very class and party which are in power. And this process of degeneration has its own deep, internal and external socio-economic causes, just as it also has its own historical and ideological sources. The Soviet revisionists do not make any analysis whatsoever of the causes and sources and they cannot do so, because this would mean carrying out an autopsy on themselves. The autopsy on the birth of revisionism has been and will be carried out more and more completely by the Marxist-Leninists, by the bolshevik revolutionaries, who will throw out the revisionist carrion and will cleanse the whole atmosphere of its stench.

By preaching this the Khrushchevite revisionists are doing themselves in the eye, because, if they admit the danger of peaceful counterrevolution even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, how can they proclaim that «the victory of socialism is complete and final», how can they say what was said in the program of the CPSU approved by the 22nd Congress, that «in the countries of people’s democracy the socio-economic possibilities for the restoration of capitalism have been eliminated»? One or the other: either the thesis of peaceful counterrevolution is a bluff, or the other thesis, that all danger to the future of socialism has been eliminated, is a deception, an attempt to legalize the revisionist betrayal, to lull the vigilance and revolutionary action of the communists and working people.

Contrary to their earlier preachings that allegedly, with the liquidation of exploiting classes, the class struggle also comes to an end and the political and socio-economic unity of society takes its place, now the Soviet revisionists are not opposed to admitting the class struggle even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such, and coming out against «abstract national unity». There is no end to demagoguery. They speak of class struggle, but only in other countries, while they do not utter a single word about the class struggle in the Soviet Union, as if harmony and everlasting peace were reigning there. But what about the struggle which the Khrushchevite revisionists themselves undertook after the death of J.V. Stalin in the Soviet Union, is it not an open expression of the struggle of the class enemies who opened the road to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, to its transformation from a socialist proletarian state into a new bourgeois and imperialist state? This class struggle, but from the positions of the new bourgeoisie and in its interests, is being waged with the greatest ferocity by the Soviet revisionist leadership against the healthy revolutionary forces, both at home and in the international arena, resorting to all the means of the military fascist dictatorship.

Life, the facts, the experience of the revisionist betrayal itself show that the class struggle continues not only after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such, not only after the victory of
socialism, but indeed, for some time, even after the victory of communism on a world scale, as long as the influences of bourgeois ideology continue to exist. Therefore, the complete victory of socialism and communism can be achieved and guaranteed only when, in addition to other things, the full victory of socialist ideology over bourgeois ideology has been achieved in every individual country and on a world scale. And, as long as this struggle continues, the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the main weapon of the class struggle of the proletariat for the suppression of all the class enemies and for the building of socialism and communism, is indispensable.

All the demagoguery about the alleged fight against revisionism and the return to the Leninist-Stalinist positions is necessary to the Soviet revisionist leadership to conceal its complete transformation into a social-fascist clique.

But because of their very position as a revisionist clique, the Soviet leaders cannot go very far in their so-called fight against revisionism, for such a thing is fraught with extremely dangerous, unexpected and undesirable consequences for them. Therefore, at the same time they are furiously continuing their fight against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the parties which remain faithful to it. This shows up the falsity of their demagogical fuss about the «fight against revisionism» with the greatest clarity.

Precisely to conceal its bluff, the Soviet leadership is striving to create the illusion that it allegedly stands on the Leninist positions of the struggle on the two fronts, that it is allegedly fighting both against rightists, revisionists, and against «leftists», «dogmatists», «adventurers», etc. This dangerous manoeuvre must be fully exposed, and the real social-fascist features of the Soviet leading clique must be nakedly revealed.

Social-imperialism Disguised as Proletarian Internationalism

Social-fascism in internal policy has social-imperialism as its direct continuation in foreign policy; and while the Soviet leaders seek to camouflage their fascism with «socialist» phraseology, they strive to conceal their imperialism with slogans of «proletarian internationalism».

It is known that the Khrushchevite revisionists began their betrayal with capitulation and concession to imperialism and with renouncing the fight against it, while the liquidation of the foundations of socialism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, its transformation from a socialist state into a capitalist state of the new type, created the economic, social and class premises for its transformation into a great imperialist power in the international arena, and for the counter-revolutionary alliance with US imperialism. The Soviet Union has become an imperialist power which seeks to have its own spheres of influence, which is striving to enslave and exploit the peoples of other countries and which, in alliance with
US imperialism, is striving for the establishment of the world domination of the two great powers. But if, until recently Soviet imperialism was trying to preserve and extend its sphere of influence, to dictate its will to others through "peaceful means" — through economic penetration and subjugation, through political and ideological influence and pressure, through military and economic alliances, etc., now it has gone over to open fascist methods, to the use of armed violence, to direct military aggression even against its own allies. Precisely this is the new feature in the evolution of Soviet imperialism. The most typical example in this direction is the Soviet fascist military aggression in Czechoslovakia.

With what they did in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists proved quite openly that now, neither friendship, alliances or treaties, nor freedom, independence, or sovereignty of peoples exist for them. The only "principle" that exists for them is the right of the strongest to make the law everywhere, while they violate all other principles, trample them under their jackboots, with arms and bloodshed.

To justify this cynical fascist policy, the Soviet revisionists are now seeking to convince not merely the others, but even their own allies in the revisionist camp that the independence, self-determination, sovereignty of the parties and peoples of various countries have no value whatsoever, that they must submit to the interests of the so-called socialist community, in other words, to the interests of the chauvinist great power of the Soviets.

et Union, that for the sake of these interests, this power can violate these principles when, where, and in what way it likes.

The demagogic claims of the Soviet aggressors, that, by attacking and occupying Czechoslovakia with arms, they carried out their internationalist duty to the Czechoslovak people, the cause of socialism and the world revolutionary movement, in as much as they allegedly saved the victories of socialism in Czechoslovakia from the danger of counterrevolution, can hoodwink nobody. How can those who have destroyed socialism in their own country defend the gains of socialism in another country, how can those who, themselves, are the head of counterrevolution, avert the threat of the counterrevolution?! We showed above that all those things of which they accused the Czechoslovak revisionists in order to justify their aggression, the Soviet revisionists have done and are doing themselves. Therefore all the "arguments" of the Soviet revisionist leadership are empty and false. Their actions have no political, ideological, moral or legal foundation whatsoever.

The "legal" argument of the Soviet revisionists to justify their aggression in Czechoslovakia was completely shot down, too. The famous letter of some Czechoslovak personalities, allegedly addressed to the Soviets and to some other Warsaw Treaty countries "to ask for their aid in suppressing the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia" was clearly proved to be a fraud. Nobody came out to claim authorship of that letter. The Soviet troops were not invited by the Cze-
choslovak Government, the president of the Republic, by the Parliament or the Central Committee of the party. Even Hitler in his time acted with more tact: at least he obtained by force the signature of the then President Hacha, when he occupied Czechoslovakia.

As to the Czechoslovak people and the healthy socialist forces in Czechoslovakia, they had no reason to appeal to the Soviet revisionist renegades and their allies for aid to defend the gains of socialism from the Czechoslovak revisionist renegades, because the Soviet revisionist clique and the Novotny or Dubcek revisionist cliques alike are all proceeding on the same anti-Marxist, anti-socialist road. And life showed and is confirming every day with many facts that, despite the capitulation of the Dubcek clique, the Czechoslovak people met the armies of the Soviet revisionists as invaders and resisted and are resisting the occupation in various forms. It is becoming ever more clear to them that the actions of the Dubcek clique, which overthrew the Novotny clique, were a counter-revolution within the counter-revolution, just as the Soviet military intervention was the suppression through the force of arms of this internal Czechoslovak counter-revolution by the Soviet external counter-revolution.

The Soviet leading clique is using the Warsaw Treaty military alliance as an important instrument for the implementation of its imperialist policy. This treaty, which has changed its nature from top to bottom, from a treaty of peace into a means of war, from a defensive treaty into a weapon of aggression, is being used by the Soviet leading clique against the very participants in this treaty. In reality, with the exception of Rumania, all the other member countries of this ill-famed treaty are under the control of the armed forces of Soviet revisionism. The so-called socialist family or socialist community resembles a concentration camp, a prison of peoples. Soviet troops are stationed everywhere and make the law in these countries. In these conditions, the freedom, independence, equality and sovereignty of the peoples have become empty slogans which are used to deceive the peoples and lull them to sleep.

But the appetite of Soviet imperialism goes beyond the borders of the zone which is directly under its influence. It is openly threatening the other Balkan countries, especially the People's Republic of Albania. The Soviet revisionist rulers, in alliance and vying with the US imperialists, are extending the zone of action of their naval fleet, they have sent their warships to the Mediterranean to threaten the PR of Albania as well as to extend their imperialist expansion at the expense of the Arab peoples and the peoples of other countries.

However, nothing can conceal this typical imperialist policy of the Soviet revisionists. It cannot fail to encounter the determined opposition and resistance of all the peoples who cherish the ideals of freedom, independence, sovereignty, revolution and socialism. This policy is ever more exposing and isolating the Soviet leading clique before the peoples of the whole world.

And not only that. In implementing its aggres-
sive imperialist course it has encountered great difficulties also with its own allies. In order to keep control of the other revisionist cliques, the Soviet leadership is openly going over to the use of force, as was shown by the Czechoslovak events, which are a very serious warning of what is in store for them if they dare advance on the road of «polycentrism», autonomy, etc. But instead of strengthening the dominant positions of the Soviet revisionist leading clique, this will lead to the further division of the revisionist front and will undermine the positions of Soviet revisionism still more. This was very clearly apparent in the reaction of the revisionist cliques of other countries which rose in a joint chorus against the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and condemned it as aggression, while taking the Dubcek clique under protection. The additional difficulties created for the Soviet leadership in convening an international meeting of the revisionist parties, which was again postponed, is further evidence of this.

The recent events, especially those in Czechoslovakia, are a catastrophic defeat for the whole of modern revisionism, which very clearly indicates its complete degeneration, especially that of the head of modern revisionism — the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union, into a social-fascist and social-imperialist clique. Nobody should be deceived by the manoeuvres to conceal this degeneration with demagogy, with the slogans of «internationalism». It is the duty of all Marxist-Leninists and genuine revolutionaries to expose and smash this dangerous manoeuvre. In the first place, the Soviet people themselves must rise with determination against this aggressive imperialist course and should not allow the Khrushchevite renegade clique in power to use the Soviet people, the Soviet armed forces for the realization of its aims of imperialist oppression. The great teaching of Marx that the people of a country which oppresses other peoples are not and cannot be free, must never be forgotten.

Stalin Belongs to the Marxist-Leninists, he Belongs to Proletarian Revolution

Analysis of the facts shows that there can be no question of any revision of the revisionist positions of the Soviet renegade leadership. All its efforts to create the impression that it is allegedly returning to the old Stalinist positions are a big bluff. There should be no illusion whatsoever that the events in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, and the activation of the liberal extremists in the Soviet Union have opened the eyes of the Soviet counterrevolutionary clique and brought it to its senses. All this has only caused it to change tactics, to adopt still more demagogical tactics in order to fully establish and consolidate the fascist military dictatorship of revisionist capital and to disguise it.

The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique has great hopes of achieving this success inside the Soviet Union, where there is brutal oppression, a terrible censorship, where the communists and people have been
educated merely to repeat the formulas and slogans and not to go thoroughly into their contents and where, finally, the cult of megalomania of the «great and powerful socialist state» is still being developed vigorously. It hopes to achieve this also by speaking in a low voice about a «return to the Stalin epoch», to satisfy and deceive the apolitical and sentimental naive.

It is a duty of all Marxist-Leninists, in the first place, of the Soviet bolshevik revolutionaries themselves, to expose this diabolical manoeuvre of the Khrushchevite ruling clique to the end, to reject any illusion with regard to this clique, to intensify the fight against it, to thoroughly expose its real social-fascist and social-imperialist countenance. Faced with the fact of the transformation of the Soviet state into a fascist-type military dictatorship, the Soviet revolutionaries must rise up, organize themselves and throw themselves into struggle and revolution. Their historic responsibility is greater than ever today. There is no doubt that this will be a difficult struggle, which will require self-denial and heavy sacrifices. But the hearts and hands of the Leninist-Stalinist bolsheviks have never trembled. We express our deep conviction that one day they will honourably perform their great duty towards their own people and international communism. And the sooner they do this, the better.

The demagogy of the Soviet leading clique about an alleged return to the revolutionary positions of the Stalin era also must be exposed outside the Soviet Union, where it might make some head-

way and be used by the other revisionist cliques. On the other hand, however, it is obvious that this tactic will sharpen the contradictions in the camp of the revisionists, will lead to the division of the revisionist parties into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet groups. Indeed, right now the supporters of Novotny in Czechoslovakia, and Wermersch and Thorez in France are being called «hard-liners», «Stalinists», because they are supporters and agents of the Soviet revisionists. The Soviet leading clique is giving and will give these elements its whole support so that through them it can re-establish its shaken control and domination over the other revisionist parties. This cannot fail to run up against the resistance of the other revisionist elements, which will further deepen the division in the revisionist camp.

The duty of the Marxist-Leninists in these countries is to mercilessly unmask the pseudo-revolutionary phraseology of the pro-Soviet agency, to prevent the creation of any illusion whatever in this direction, to exploit the deepening contradictions amongst the revisionists and to intensify the fight against all the revisionist renegades in order to rout them completely.

As to the countries under the domination of the Soviet revisionists, where they make the law through the military forces they have stationed, this manoeuvre can hardly take on, because the strengthening of the aggressive imperialist-fascist character of the policy being pursued by the Soviet leading clique cannot fail to arouse
the ever more resolute indignation and protest of the peoples of these countries. Indeed, even the revisionist quislings who are obliged to obey the Soviet clique, because their dominating positions have been built on sand, do not like the manoeuvre of an alleged return to the Stalin era even as a bluff because, on the one hand, this would hitch them still more tightly to the Soviet chariot from which they want to be as independent as possible, and on the other hand, such a manoeuvre would undermine their foundations, since they came to power precisely under the banner of the fight against Stalinism. Therefore, here too, the split will become sharper and deeper, both inside the revisionist parties, and between the revisionist ruling cliques and the Soviet leadership. The submission of the revisionist quislings to the Soviet fascist military dictatorship is temporary. There will be fierce disputes and fights, up to armed clashes between them.

All these things create favourable conditions for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and the communists of these countries to expose the local revisionist quislings as well as the Soviet occupiers, to drive the occupation armies out of the country, and to overthrow the revisionist renegade cliques in power. The only correct road for the attainment of these aims is the creation everywhere of Marxist-Leninist parties and the organization of revolutionary armed struggle.

The Party of Labour of Albania, which has always consistently adhered to the Marxist-Leninist line and principles, and waged a resolute fight against modern revisionism, headed by the Soviet renegade leadership, will mercilessly unmask the present dangerous pragmatic tactic of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique about an alleged return to the revolutionary positions of Stalin. It has not permitted and never will permit the name and the great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary activity of J. V. Stalin to be besmirched by the Khrushchevite revisionists or to be used by them as camouflage to conceal their revisionist treachery. Stalin belongs to the Marxist-Leninists, to the proletarian revolution.
INTEGRATION WITH THE BOURGEOISIE — THE NEW COURSE OF THE ITALIAN REVISIONISTS’ 12th CONGRESS

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A few days ago, the Italian revisionists held their 12th Congress at Bologna. If we were to try to sum up the results of this revisionist congress in one sentence, we could say that it was the congress of the complete integration of the Italian revisionists with their national bourgeoisie through the ideological line and the old political practice of European social-democracy. At the same time, it was the congress which marked another, even deeper split and widened the gulf between the Italian and Soviet revisionists.

The only aim which the Togliattist leadership set itself at the congress which it organized at Bologna was the adoption of a complex of practical measures, appropriate to the circumstances of the current political life of Italy, for the integration of the revisionist party into the structures of the government of the country by the ruling classes. Whereas a few years ago, the Italian revisionists still spoke about «seizure» of power, now they have finally dropped this term from their vocabulary. At their new congress they declared that they want only their «participation» in the existing bourgeois state, in agreement with the ruling bourgeois parties.

The Bologna congress showed that the main objective of the revisionist leadership, its mania, is to adapt its policy and stand to the transitory alliances and developments brought about in the country by the many manoeuvres of bourgeois political forces. In fact the theses of the congress were a bunch of reformist demands which did not go a fraction beyond the framework permitted by bourgeois democracy. They were observations criticizing the legislation in force, which the revisionist representatives have been making in the bourgeois parliament for years, although up to date no one has listened to them. Longo swore a hundred times over that the demands and aims of the party would not in any way affect the existing bourgeois order. «The starting-point and guide of all our struggle,» he declared, «remains the republican constitution.»

We cannot say that the big newspaper of the Italian employing class «Corriere della Sera» is wrong to write that all the bourgeois political currents of Italy could call the theses of the 12th Congress of the CPI their own and applaud them. Describing Longo’s report to the congress, the
newspaper writes that from it «emerges a sort of general amalgam in which everyone, beginning from Pope Paul 6th to the Christian-Democrat Moro, from Lombardi to De Martino as left socialists, from the student to the man in the street, can find something which suits him. There are so many variants of the line and the perspective that they end up paralysed and cancel one another out. The only fact that emerges from all this is that there is no longer one line, but various Italian lines towards socialism, that is, none at all.»

When the Italian revisionists reduce the entire struggle for socialism to the struggle for the implementation of the constitution, or, to put it better, to what the bourgeoisie permits, they are following two very clearly defined aims. In the first place, they assure the bourgeoisie that they are not going to touch the existing capitalist order and the rules which it has established, and, in the second place, what is more important, by spreading the illusion that socialism is the constitution and the revolution is the struggle in defence of the constitution, they alienate the working class and the working masses from the revolution and the genuine struggle for socialism, and urge them to remain enslaved within the framework of the capitalist order.

It is no accident that during the entire proceedings of the congress the word «revolution», or the term «dictatorship of the proletariat», was not heard once, even by chance. They regard this as a proof of their devotion to bourgeois democracy, as a demonstration of their complete integration into this democracy. In daily practice this stand is expressed in a tragi-comic battle between exponents of the bourgeoisie and exponents of the revisionists. The former are continually exerting pressure on them on the grounds that they are still not completely democrats, in the bourgeois sense, that they have still not completely relinquished their «dogmatic positions», and the latter make every possible concession to prove themselves democrats and to shut the mouths of those who deny them this quality. It seems it will not be very long before their roles are changed and the revisionists begin to say that the bourgeois are not as bourgeois as they claim.

The guests invited from bourgeois parties and currents spoke at the congress and presented their political programs in a systematic manner without any hesitation, mentioning to the participants where and to what extent they should make further concessions. On the other hand, however, no representative of the workers spoke at the congress and the voice of the 20 million Italian workers who, on those days, when the congress was taking place, had launched a strike for their rights denied them by the bourgeoisie and those representatives of it who were applauded so frenziedly by the revisionists, was not heard at all at this congress.

Likewise, the revisionists did not forget to adopt as the first document of the congress a telegram sent to the President of the Republic, the guardian of the capitalist order, the order against which the strikers had revolted, but they did «for-
get» to adopt any resolution of solidarity, even a
formal one, to express their concern and support
for those millions of working people.

It was not only the question of solidarity with
this strike that was «forgotten» at this congress,
and that would have been a lesser evil, but the
congress dealt scarcely at all, especially in the
report of the Central Committee, with the problems
of class struggle, which has assumed broad pro-
portions in Italy during the last two years. The
revisionists tried to cover up this disturbing ques-
tion by attempting to create a false political eupho-
ria during the proceedings of the congress
through pompous displays, for example, the huge
number of invited guests, over 5,000 persons, and
the wide-spread participation of the bourgeois
press including the representative of the Vatican,
in order to distract the attention of the public
from the confrontation between the theses which
the revisionists discussed at the congress and the
reality of the day.

But despite the efforts of the leadership to
conceal the truth, the revisionist 12th Congress
revealed that in Italy, as in many other Western
countries, the process of the separation of the mas-
ses from the revisionist parties has now begun.
This is expressed in the fact that the strata of
the people who up till now have been under the
influence of the revisionist parties, have begun to
lose confidence in their preachings about social
peace and, contrary to the wishes of the revisi-
donists, are launching powerful actions of the
class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its state.

In this struggle, the revisionists and the workers
are in different camps and the gulf between them
is becoming wider and deeper.

In December last year the central organ of
the Italian revisionist party, the newspaper «Uni-
tà», was obliged to admit with great concern, «A
great credibility gap is being created about us. We
no longer represent a revolutionary force at a time
when the problem of the revolution has become
the main theme of the West and of capitalist so-
ciety». The great concern of the rank-and-file is
shown by the fact that not long before the con-
gress was summoned, the majority of the 109 dis-
trict organizations of the Italian revisionist party
had demanded that the leadership re-examine its
stand towards the student revolt.

Although not open, the criticism which Bor-
ghini, an executive member of the Federation of
Communist Youth, made at the congress was very
clear when he rebuked the party for its hestancy
and because it had proved «slow to analyse the
new contradictions of capitalism», which had led
to the student revolt.

The rapid growth of the class struggle of the
masses of the people has put the revisionists in a
bad fix. They want to break with the workers and
to unite with the bourgeoisie against them, while
at the same time appearing to be and giving the
impression that they are with the workers. This
typically opportunist tactic of renegades came out
very clearly at the 12th Congress of the Italian
revisionist party, too. While on the one hand they
tried to steer the working class, the poor peasan-
try, the students and the anti-capitalist intelligentsia on to the road of reformism and submission, on the other hand, they begged the bourgeoisie to unite with the revisionists in order to cope with the new danger which is threatening them both. «To find a political way out from the present crisis,» declared Longo in his report, «is not a task which can be carried out by the vanguard alone and even less by a single party. We re-affirm that to get Italy out of the crisis and ensure that it advances on the road of democracy and socialism will require various forces which act in the one direction with the support of the whole people.»

Whether the bourgeois «vanguard» will unite with the revisionists to advance to socialism together is very doubtful, but that, sooner or later, they will unite to suppress the working people and to drown their revolutionary movements in blood is quite certain. Their predecessors in betrayal of the revolution and the cause of the working class, the social-democrats, have provided many examples of this. It is not an insignificant fact that in Italy today there is a powerful group in the Christian Democrat Party and the top ruling circles, headed by the former head of government Moro, whom, incidently, Longo eulogized highly at the congress, which is demanding that the practical eventuality of the creation of a government coalition with the participation of the revisionists should be examined.

One of the problems which attracted general attention at the Bologna congress was that of relations between the Soviet revisionists and the Italian revisionists and, in particular, the stand of the latter towards the occupation of Czechoslovakia. As was expected, despite the great spiritual affinity which the Italian revisionist bosses have with those of the Soviet Union and despite the great weight which the Soviet subsidies have in their activity, they persisted in their stand against the hegemony of Moscow and the aggression in Czechoslovakia. They are against it because the Czechoslovak revisionists belong to the same revisionist current as the Italians. In particular, in their handling of the Czechoslovak question, they want to be in harmony with the Italian bourgeoisie and do not want to stand apart from it in any way.

Longo and the other chiefs of his party engaged in open polemics with their Soviet friends, once again counterposing their well-known theories of Togliatti polycentrism to the hegemonic and chauvinist pretentions of the Khrushchevite leaders of the Soviet Union to domination of the revisionist front and subjugation of revisionist states. They spoke about «full respect for the autonomy and sovereignty of each communist party and socialist state», expressed «opposition to any theory of the leading state or party», to any «interference or pressure» in the internal affairs of the other parties. In particular, they supported the Dubcek clique and the Czechoslovak line, while advising the Soviets «not to do anything, either in Czechoslovakia or outside it, which would interfere with the authority of the Czechoslovak leaders».

Ponomaryov, the «specialist» in inter-revi-
sionist relations, whom Brezhnev had sent to Bologna, tried in vain to convince the Italian revisionists that allegedly the present lords of the Kremlin are for «equality of rights and the independence of all countries and parties», because according to them «there must not be leading parties in the communist movement». He exposed himself later when he tried to justify the barbarous aggression in Czechoslovakia and to call it an «internationalist duty». The silence with which those present listened to his speech was more from contempt than from attention.

Even the intervention of the satellites of the Soviet revisionists, the representatives of Gomulka, Zhivkov and company, was unable to rescue the Soviet revisionists from the isolation and uncomfortable position in which they found themselves at the Bologna Congress. On the other hand, the Titovites, who found in the Italian revisionists no mean supporters in their new, temporary quarrel with the Moscow leaders, managed very well. A walk-out by the Soviet delegation at the time Kardelj was speaking, could not be effective as a means to retrieve their honour in face of the discrediting accusations of the Titovites, in a place where the cream of revisionism had gathered.

The congress of the Italian revisionists was fresh evidence of the further degeneration of the revisionist front and the increased quarrels and contradictions between the different revisionist groupings. It was proved there, once again, that the efforts of the Soviet revisionist leaders to establish the monopoly authority of the Soviet Union in the revisionist front have now suffered total defeat. The aggression in Czechoslovakia and the continuous resistance of the Czechoslovak people, apart from other factors, have made agreements between the revisionists, even just for appearances' sake, almost impossible. The hegemonic and imperialist policy of the heads of the Soviet Union, as the Italian congress showed, is encouraging the revisionist groupings of the West and serving as a pretext for them to go more rapidly down their course of breaking away from the pressure of Moscow and integrating themselves with their own national bourgeoisie. For example, the Italian revisionists have transformed the fact of their quarrels with the leaders of the Soviet Union and their opposition to the Soviet line of hegemony into a banner of their turning towards unity with the bourgeoisie and a proof of their loyalty to the bourgeois order. The rise of nationalist tendencies between these groupings must be seen from this aspect, too. In the practical field, this is expressed in the lack of support for the initiatives which the Soviet Union is now taking in the international arena and in their silence about, and frequently open solidarity with, the foreign policies of the respective bourgeois governments, even on those issues which are aimed against the Soviets. The new stands of the leaders of the revisionist parties towards the Common Market, NATO, or the problem of Berlin, are very significant in this direction.

The stands which the foreign delegates maintained and the views which they expressed at the
Italian congress clearly indicate the atmosphere which will prevail at the revisionist meeting in Moscow in May and what its results will be. The Soviet revisionists, who are trying to break their isolation within the revisionist front and to somewhat restore their fallen prestige and authority, are trying to ensure discussion at Moscow of «the current problems in the struggle against imperialism and joint actions in this struggle» with the aim of bringing about «a closing of the ranks» of the revisionists, as Ponomaryov put it at Bologna. But, as it turned out from the speeches of most of the representatives of the foreign parties that took part at the 12th Congress of the Italian revisionists, the others have not the slightest intention of satisfying the Soviet chiefs who through speculations about «joint actions» are trying to impose on them obligations which are in the interests only of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The other revisionists understand that in the present situation acceptance of any kind of obligation would not only put them under some degree of dependence on Soviet hegemony, not only open the way to pressure from the leaders of the Kremlin, but would greatly restrict the terrain for their own action in the field of national and international relations. They do not want to go to the Americans under the leadership of the Soviet revisionists, but in complete unity with their own bourgeoisie. In the closing speech at the congress, the Deputy-general Secretary of the Italian revisionist party, Berlinguer, aware that he was expressing the opinion of the many other parties, too, told the Soviets that at the Moscow meeting there must be «an open and responsible confrontation of views even in connection with the most difficult problems», and not merely a discussion of the question of «the struggle against imperialism», as the Soviet leaders want, which is a manoeuvre to tighten the screws on the others.

But will the Soviet revisionists agree to be placed in the dock at the Moscow meeting and listen to the opposition of the Italians, the French, the British, etc. over their aggression in Czechoslovakia, to reply to questions in connection with Brezhnev’s theory of «the limited sovereignty of socialist countries» or «the conditional independence» of parties, etc.? It would be difficult for them to accept this. In Moscow the Soviets want to establish and justify their hegemony over the participating parties, while the Italians or the French will go there primarily to oppose this hegemony and in this way to receive a certificate of «good conduct» which will serve them in their further integration with their own bourgeoisie. Therefore, the May conference in Moscow has failed even before it is held. Even if it is held at some time, it will do nothing but add even more to the quarrels and splits in the revisionist front and will further discredit its organizers, first of all, the Soviet revisionist chiefs who have based such great hopes on it.

Whatever efforts the revisionists may make, there can be no unity between them. To this day no unity has ever been established on the basis of betrayal of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism
and the struggle against them. This is the case not only in regard to the different revisionist parties, but also in regard to the unity within each party. The recent congress of the Italian revisionist party demonstrated this very well. Following the example of the bourgeois parties, especially the social-democratic parties, that party is now split into the most varied factions, which have definite ideological and political viewpoints, which have their own followers and supporters inside and outside the ranks of their own parties, and which quarrel and clash with one another for superiority and special positions. In this situation, in building its line and standing the party will take the opinion of the masses and the rank-and-file members less and less into consideration and adapt them more and more to the ration of the strength, compromises and mutual concessions of these factions. The contradictions which can be seen in the report of the CC, presented to the congress by Longo, certainly result mostly from the opportunist, anti-Marxist counterrevolutionary general line of the Italian revisionist party, but to a considerable degree they are also expressions of the struggle between different factional lines which exist in the party.

It is true that Italy is going through a grave crisis affecting both its economy and its policy. The powerful student movement, the big workers' strikes which have affected nearly all sectors of production, the protests of state and private employees, not to mention the ceaseless struggle of the exploited peasantry, show that the Italian bourgeoisie is sitting on a volcano which is likely to erupt at any moment. The working masses are struggling and seeking a way out from the grave situation, demanding revolutionary changes in the situation which they and the country are facing, and are ready to fight with determination in defence of their rights. But the Italian revisionists have inflicted great damage on the revolutionary movement of the working class and the other exploited masses. They are trying to set the working class on the road of reformism, they are trying to encourage the spirit of passivity, acceptance and Christian submission. It is the duty of the healthiest vanguard forces of the Italian working class, of the resolute Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, to place themselves at the head of the struggle of the working class, the working peasantry, the working youth, and other strata of the population who oppose the bourgeoisie, and to fight for a further development of the class struggle on the correct line of Marxism-Leninism for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is their duty to show the masses the correct revolutionary road, to enlighten them with the true ideology of the working class, to work out and apply the correct strategy and tactics for carrying out the revolution.

None of this work is easy. A considerable part of the working people, disillusioned by opportunism, and the treacherous line of the modern revisionists under whose influence they have been up till today, have now hurled themselves into the struggle against the oppression and the bourgeois order. But this struggle lacks direction, organiza-
tion and leadership, and thus the bourgeoisie and the opportunists have no difficulty in defending themselves from its attack and counter-attacking with great severity. Therefore the revolutionaries have the difficult but noble task of rebuilding the class consciousness, the spirit of discipline and organization among the workers and, above all, of leading them on the road of revolution as Marxism-Leninism teaches.

The Italian revisionists boast that they are a big party, that such and such a number of people vote for them. In fact, they are very weak, just like the bourgeoisie with which they collaborate. They belong to the past, to what is collapsing and dying. The bankruptcy of the revisionists is apparent in their degeneration, apparent in the rapidity with which they are moving towards complete integration with the bourgeoisie. The inglorious end of the revisionists is not far off, it is appearing clearly on the horizon of the historical development of our time. Revisionism is now on its downward course and our generation will certainly witness its descent into the abyss of history in which all the reactionary forces that have opposed the revolutionary progress of the working people, have ended up.

THE SOVIET-AMERICAN COLLABORATION DOMINATED THE BUDAPEST MEETING OF THE WARSAW TREATY

Article published in the newspaper «Zeri i populit»

March 23, 1969

At the beginning of this week, a meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty was held in Budapest. This was the first meeting of the heads of the revisionist countries following the occupation of Czechoslovakia by troops of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, which caused quarrels and confusion in the ranks of the revisionist front. A top-level meeting in which all the members of the Warsaw Treaty without exception would take part, was seen by the Soviet revisionist leaders as a measure to influence public opinion, to present the revisionist family in the eyes of the world as united and show that it had forgotten its squabbles and overcome its contradictions.

But even though this whole farce was staged
with great care, it was quite unable to conceal the decay and further degeneration of the Warsaw Treaty organization. The meeting was held in an atmosphere charged with many political, economic and military contradictions, and the continuous pressure of the Soviet chiefs, who want to impose their hegemonic dictate on the other partners.

According to the official communiqué published after the lightning meeting, which lasted only two hours, a number of measures were taken at Budapest for the internal organization of the Warsaw Treaty, and an «Appeal» was addressed to the countries of Europe «for the discussion of problems of European security and peaceful co-existence». In these documents, it is not what is said, but what is not said, that attracts attention.

When the procedure of the meeting and its decisions are analysed, the question arises automatically: Why did the Soviet leaders have to spend nearly a week travelling to Budapest and back by train for a meeting with their partners which lasted only two hours, including lengthy ceremonies of taking photographs, signing the final documents, etc.?

The new «Appeal» addressed to Europe is one of the stalest documents which the revisionist diplomacy has ever brought to light. Both in form and content; it is a mechanical repetition of the appeals which the revisionist chiefs made in 1966 at the conclusion of the Warsaw Treaty conference and the revisionist parties issued from Karlovy Vary, except for the fact that in the Budapest «Appeal», imperialism is virtually not condemned at all, and no stand at all is taken on the major current international problems, which are not even mentioned. The whole foreign press quite correctly points out that the hasty digging out of this old copy from the dust-covered files and the publication of an unenlightening communiqué about the conclusion of the proceedings was done deliberately to replace some other document of the Soviet leaders, which, because of quarrels and contradictions with their partners, could not be allowed to see the light of day. There is not the slightest doubt that the Budapest meeting was called on the initiative of the rulers of the Kremlin to serve the purposes of their foreign policy, just as it is indisputable that they were its patrons and conductors. They had been preparing for this for a long time following the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Nearly all the main leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member countries have made frequent trips to Moscow, not to mention the continual visits of Yakubovski and other personalities of the Soviet Union to the capitals of the revisionist countries. Can it be imagined that, in all these intensive meetings and very long discussions, they have discussed only the recirculation of the time-worn revisionist plan for so-called European security, and have not discussed the major world problems which, for the heads of the Kremlin, first of all, are of great urgency?

On March 17, the day the Budapest meeting opened, the Czechoslovak revisionist newspaper «Rude Pravo» wrote confidently that «the talks would touch on the recent Berlin crisis, the increas-
ingly acute situation in the Middle East and, last but not least, the armed incidents on the Sino-Soviet border». «As this will be the first session of the Consultative Political Committee since the intervention of the Warsaw Treaty troops in Czechoslovakia,» continued the newspaper, «it is impossible to avoid discussion of the Czechoslovak question also.»

However the Budapest «Appeal» did not mention any of these problems. It does not touch on the «struggle against imperialism», does not mention either Vietnam or the Middle East, or even «the danger of German revanchism», a thing very dear to the revisionist propaganda, is presented in very mild tones on this occasion. This proves once again that the Soviet and other revisionists, who pose, in words, as ardent supporters of the Vietnamese people, are sacrificing Vietnam on the altar of the Soviet-American collaboration, just as they are sacrificing the interests of the Arabs and other peoples.

Are these things accidental? Nobody can believe so. From the text of the «Appeal» itself and in various comments and reports, it turns out that the main purpose of the Warsaw Treaty meeting was preparation for the talks of the Soviet chiefs with the new president of the USA Richard Nixon. Just as Nixon met his European NATO partners before sitting down at the bargaining table with the Soviets, in order to ensure the support and solidarity of his partners for the coming deals, the heads of the Kremlin did the same thing in Budapest with their partners in the Warsaw Treaty.

The Budapest «Appeal» does not mention any of the major problems which are concerning the world, even in the classical revisionist political formulas; because Brezhnev and Kosygin want to assure Nixon that on these problems, they do not want to take pre-determined stands which might prejudice the coming Soviet-American summit talks. They want to let the American president know that they will discuss and decide all these problems jointly, starting with a clear field, free for any compromise and any settlement, and that they have the approval of all the partners of the Warsaw Treaty for this, as the unanimous signing of the «Appeal» by all the members shows. Moreover, with this they want to give the impression that the rulers of the revisionist countries regard these talks with the greatest approval and are predisposed to do everything on their part to create the most favourable preliminary atmosphere for the holding of them.

The mention of the German problem, which repeats the known stands of the Soviet revisionists, which are not pleasing either to Bonn or to Washington, might constitute a certain discordant note in the general spirit of placation and steering away from the major, acute themes of international policy on the eve of the Soviet-American summit meeting, which can be seen in the Budapest «Appeal». But this, too, is only in appearance. To fail to mention the German question in a public doc-
ument of the Warsaw Treaty and, moreover, one which has to do with Europe and the so-called European security, is not possible today. It was necessary to the Soviet leaders to cover up their bluff over Berlin and to conceal the fiasco of the empty noise they made in connection with the election of the president of the Federal German Republic in West Berlin. Now they are trying to pacify Ulbricht and company whom, at a very delicate moment, they left on their own, discredited and placed in a very unpleasant position in the eyes of all Germans and the whole world, showing that the Ulbricht clique was nothing but a simple satellite of the Soviet revisionists and a tool of theirs in the manoeuvres of the Soviet-American collaboration. Both Nixon and Kissinger are well aware that the mention of the German question in the Budapest document is purely formal, because the fuss which the Soviet revisionists made over the presidential election in Berlin had no consequences at all apart from the further discrediting of the Ulbricht clique. It is not accidental that the Bonn government was the first to give an ardent welcome to the Budapest «Appeal» through the mouth of its foreign minister Willy Brandt.

The revisionist participants in the Budapest meeting are trying to present the short duration of the official sessions, a mere two hours, as an alleged expression of their unanimity around the problems discussed. Perhaps two hours were sufficient to arrive at the conclusion that they would not reach agreement, but it is impossible to discuss and decide on a political line, or even just some concrete actions in connection with the Berlin problem and the situation in the Middle East, to examine the future of Europe, and the war in the Far East, the German question and the structural changes of a military organization, in such a short period. In fact there was no unanimity but failure, and failure in all directions...

The Budapest meeting once again revealed the notorious policy of the Soviet revisionists — «peace in Europe and war in Asia», naked before the eyes of the whole world. Whatever demagogy the authors of this meeting indulge in, they cannot conceal its counterrevolutionary character. The new «Appeal» addressed to the bourgeois governments of Europe, drawn up in the pacifist phraseology of Nikita Khrushchev in his prime is, in fact, an appeal to American imperialism to reach agreement, to maintain the balance of forces in Europe and to respect the spheres of influence on this continent...

Many of the press agency reports from Budapest linked the time of the Warsaw Treaty meeting with the holding of the 9th Congress of the Yugoslav revisionists. They pointed out that this was no chance coincidence. In fact, the pressure of the Soviet leaders on Yugoslavia in recent times, in order to compel it to accept the Soviet line, especially in regard to relations with other revisionist countries, is well known. Especially after their fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia, the Soviet leaders are not happy to tolerate the Yugo-
slave activity in the satellite countries, because they see it as a threat to their hegemony. Likewise, they are not pleased with the rapprochement and collaboration of Belgrade with Bucharest, just as the Titoites, on their part, do not like the pressure which Moscow is exerting on Rumania. Quite frequently these temporary antagonisms between the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists become especially acute, as they are doing at present, and on the eve of the congress of the League of «Communists» of Yugoslavia and during its proceedings, by inciting and encouraging the great-Serb group and the Rankovichites against the Croat-Slovenian group, the Soviets are showing Tito that they are holding other cards with which they can exert pressure.

Hence, on the question of the stand towards Yugoslavia, the Soviet leaders suffered another defeat at Budapest. They were unable to impose a common line on their partners. The extent to which the revisionists are divided over Yugoslavia is shown by the way they dealt with the question of being represented at the recent congress of the Titoites. The Rumanians, for example, went to Belgrade and there occupied one of the most honoured places among the foreign guests. The Czechoslovaks did not go, apparently because they did not get permission from Moscow, but the Czech press wrote extensively about it and in very friendly terms. The Bulgarians and the Mongolians had officially informed the Yugoslavs that they would send delegations to their congress, but later cancelled this. It is evident that all this con-

fusion could not have been anything other than a result of the Soviet dictate at the last minute, demanding that its satellites carry out its will on this question.

But none of these things prevented Tito from holding his congress and pursuing his well-known political line. Moreover, the Budapest meeting and the divisions which emerged there among the participants in connection with Yugoslavia, provide the Titoite clique with fresh possibilities to continue its anti-Marxist line in the service of imperialism in the other revisionist countries.

Another issue which made its presence felt in the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty was the Czechoslovak question, too. There was no mention of this in the final communiqué, but this whole meeting was staged with great care to give public opinion the impression that the situation in Czechoslovakia had allegedly been normalized in the way the Soviet occupiers wanted it. The appearance of complete unity which allegedly exists on all the issues discussed and which it would not have been possible to achieve if different assessments or divergencies existed in connection with Czechoslovakia, was to serve as evidence in support of this claim. This was the purpose, also of the appointment of Dubcek to chair the meeting and of the false praise and demagogic congratulations which Brezhnev expressed to him over the «brilliant way» he ran the meeting. But whatever lustre the revisionists try to give it, the Czechoslovak question remains an open wound and a grave
indictment for all the revisionists, both for those who sent their tanks to enslave the Czechoslovak people and for the clique of Dubcek, Svoboda and Czernik which, as its stand in Budapest demonstrated once again, has turned into a disgusting instrument of the Soviet revisionist occupiers, and which can hope for no better end at the hands of the Czechoslovak people than that which history has reserved for all renegades and traitors.

In the political plans of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, the Budapest meeting occupied a special place in connection with the meeting of revisionist parties which, it is said, will be held in Moscow in May. This clique saw the Budapest meeting as an early preparation for the Moscow conference and as a suitable occasion to get certain possible concessions from the other partners on the theses the Soviet revisionists will present there. However, the fact that neither the communique nor the «Appeal» from Budapest made any mention of this shows, as do the reports from the Preparatory Commission which has met in Moscow, that on this point, too, the Soviet revisionist chiefs have been unable to impose their theses and that the differences remain and are growing wider.

The communique from the Budapest meeting also mentions some decisions of an organizational character, such as the creation of the Committee of Defence Ministers, etc. These are some crumbs which the Kremlin tosses to its satellites to create a certain illusion that they, too, take part in the joint command. In reality the imperialists of Mos-
IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST BACK-STAGE DEALS AGAINST THE ARAB PEOPLES

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

April 9, 1969

The heads of American imperialism and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are continuing to play all their cards in order to carry out their neo-colonialist plan over the division of spheres of influence in the Middle and Near East. In this context they have held a series of behind-the-scenes meetings and discussions during which they prepared the terrain for holding a four-party conference (the USA, the Soviet Union, France and Britain) at the rank of the permanent representatives of these powers on the Security Council. Their first meeting was held on April 3, in New York. The official communique issued after this meeting stressed that «they began examination of the problem of how they (the four powers) can assist the peaceful political solution in the Near East». To this end, stressed the communique, «their stand is based on the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967».

The imperialist-revisionist propaganda is making a great fuss about this meeting as an «important event»; as an «expression of the good will» for the establishment of peace in the Middle East, etc. It is trying to create the impression among the Arab peoples and among public opinion in general, that this initiative of two powers — the USA and the Soviet Union, is allegedly intended to establish stability and peace in the Middle East and has the «fine objective» of putting an end to the conflict between Israel and the Arab countries.

However, these demagogic declarations cannot deceive the peoples, cannot cover up the fiendish real aims which inspire the chiefs of American imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leadership. In reality, their plans, their open and disguised support for the Israeli zionists, have encouraged the latter to intensify their aggressive activity against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan, and to declare their annexationist plans openly and arrogantly. Evidence of this can be seen in the statements of the Prime Minister Golda Meir, the Deputy-Prime Minister Abba Eban, the Israeli Minister of Defence Moshe Dayan, etc. While the representatives of the four continue their meetings in New York, the Israeli troops are carrying out systematic provocations against the Arab countries. Yesterday’s bombardment by the Israeli forces of Port-Tufik. El-Shat and Ismailia, in the Suez
Canal zone, as well as their barbarous air attack in the city of Aqaba, are clear evidence of the unrestrained aggressiveness of Israel.

The Soviet revisionists conceal their neo-colonialist aims under the disguise of allegedly neutral «arbiters» and «well-wishers» of the Arab peoples which they try to assume, in order to impose on the Arabs a settlement of their problem which, in fact, would lead to their subjugation, to the creation of conditions which permit the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists to divide their spheres of influence on this region, which has strategic military importance for them, to plunder the wealth of the peoples of this zone and to sabotage and liquidate the liberation war of the Palestinian people.

The weaving of the threads of this great anti-Arab plot began long ago. It was signed and sealed at the Glasboro meeting which was held in June 1967, just a few days after the Israeli-imperialist aggression against the Arab peoples. These threads were woven together even further with the notorious Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, the outcome of Soviet-American machinations. As everyone knows, this resolution denies the sovereign rights of the United Arab Republic over the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba and the Tyran Straits and does not oblige the Israeli aggressors to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories. But, apparently, this resolution was unable to achieve the neo-colonialist aims of Washington and Moscow. Later develop-

ments showed that both the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists continued to work out new plans, differing in appearance and formulation, but essentially for the same aims. In conformity with this, the American imperialists presented their proposals, which were more clearly concretized in the addenda and «amendments» which were made to the Soviet revisionists' five-point plan. In reality here we have to do with a secret joint agreement intended to create the impression among the Arab peoples that the Soviet plan takes account of their interests. In reality, however, the Soviet revisionists' plan goes even further than the notorious Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. Besides the implementation of that resolution, it also demands «the creation of a zone of peace and security» on the borders between Israel and the Arab countries by stationing a so-called international force in this zone. This force will be nothing other than a gendarme in the hands of the two neo-colonialist powers to exert pressure on the Arab patriots and force them to their knees and to strangle the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. That is why the Arab patriots reject this anti-Arab plot with disgust. «The stand of the Arab people who reject the resolution of the Security Council,» says the statement of the Palestinian People's Liberation Front published last month, «must also include refusal of the Soviet plan, because both the Security Council Resolution and the Soviet draft-plan have
as their aim the liquidation of the Palestinian cause.

Since the Arab peoples and the Palestinian patriots have denounced and rejected the American and Soviet neo-colonialist plans for the Middle East, the heads of the two «superpowers» are continuing to plot behind the scenes, trying to find different ways and forms, to work out new plans, which in fact are aimed against the sovereign interests of the Arabs. With the aim of throwing dust in Arab eyes, now they do not appear on the stage alone but in the bloc of representatives of the four powers. They say that the four of them together will try to find new ways for «a peaceful settlement» of the conflict in the Middle and Near East. In fact, however, it is the representatives of American imperialism and Soviet revisionism who play the decisive role in the secret meeting of the four. Their own news agencies reported that; on the eve of this meeting, a series of discussions were held in Washington and New York between leading representatives of American imperialism, including President Nixon himself, and the Soviet ambassador to the USA, A. Dobrinin, and other envoys of Moscow. A joint American-Soviet draft-plan prepared in advance has been presented to the four-party conference, which is continuing its proceedings in New York, for examination and approval. As is stressed in the official communiqué published after the first meeting, the basis of this draft-plan remains the notorious anti-Arab Resolution of the Security Council of November 22, 1967.

All these things show that the secret four-party talks in New York have nothing at all to do with any «good will» of the imperialist powers for peace and stability in the Middle East. They are nothing but imperialist and revisionist deals to lead the Arab peoples into a trap and impose the neo-colonialist plot on them. That is why Arab public opinion has rejected «foreign supervision» and has denounced the so-called peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem by the four great powers. Denouncing the anti-Arab plots, the Iraqi newspaper «Al Huria» wrote that «the Palestinian cause has no need for the international supervision imposed by the four powers».

The Albanian people, sincere friends of the Arab peoples and resolute supporters of the just cause for which they are fighting, condemn the new imperialist-revisionist plots against the sovereign interests of the Arabs. We express our conviction that the Arab peoples will not permit themselves to fall into this new trap set by their enemies. Life is more and more convincing them that they must not base their hopes of achieving their aspirations on the phoney «aid» and support of false friends, the Soviet revisionists, or on the unprincipled imperialist-revisionist talks. The aspirations of the Arab peoples, the liberation of all the territories occupied by the Israeli aggressors, the realization of the right of the Palestinian people to liberation, will be achieved through their armed struggle and uncompromising efforts, relying on
the struggle of the masses of the peoples as well as on the support and solidarity of true friends, the anti-imperialist, freedom-loving forces.

MILITARY PRESSURE — THE BASIS OF THE DICTATE AND POLITICAL BLACKMAIL OF THE SOVIET REVISIONIST LEADERS

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

April 11, 1969

Military adventures and fascist-type armed aggressions constitute the main feature of the foreign policy of the Soviet revisionists today. The occupation of Czechoslovakia is one of the most typical concrete examples, but not the only one. It is an expression of the practical application of the notorious policy of dictate and blackmail by means of the use of military pressure, which the leaders of the Kremlin apply against their «allies» and other countries. It is a concrete implementation of the joint Soviet-American imperialist strategy for the division of spheres of influence and the domination of the world by these two great powers.

In recent years, and especially before and after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the militarymen have played a decisive role in the Soviet
foreign policy and they are incapable of acting other than militarily, through militarist methods. Military blackmail is the basis of the activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership; their reasoning and their solution to any problem are based on aggressive deductions and actions. The political, ideological and economic relations of the Soviet revisionists with their satellite allies are all based on the Warsaw Treaty which has become their main weapon of blackmail. «If you do not obey me readily I shall either overthrow you with internal intrigues, or set in motion the Soviet army disguised under the label of the Warsaw Treaty, and invade you». This is the entire political concept of this fascist militarist gang which is ruling the Soviet Union. All the satellites fear this threat and none of them likes it but they have put themselves in the iron grip of the Soviet chiefs.

Of course the renegade leaders of the Soviet Union did not choose this road of military adventurism because they liked it. They went over to extreme measures of violence because they could no longer rule by peaceful means, because their demagogy and lies no longer worked. The grave crisis from which the whole revisionist front is suffering, the disintegration, confusion and degeneration of its ranks, have faced the new czars of the Kremlin with the alternative: either to admit their complete bankruptcy in both foreign and internal policy, a thing which they cannot do, or to use their military fist to prolong their existence a little more.

The maintenance of Soviet military forces for more than 20 years in the countries of Eastern Europe, which is in no way different from the establishment of bases and the stationing of American and NATO troops in Western Europe, is a typical example which shows very clearly that the Soviet revisionist clique wants to apply its dictate over the peoples of this zone by means of its armed forces.

How can present-day Czechoslovakia be called a socialist country when it is unable to live free and independent and allegedly needs the Soviet troops to safeguard its «socialism» and to defend the country from «capitalist aggressions»?

What socialist regimes can you speak about in Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, etc., which need foreign armed forces to prop them up? Of course, the need to cope with the threats of imperialism does not exclude the existence of alliances between socialist countries. However, this does not absolutely require the stationing of troops of a great power like the Soviet Union which, moreover, boasts day and night that it possesses a powerful striking force of lightning speed to cope with any aggression which might be launched, not only against its own country and its immediate neighbours, but even against friends who are thousands of kilometres away!

The chiefs of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries talk a great deal about the danger which comes from remilitarized West Germany. That such a threat exists, is a reality. But secretly, the Soviet revisionists are in close friendship with the leaders of Bonn, have good diplomatic relations with the Federal German Republic and very highly develop-
ed mutual trade exchanges. All their practice up to now confirms this and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal German Republic Willy Brandt admits it. They are preparing to make new concessions to the West-Germans over freedom to go in and out of East and West Berlin and are negotiating other agreements in various fields.

The Soviet revisionists who maintain forces in other countries, justify this with the American and West-German threat.

The shadow of the tanks which the Soviet chiefs have cast over the other countries, the frequent movements of the units of the armed forces or the many military manoeuvres, as well as the presence and movements of the Soviet navy in the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, have only one aim — to ensure the submission of others to the Soviet hegemony and dictate.

What other meaning can the big military manoeuvres of the Warsaw Treaty, which are being carried out at present in some of the satellite countries, have except to intimidate them and remind them that they must obey the rule of the Soviet revisionists? Marshal Yakubovski makes very frequent visits to the capitals of the Warsaw Treaty countries. But wherever he has appeared, the presence of this revisionist raven has been very ominous. The Soviet revisionists are acting today with Marshal Yakubovski just as the American imperialists acted with Dulles in his time. At least Dulles was secretary of the American Department of State and concealed his aggressive military plans in his diplomatic satchel, while Yakubovski proclaims them with his cap, his epaulets and the medals which he wears on his chest. This commander of the Warsaw Treaty has become a discredited errant warmonger, has become a «spectre» to be derided who goes from place to place in the countries under the Soviet revisionists' heel to threaten them with military force, to occupy them, to prepare military-political putsches, to exert economic pressure and to get concessions for the clique ruling in the Kremlin.

Yakubovski goes from Poland to Hungary, from Hungary to Bulgaria, from Bulgaria to Czechoslovakia, from Czechoslovakia to Rumania and back again, inspects the Soviet occupation forces, organizes the Soviet agency in the ranks of the officers of the «allied» armies, checks up on the political situation of each satellite country and takes measures involving pressure. It is alleged that he is engaged in the organization of «joint manoeuvres», but his sinister business has to do with the organization of preparations for armed intervention or for carrying out this intervention. The manoeuvres which Yakubovski organized in Czechoslovakia in July last year, were the prelude to August 21.

The policy of military blackmail by the Soviet revisionists is carried on not only in the «Warsaw» ranks and Yakubovski is not the only ogre who prowl here and there in Europe. There is the ogre Grechko who, as minister of defence of the Soviet Union, travels to Cairo, to Beirut, to Algiers, to Damascus, to Iraq, to Pakistan and now recently to India, with tanks and military plans in his brief-
case. All these movements of his reflect the aggressive military aims of the Kremlin revisionists, the linking of these countries with their plans, and the failure to resolve the acute problem of these zones.

However, the Soviet revisionists are no longer able to intimidate anyone with their bankrupt policy of blackmail and pressure by means of bayonets. Their adventures will always end in ignominious failure in face of the determination of the peoples, in face of their unflinching struggle to defend their supreme interests, their freedom and independence and their right to be masters of their own countries. The best reply to the adventurous, provocative, military policy which the Soviet revisionists are pursuing and which is based simply on armed force, was long ago given them by Albania, when it valiantly resisted the pressure, interference and threats of Nikita Khrushchev, and when it denounced the Warsaw Treaty, which the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique has transformed simply into an instrument of aggression. This policy received another resolute reply recently from People's China, during the Soviet provocations on the Ussuri...

The Soviet revisionists' global strategy of hegemony and expansion by means of aggression is already quite obvious. The first stage of its realization is the complete military domination of the territories which are included in the so-called Soviet sphere of influence, under the disguise of the Warsaw Treaty. The Soviet revisionists hope to realize this first adventurous step painlessly and without repercussions for the Soviet-American alliance. The stand of the American government more benevolent than indifferent towards the occupiers, is a very concrete example. «The appeal for European security» which the Soviet leaders, in the name of the Warsaw Treaty, made to the capitalist countries of Europe from the Budapest meeting is also aimed in this direction. By assuring the big European bourgeoisie and, first of all, American imperialism, of peace on the military borders between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, they are asking them to remain neutral when the Moscovite Czar wants to establish «order» in his estates in the East.

As the revisionists understand it, «European security» means ensuring the present status quo, that is, ensuring the Soviet-American alliance in order to preserve the dominant positions which the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have now in different countries of Europe.

There is frequent talk, mostly in the revisionist propaganda and less in the imperialist propaganda, about «initiatives» in connection with the liquidation of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. But all this is just idle speculation, worthless bluff. Now everybody understands that the «proposals», the «appeals», etc., for the dismantling of blocs are unrealizable, because they are maintained precisely to preserve the specific interests of Soviet and American imperialism in Europe and to perpetuate the existing status quo.

Now, even in the revisionist countries, in one form or the other, obvious resistance is being put up to the Soviet hegemony, to the political,
economic and military pressure of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union. The saw has struck a nail almost everywhere. Czechoslovakia is a very significant example. Seven months have gone by since the armed intervention, but the Czechoslovak people have not capitulated and have not submitted to the revisionist dictate of the Soviet leaders. The total boycott and isolation of the occupiers, the open expression of the people’s hatred and daring manifestations against the occupation have become powerful weapons against those who have violated their Homeland. The tanks, which the clique of Brezhnev and Kosygin dispatched, could not and never will be able to suppress the freedom-loving spirit of the Czechoslovak people. The longer the foreign occupation troops remain on Czechoslovak territory, the more frequent the interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia and the intrigues and pressure of the Soviet revisionist occupiers become, the more the unity of the Czechoslovak people is strengthened and the more their determination increases not to bow in submission and not to retreat in the face of the pressure, intimidation and blackmail by their enslavers. The recent demonstrations against the occupation of the country by the Soviet revisionists, which swept the whole of Czechoslovakia, are further evidence which proves that neither the tanks of Grechko and Yakubovski nor the capitulation and collaboration of the Dubcek-Svoboda clique have subdued the Czechoslovak people.

However, not only the Czechs, but also the Rumanians, the Hungarians, the Poles and the Germans have no great desire to link themselves with the new adventures of the Soviet revisionists. Now they are seeking to escape the fascist military yoke of Yakubovski and are making a thousand manoeuvres to dodge the pressure and the detested dictate of Moscow. Their reckoning is simple: the more problems the Kremlin has, the easier it will be for them.

The Soviet revisionist leaders’ policy of hegemonic and expansionist ambitions is a threat to Yugoslavia, too. At the present juncture the Soviet revisionist clique is having some contradictions with the revisionist leaders of Belgrade. Irrespective of from what basis and for what aims it sets out, it is a fact that Yugoslav Titoism has always combated the hegemony of the Soviet revisionists in the countries of Eastern Europe. Hence the friction between them.

The pressure and threats against Yugoslavia have been increased, especially before and after the intervention in Czechoslovakia. They are kept on the agenda and incited by the Soviet revisionists and their Bulgarian satellites as a counter-weight to Tito who is causing them problems in achieving their aims towards Rumania as quickly, «quietly and gently» as possible.

Regardless of whether or not the rulers of Moscow and Belgrade fall out once and for all, or stage a reconciliation and embrace each other again, one thing is certain: the leaders of the Kremlin know very well that any eventual attack by them on the borders of Yugoslavia would encounter a stern and heroic fight from the peoples of
Yugoslavia who have fought for their freedom and independence against foreign invaders throughout their whole history. Any aggression by the Soviet revisionists against Yugoslavia would be catastrophic for them from every point of view.

The line of political and ideological demarcation which divides us from the present Yugoslav leadership is already well-known. But while firmly maintaining the principles by which they are guided, and remaining loyal to their ancient progressive, anti-imperialist and freedom-loving traditions, the Albanian people, without any hesitation, will support the resistance of the peoples of Yugoslavia against aggression, just as in the past.

Now it is clear that, just like Hitler, the revisionist clique of the Soviet Union is preparing adventures one after the other, in order to arrive at a great conflagration. As we mentioned above, at the present stage, the Soviet revisionists are seeking to dominate their allies militarily, as you might say, to secure their internal front, but if this has gone easily up to now, the further adventurous step, the attack upon Yugoslavia and Albania, will not only cost the Soviet revisionists their heads, but will certainly be the prelude to a great world war, because neither Yugoslavia nor Albania are fresh figs which will slip lightly down the gullet of the Grechkos and Yakubovskis. They are hard bones which will stick into their throat and choke them.

This second phase would not only result in their military defeat, but would also have catastrophic political consequences on the whole front where the Soviet revisionists are trying to maintain their disguise as an anti-imperialist power and a liberating force.

Socialist Albania and the Albanian people, led by their Party of Labour, are impregnable and anyone who dares to attack them, will be wiped out without a trace.

The Soviet revisionists are concocting many aggressive plans. However, their road is full of insurmountable obstacles and will certainly lead them from defeat to defeat until they are finally destroyed. We believe that the Soviet peoples, too, will not permit themselves to be placed in the role of the German nazi hordes in the attacks which Hitler made on other peoples, and first of all, on the peoples of the Soviet Union. The great Soviet people, the Russian working class, the working people of the whole Soviet Union, who have great revolutionary traditions and who, in the past, have given brilliant proofs of their proletarian internationalism, will not permit the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade revisionist clique to turn them into invaders and plunderers of the freedom of other peoples. In no way will they permit the Homeland of the October Revolution, the Homeland of Lenin, Stalin and the Soviets, to be turned back into the Russia of the czars, into a gendarme of world reaction. The glorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which remain alive in the hearts of the ordinary Soviet people, can never be extinguished, however savage the revisionist oppression and however
cunning the propaganda of the usurper clique which is ruling in the Kremlin. The peoples of the Soviet Union are faced with a great historic responsibility, possibly the greatest with which they have ever been faced. The question must be put like this: either with the freedom-loving peoples against the aggressive plans of the Soviet revisionist traitorous clique, or with this clique against the freedom and independence of the peoples, the revolution and socialism. We believe that they will choose the honourable course, will raise the banner of the revolution again and liberate themselves from the revisionist plague which has afflicted them.

The chiefs of the Kremlin base their expansionist policy and their aggressive plans on the strength of tanks. But the Soviet army, which today is commanded by the degenerate clique of military-men, and is guided by a traitor ideology, which is based on reprisals and the policy of bayonets, does not and cannot have that solidarity, that fighting spirit and that strength which it displayed under the leadership of Stalin against the Hitlerites.

At that time the Soviet army had those qualities, because the army itself and its war had a liberation character. Now it has lost those qualities because it is no longer guided by Marxism-Leninism, and the principles of proletarian internationalism. Both Lenin in the leadership of the October Revolution and Stalin in the leadership of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, had great respect for and confidence in the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the working class and the peoples of the world, who made an outstanding contribution to the triumph of the Russian proletariat in the revolution and to the defeat of fascist Germany.

The present Soviet military clique has reached such a reactionary position that, in reality, it underrates this great fighting force for the defence of freedom, democracy and socialism. What was true and realistic in the correct evaluation by Lenin and Stalin and the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, when they spoke of the contribution and the aid of the world proletariat and the peoples, is only an empty slogan on the lips of the revisionists. The renegade chiefs of the Kremlin think that in case of aggression on their part the invincible, living vital force of the working class and the peoples would not be able to withstand the brute strength of the new fascists. This clearly reveals the megalomania of this clique of degenerate generals and marshals, who use the truly heroic past of the Soviet army only to boast and to make political speculations.

In fact they have reduced the Soviet army to a terrible state and are leading it on that catastrophic course on which the bourgeois military-men, Weygand, Pétain, and others, led the French army which triumphed in the First World War.

Hitler and Mussolini also had similar megal-
maniacal views about their military strength, and underrated and minimized the peoples' resistance. Based on this megalomania and this erroneous estimation, they thought they would suppress and subjugate the peoples by means of a «blitzkrieg». But the result was the opposite. And we say to the Soviet revisionists that it was not only the Soviet Union that experienced this «blitzkrieg» and the Hitlerite bombardments. The Albanian people, the Yugoslav people and other peoples experienced it no less than they. Although we were small, the Hitlerites were quite unable to wipe us out and defeat us, despite their «blitzkrieg» and their heavy attacks. We emerged victorious over them. It is true that we had the colossal military aid of the Soviet Union and other peoples, but in case you Soviet revisionists undertake an adventure like that of Hitler against us, we will not be alone and we will defeat you. You will remain isolated, just as Hitler was isolated.

The Soviet revisionists are drumming up accusations against us Albanians, alleging that we have forgotten the great contribution which the Soviet army made to the liberation of Europe, including the liberation of Albania. But we repeat to these gentlemen a hundred times over: the Albanians have not forgotten the role and the contribution of the Soviet army and Stalin in the liberation of Europe and Albania from the nazi plague. But the present-day Soviet army is no longer the Red Army of the October Revolution and the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, and the present-day

Soviet revisionist party is no longer the party of bolsheviks, of Lenin and Stalin. You have betrayed the revolution and the glorious traditions of the Soviet army while we, as Marxist-Leninists and genuine internationalists, have defended them and will defend them to the end, unreservedly.

The policy of blackmail and pressure which the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union are pursuing, is in favour of imperialism and encourages it to further intensify its aggressive activity against the freedom and independence of the peoples, and against the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries. The fact is that in the situation created by the revisionist betrayal, American imperialism is trying with all the means it possesses, with the force of arms, with dollars, with counterrevolutionary putsches, intrigues, blackmail, etc., to extend its political, economic and military domination and to enslave the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The revisionists want the peoples to retreat and capitulate in the face of the attacks of imperialism and to accept its yoke without resistance.

But nobody is deceived by this filthy propaganda. American imperialism is the savage and dangerous common enemy of all peoples of the world, the main inciter of aggression and war. Therefore, the freedom-loving peoples, the genuine revolutionaries of all countries, are not deceived and never forget the struggle against imperialism. They are uniting and strengthening their ranks more and more in the anti-imperialist front and
launching out into resolute struggle against the aggressive plans and activity of the USA and international reaction, with complete confidence in their inevitable victory.

Now the Soviet revisionist leadership is being squeezed in the grip of insoluble contradictions. The difficult situation it finds itself in, impels it towards adventures and the open use of military pressure. At the same time, its adventurism is arousing resistance and resolute struggle by the peoples everywhere, and this is making the situation even more difficult for the revisionist leadership. And it could not be otherwise. Now it has set out on the shameful road of fascist aggression which can lead it only to the grave. The peoples will not tolerate the occupiers and the local cliques sold out to the Soviets for long. The movement of resistance and opposition began long ago. It will build up and increase and burst out furiously in the open. The peoples whom they threaten with military force are not afraid and are not retreating in the face of pressure. They are standing vigilant and always ready to defend their freedom and independence to the end, to strike a mortal blow at any aggression, big or small, with or without modern weapons.

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**THE SIGNIFICANCE AND CORRECT ORGANIZATION OF ILLEGAL AND LEGAL WORK BY THE PARTY — A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF THE REVOLUTION**

From the talk with a delegation of the CP of Ceylon

May 17, 1969

The first to speak was the friend from Ceylon who, after expressing his thanks for the warm welcome, said: «At the time of the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia, we were very much aware of the threat to Albania, we welcomed your speeches and publicized them widely». Then Comrade Enver Hoxha began to speak: That difficult situation did not take us by surprise, we had foreseen it long before and were prepared. Our geographical position is such that it keeps us always on our toes, obliges us to be constantly vigilant, ready and mobilized at every moment.

Although the general situation is in favour of the revolution, the communists and the Marxist-
Leninist parties, we must, without fail, always be vigilant. For us Albanians, in particular, it is essential to be prepared, because our country is completely encircled by imperialist and revisionist states which are continually trying to damage and destroy us. Therefore, if we slacken our vigilance even for a moment or tone down our struggle against enemies in the least, they strike immediately like the snake that injects its poison before you are aware of it.

The betrayal by the Soviet revisionists is an event with grave consequences for the world-wide Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, the situation shows that while it is true they have great economic and armed strength, within their own country they are weak, very weak.

Our Marxist-Leninist doctrine teaches us that in war, it is men, their inspiration on the right road, and not armaments, which play the main role. The revisionist cliques, like the imperialists, have all the peoples against themselves. This is being proved day by day by the international situation which is developing in their disfavour and by the internal situation in the Soviet Union where, although we do not have precise facts, in our opinion, the political and economic situation is not at all favourable for the Soviet traitor chiefs. In the Soviet Union, the situation is in the hands of the marshals and generals with pronounced nationalist, fascist and imperialist tendencies. Such an evolution indicates that the Soviet revisionists do not have tranquility among the population and, in order to get out of the chaos into which they have fallen, the revisionists are trying to suppress the revolutionary movement which exists, as it must do, in their country. We do not know in what forms this movement is developing or how widespread it is, but the measures which the revisionists have taken to develop a fascist regime, clearly indicate the grave situation in the country and the revisionists' weakness.

The Khrushchevite traitors suffered a big defeat in Czechoslovakia, which they occupied true enough, but they will not subdue the Czechoslovak people. The Czechoslovak revisionist leaders proved to be weak and capitulated immediately. The anger which the Czechoslovak people displayed, sometimes in passive ways, sometimes with strikes and demonstrations, was kept in check by the leadership. If there had been stronger resistance in Czechoslovakia, especially armed resistance, events in Europe and in the Soviet Union itself would have developed in quite a different way. The Soviet traitor chiefs were terribly afraid of armed resistance, but they were saved from this by the submissive stand of the capitulationist Czechoslovak leaders.

In order to crush the Czechoslovak people with every kind of repression, Khrushchev's successors brought a new group to power in Czechoslovakia, headed by a certain Husak, a revisionist with authoritarian, fascist, nationalist tendencies, a more pliant group than that headed by the
revisionist Dubcek. By means of traitors like this, the Soviet revisionists are trying to realize their aims in Czechoslovakia bit by bit and to quell even that passive movement which exists there now. But the new czars of the Kremlin are still not sure of themselves and are afraid lest after a few years the new revisionists in Prague may turn over the page.

The Czechoslovak question made things very clear to all revolutionaries and the peoples, especially those of Europe, in two directions: first, it confirmed the correct common Marxist-Leninist line of all genuine communists in the world, the correctness of the struggle being waged for the exposure of this group of renegades and traitors of the Kremlin and their fascist-imperialist tendencies; it proved to the hilt that their «Marxist» facade is nothing but a bluff. Second, it proved the American-Soviet collaboration over the division of spheres of influence and the preparations which the Americans and the Soviets are making jointly for war against the peoples, against the national liberation movements, against socialism and against the Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world.

Our Party and all the other Marxist-Leninist parties have waged the struggle for the exposure of the fascist aggression against the Czechoslovak people properly, therefore this exposure has become very powerful. Of course, apart from Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists have other aims towards countries and peoples whom they consider their main and most determined opponents. But we think their most immediate ambitions are against Rumania and, to some degree, also against Yugoslavia and us.

In our opinion, the Rumanian leadership is revisionist-nationalist. In its ranks there must be both pro and anti-Soviet tendencies, but never on the Marxist-Leninist road. In the situation created after the occupation of Czechoslovakia and the undisguised display of Soviet intentions to invade Rumania, the Rumanian leadership adopted what you might call an opposition stand. At first, when Dubcek, who had undertaken the re-establishment of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, resisted, the Romanians spoke out more courageously against the Soviet revisionists, thinking that they would have some sort of protection from the United States of America and the other capitalist states of the West. However, after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, when they saw that the American imperialists did not move against the Soviet revisionists at all, then they lowered their tone.

We think that the difficulties which emerged for the Soviet traitors after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, ruined their plans for the invasion of Rumania. Naturally, we supported the stand of the Romanians against the Soviet revisionists, because this was in the interest of the communist movement and the world revolution.

In regard to the Yugoslav peoples, it must be said that they are brave. But we saw that, despite the fact that they have peoples of such mettle; during the events which took place the Yugoslav
leaders were scared by a possible Soviet invasion. In our opinion, the reason for this was not so much the immediate external threat as the fact that the position of the Titoite regime within Yugoslavia was very weak. Tito still wields influence in that country, but the internal contradictions which exist and are increasing day by day, between the Serbian bourgeoisie and the croatian-Slovenian and other bourgeoisies in Yugoslavia have created major national antagonisms which are endangering the unity of the Yugoslav state. This is the basis of Tito’s fear, lest the Soviets, through the Serbian chauvinists such as Rankovich and Co. from within, create a disturbed situation suitable for aggression. Nevertheless, we still do not believe that the Soviet revisionists are able to launch aggression against Yugoslavia. In our opinion, the threats which they made towards it were intended more to frighten Tito so that he would not incite the anti-Soviet resistance in Czechoslovakia or any other country, would not raise his voice about the Soviet pressure or the later armed invasion of Czechoslovakia. In these conditions, Tito took measures and «purged» the army of hundreds of generals, the overwhelming majority of whom were cadres of the National Liberation War, personalites and his close collaborators, accusing them of having weakened the Yugoslav defense and aroused chauvinist and nationalist tendencies throughout Yugoslavia. As far as we can see, Tito took these measures for his own internal interests, irrespective of the fact that for many reasons he himself, in our opinion, does not believe there will be a Soviet aggression.

Why do we think this?

First, because the Khrushchevites will have to think twice before they attack Yugoslavia, because it is not Czechoslovakia. If they are going to undertake an armed aggression against Yugoslavia, the Soviet revisionists will have to make their calculations well, because they are afraid of defeat, since the Yugoslav peoples will fight them with determination.

Second, because the economic interests of American, British and other capital in Yugoslavia are now exceptionally great. It has control of the whole Yugoslav economy. The industry of that country is completely in the hands of Anglo-American concerns. If Yugoslavia were invaded by the Soviets, the United States of America and the other imperialist countries, which have made big investments in Yugoslavia, would intervene to defend their economic interests.

Third, if it were to attack Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union would be faced with another important thing from the strategic angle, the NATO alliance and the American military aid to Yugoslavia. Hence, apart from the war which the Yugoslav peoples themselves would wage against a possible Soviet aggression, all the machine of NATO and the United States of America itself would be set in motion.

For all these reasons we think that Tito does not expect an aggression from the Soviets. How-
ever, he took measures, both within the country and in regard to the alliance which he has with the American imperialists, who call him the «leader» of the «non-aligned» world, although we know that he is their agent and not neutral.

At those moments when the Yugoslav leadership was threatened our Party considered it necessary to make the declaration which it published against the concentration of Soviet military forces in Bulgaria and the threat that they presented to Yugoslavia or Rumania. In the terms of the declaration, if Yugoslavia or Rumania are attacked, we will defend those countries, will take their side, but dotting the i’s as always, without hiding the irreconcilability of our views with those of the Titoites; moreover, we once again made known the ideological differences we have with the Rumanian leadership, too. We considered that such a resolute stand was in the interests of socialism and the defence of our Homeland, because if Yugoslavia is attacked it can be assumed that Albania will be attacked, too.

We are always prepared to defend the Homeland in case the enemy launches an armed attack on us. Our people are not afraid of war. Our friends and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties know this well, and the enemies are well aware of it, too.

1 In the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», April 11, 1969, in the article «Military Pressure — the Basis of the Dictate and the Political Blackmail of the Soviet Revisionist Leaders». See this vol. p. 85.
nally, where many Soviet agents are continuing
their work of subversion.

The Soviet revisionists are working in Yugo-
slavia, too, naturally with less success than in
Rumania, while Tito, on his part, continues to
preach the unity of the people, to attack the Ser-
bian bourgeoisie, and to rely more on the Croatian-
Slovenian bourgeoisie, etc.

The difficult situation even compels Tito to
make some concessions to the more than a million
Albanians in Kosova, of whom he is very afraid,
and therefore, to placate them, he has now allowed
them to open Albanian language schools and to fly
the Albanian flag.

In the circumstances which I mentioned above,
the Soviet revisionists, in collaboration with the
American imperialists, are now trying to calm the
situation in Europe, to preserve the status quo
here, with the aim of intensifying the war in Asia.

There are major contradictions in Europe. This
continent is ruled by capitalists and revisionists
who are proceeding to strengthen their fascist
dictatorships. They are ceaselessly attacking the
growing revolutionary forces and trying to patch
up the breaches which have been opened and are
opening day by day, but such a thing is hard to
achieve. All the many strikes which take place
almost every day in France, Italy etc., the great
monetary crisis in Britain, the crisis in the Com-
mon Market, the fall of De Gaulle, etc., indicate the
decayed state of all the European countries.

In this situation West Germany is trying to
play the role of the main European force in NATO.
It knows that without its existence, NATO and
the USA cannot balance the force of Soviet im-
perialism in Europe. The Soviet revisionists have
prepared two or three plans about «European se-
curity». This means that they want peace in
Europe under American-Soviet domination with
the aim that the Soviet revisionists can easily
keep all their satellites such as Poland, Czecho-
lovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and possi-
ibly also Rumania, in captivity; while the United
States of America puts the Chinese colossus in the
East under its control. Nevertheless, the situation
in Europe is revolutionary, therefore, we ought to
take great advantage of this. For the time being,
the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movements in
Europe are not strong, but they are recovering and,
despite their difficulties which are understandable,
in fact they are advancing day by day.

We recognize that the new Marxist-Leninist
parties and groups which operate in those countries
have three enemies on their backs: the capitalism
of their own country with its respective apparatus
of oppression, social-democracy, which plays the
role of strike-breaker, and Soviet revisionism with
the internal revisionists. The communist comrades
in those countries are trying to find the most
appropriate revolutionary roads on which to ad-
advance, but which at the same time are rather com-
plicated. The Marxist-Leninist elements who lead
these movements and parties are resolute in the
struggle against revisionism, but since, in most
instances, they come from the revisionist parties, they still retain the forms and methods of the struggle and work of revisionist parties, because they have been in their ranks for a long time. That is why there are occasions when they follow the same forms of struggle as the parties in which they formerly took part. Apart from that, there is always another great danger for the new Marxist-Leninist parties, that the bourgeoisie and the revisionists will insinuate their own people into their ranks for purposes of sabotage and subversion.

Let us take for example the revolutionary movement in Italy. A new Marxist-Leninist party which, in general, maintains a good stand has been created there. But there are three or four other groups in Italy which are quarrelling with one another over issues of principle, but also over issues which have nothing to do with principle. In these groups there are some good people and also some bad ones. In such conditions this new Marxist-Leninist party still does not have the possibilities to develop a wise policy, to go into action, to study the good and bad points of these groups, to talk with them to iron out their differences on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis. The people of these groups who know our stand of non-interference in their internal affairs, turn to us and beg us to speak about them, too. We have replied to them that since they are in agreement with one another on the main issues, the interests of the revolution require that they come to agreement among themselves and eliminate their differences on a Marxist-Leninist basis. In Austria and elsewhere, it is much the same as in Italy.

In this situation, our Party tries, to the best of its ability, to make its own line and that of the other Marxist-Leninist parties known everywhere and to combat Soviet revisionism, American imperialism and capitalism, in general, in Europe and throughout the world, with the greatest severity. With those limited possibilities and few propaganda means which our country possesses, our Party will try to assist our revolutionary comrades in Europe, Latin America and everywhere in a modest way, and at the same time, to consolidate its political, ideological, and militant positions within the country day by day. The struggle against hostile propaganda has great importance for us because the radiation of the capitalist revisionist propaganda in the direction of our country is great. Now there are dozens of enemy radio stations speaking against Albania every day.

It is very important for us to strengthen the internal situation in the country, to ensure the ideological and political mobilization of the whole people and, along with this, the realization of the economic plans, and first of all, the wide-scale military training of the whole people. The development of the work of our Party in every direction proves that things are going well with us, with continuous progress on all the problems simultaneously and one problem does not hinder the other from the material aspect.

Someone may ask: Where do the Albanians
find the time to work and learn, to gain political and ideological education and, at the same time do their military training? All these things — the work, the lessons, the education, the marches and military training, we are doing very well and we see that the deeper we go into these problems, the better things go with us.

In proportion to the size of our country, we have achieved major successes in the development of different branches of the economy, which are growing continuously. Our agriculture is progressing, the agricultural cooperatives are developing steadily on the Leninist road. This has colossal importance for us. Now our Party has given exceptional importance to raising yield rates, the training of cadres on an extensive scale and the extension of the agro-technical knowledge of the peasants. From the landless people they were at the start, our former poor peasants became people with land, because before collectivization, we carried out the land reform, then we went over gradually to complete collectivization, at first through the creation of agricultural cooperatives on the basis of the village, and later with the combination of them. In our country the mechanization of agriculture is increasing rapidly, swamps and marshes have been drained, whole plains have been systematized and the area under irrigation is growing to 45-50 per cent and even more of the total area of arable land. Day by day, our livestock farming is advancing further on the course of modernization. We are now giv-

ing special care to the harmonious development of the mountainous zones, where thousands and thousands of hectares of new land are being broken in for the cultivation of grain, for fruit growing, pastures, etc.

All this economic development and this ideological political uplift has helped to develop the situation that the peasantry itself now attacks the petty-bourgeois remnants in its consciousness, first of all, those connected with economic questions. The cooperativists, on their own initiative, are reducing the size of their personal plots, because they see concretely the steadily growing strength of the common economy which ensures them good incomes. Now bakeries, kindergartens and nurseries, dining-rooms and restaurants, trade service shops, schools, out-patient clinics, etc., have been built in nearly all the villages. In some cooperatives the food is taken out to the cooperativists where they are working in the fields, ready to eat and at very low prices. Thus, our peasantry is understanding better and better what socialism and collectivization mean and becoming fully convinced of the correctness of the course it is on. Proposals have come from the peasants themselves to collectivize their personal plots, although we tell them that they still need these plots until the time comes when, apart from bread and milk, the cooperative can guarantee them everything else they need, such as vegetable, fruit, eggs, etc., in more ample quantities.

Now another great movement has begun
amongst us. Groups of people, men and women, boys and girls are coming in an organized manner from the mountain villages to those of the plains and vice versa and they stay as one another's guests, live and work as in their own homes. The housewife gives the keys to the guests. This is a lofty gesture which expresses a great closeness and real fraternity among our people. They all work and prepare the meals together, get to know one another and learn from one another. Now our highlanders see that Albania is not that remote village of theirs, high in the mountains, with small houses, but relatively speaking, is a very much bigger place, therefore, when they make visits of the nature I mentioned, they are happy, they learn, and feel themselves at home, like brothers and sisters, wherever they go. This movement which is now developing on a broad scale is growing everyday.

In a village in the Vlora district, the initiative was taken to assist the new cooperatives in the mountains of the North. This initiative, which expresses the socialist solidarity amongst our peasantry, spread very rapidly. Thousands of sheep and goats and even cows were gathered from the cooperatives of the plains and sent as a gift to the remote highlands of our country. All these things have given a new impulse to cementing the unity of the people and raising productivity, to the building of social-cultural institutions and new houses in the villages. We are pleased to see that the desire for schooling and technical-scientific development is growing more and more each day.

Our industry is advancing, too. All the plans have been carried out successfully. Close links and co-operation between agriculture and industry have been established.

All this development of the economy raised the task that our school must respond to the needs of the development of production. It indicated to the Party the need to study the question of changing the whole school system with the aim of ensuring that our school for its part, also, plays a powerful and active role in the present period and in the future for the complete construction of socialist society. For more than a year we have been discussing what type of school we should have. Hundreds of thousands of ordinary people have taken part in the discussion of the theses of the Party on the revolutionization of the school and thousands are taking part in the commissions set up for this purpose. We are coming to the end of this study and in June, we think we shall hold the meeting of the plenum of the Central Committee in order to decide that schooling should involve even more of the masses, although this has already advanced enormously, so that no one in our country remains without schooling.

Our school will work from three aspects: from the aspect of lessons, that of productive labour and that of the physical and military training of the pupils and students, with all three having Marxist-Leninist education as their fundamental
direction. Marxist-Leninist education presupposes not only the teaching of Marxism-Leninism as a separate subject, but also the preparation of all the text-books of different subjects on the basis of our doctrine. Productive labour will be carried on in such a way that through it the intellectuals will gain the characteristics of the worker. The physical and military education of the students will be carried out along with the lessons and the work in production. These three components will be included in the programs of the schools of all categories.

Our Party is trying to ensure that the revolutionary movements for the construction of socialist society include all the spheres of life, so that none of them lags behind. We see that these movements have aroused great revolutionary enthusiasm among the people. The people are taking many initiatives and bureaucracy is being fought everywhere. The people themselves, the masses in the countryside and the city suburbs, discuss who should get a state bursary, who should be sent from the cooperative to work in an enterprise, who should be sent to higher schools, etc.

We are continually building houses, but we are still short of them because the demands of the people are increasing, but when new houses are built, the first to get them are those who have the greatest need, of course after the problem is discussed in the collective, the factory or the suburb. Thus, amongst us, the masses decide everything and it is known that there is no greater justice than that of the people. In order to cope with the need for housing, apart from houses which are built by the state, the Party organizes the masses in the suburbs and the factories to build new houses with voluntary labour after their working hours. The state supplies only material aid. In this way, during the last two years, thousands of apartments over and above those envisaged by the state plan have been built by voluntary labour. Apart from anything else, this has assisted to train thousands of carpenters and brick-layers, etc., from the ranks of working people and officials without carrying them through courses. During this work the officials, in particular, harden both their hands and their consciousness and form more correct concepts.

Nevertheless, we have had and still have many difficulties and we have shortages which we have overcome or certainly will overcome by persistently implementing the general line of the Party.

We are extremely pleased when we see that our communist comrades all over the world are scoring successes in their struggle. We greatly value the struggle of your Party, too, and we know the great difficulties which imperialism, capitalism and modern revisionism create for it, because we, too, have gone through the sort of situation which you are going through at present. We know that capitalism and the bourgeoisie in your country are more refined than they were in our country before Liberation. In our country the bourgeoisie was inexperienced and unorganized. It is different
for you who have an organized and very cunning bourgeoisie. Now, following the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists, the pressure on your Party and the difficulties have increased, but you are overcoming them successfully one by one, therefore we have great respect for your work, just as we have for the activity of all the Marxist-Leninists of the world.

We consider the struggle of your Party, like that of all the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups, a very important factor without which we, Albanians cannot advance, either. This is how our doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, teaches us to evaluate things.

We have followed the proceedings and decisions of your 9th Congress through the materials we have read and we greatly rejoice at your correct, realistic, and concrete Marxist-Leninist line built on the basis of the situation in Ceylon. Efforts to safeguard the principles and to apply them in the concrete material, political and economic conditions of each country are important. In our opinion, your Party has now greatly increased its strength. From what we have been able to learn, it is extending widely in the ranks of the working class in industry and in the plantations, and this has great importance for victory. We are convinced that your Party will march steadily forward, day by day, on the glorious revolutionary road.

We consider the strengthening of your Party an important factor not only for Ceylon but also for other countries. The open stands which you have adopted on many problems connected with the struggle against the revisionists are very important. Your stand in this direction is very correct and our views are identical on this question. The situation compels us not to come out openly like you as yet, against some new revisionist in Asia, but he thoroughly deserves exposure. We have spoken openly to some, but they also understand the criticism that we aim indirectly at them through the articles in our press. The stands of your Party are important, because it is clearly evident in them how greatly, unity of thought and action, even with a small party, assists our cause. In our great movement one party helps with its experience in one direction, another in another direction, but all together, in unity, they create that great force which will make the revolution in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

As far as we can see, in Europe the Marxist-Leninists have not yet managed to gain a proper understanding of the necessity for the organization of the activity of the Party in illegality and semi-illegality. The activity of the revisionists has a great influence here. Although they do not talk about following the parliamentary road, the new Marxist-Leninist parties aim to carry out all their activity in legal forms, just as the revisionist parties operate. It seems to them that they are not doing anything if they go into semi- or complete illegality. If they send some of the members of the party into illegality in order to become the main nucleus of all the activity of the party, they
think they are not working. Hence they do not understand the importance of the creation of a solid nucleus in the conditions of illegality.

In the time of illegality, when we were pursued by the fascists and the agents of quisling governments, every party committee brought out its own bulletin produced on duplicators, means which seem small but which were hard to find at that time. We had to attack the ministries to capture such means, and many of our comrades were killed during actions which we organized to secure materials of this nature, which are essential for the propaganda of the party. On one occasion, within one night in Tirana, our comrades dismantled a whole printing press in a private printery, which was set up elsewhere in illegality, in a place which the Party kept very secret. The struggle organized in illegality must be like this.

During the time of the war our leaflets were printed illegally on the printeries of the fascist state and private owners by our worker comrades whom the police did not suspect of such activity. The leaflets and newspapers of the Party were set up and printed illegally and distributed secretly, within the hour, in thousands of copies. The people were astounded about how the Central Committee, or this or that regional committee brought them out. Our people were well trained in how to work illegally and in the greatest secrecy in this field. They posed as if they were not communists, therefore the enemy was confused and did not know on whom to put the finger, because in the course of the struggle our comrades were taught how they should defend themselves from the enemy.

The organization of the work of the party in illegality has great importance and we must understand thoroughly that the enemy is not asleep. In order to know where you are and what forces you have, he may permit you to carry on some activities for a while, but later, he will soon find the opportunity to launch a surprise attack and wipe you out within a night. The revisionists are well acquainted with the methods of illegal struggle, they have experience, because they themselves have fought in illegality, and therefore they are exceptionally dangerous. The enemy must not be underestimated in any way, because he that underestimates him is always lost, but the enemy must not be overestimated, either. The important thing is not to fear the enemy, but to be able to understand its tactics. The American imperialists spend colossal sums in order to fight us. In Yugoslavia they have Tito on their side as well as other agents trained to fight communism. All those whom Tito sends as ambassadors to India, Egypt, Algeria, etc., are not simply diplomats but highly trained people. We say this because we know well what they are, because some of them have been in Albania, like the ambassador Josip Djerdja, or the youth delegate, like Disdarovich, etc., and have made every effort to defeat our Party.

The work with women and youth has colossal importance, too. Right from the start, our Party gave this problem great importance. This is ob-
vious from the fact that the majority of our fighters who fell in the National Liberation War were from twenty to twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. Thus, they were young people. They were consumed in the revolutionary fire. At the head of the revolutionary actions now, too, are the youth and the women, first of all, who constitute a great force, not only in work, but also in the ideological and political understanding of problems and putting the directives of the Party in practice. If we had not won over this great strength of the women, we would have encountered many obstacles on our course, because women have a great influence, either for good or for bad, within the family. Bearing in mind this great force of the women and the youth, we engaged them and mobilized them in the struggle against concepts which are linked with old prejudices. The reactionaries spoke of women with disdain. They said «women have long hair and short minds», but the reality in our country proves the opposite. The ability of women is very great. Today women are present in every field, everywhere in Albania and are successfully solving many problems, carrying out all the tasks with which they are charged, in a brilliant way. Apart from their valour and courage, the women of our country possess lofty virtues. A greater level of honesty can be seen among women than among men. Wherever material and monetary values are administered in our country, in general it is women who are employed. Now we have large numbers of women not only in the education and health services, but also in industry, in the trade network, in the economy, finance, etc. In the past, women in Albania did not have jobs at all, they were slaves of the house. Now they have taken wings and have even earned leading positions in the state, the organizations of the masses, the plants, factories, agricultural cooperatives, state farms and state institutions and the administration. The majority of them are young girls. They are displaying such great ability that even the most conservative old men are obliged to respect them.

In our country it was very difficult, especially for the peasant, to accept a young man in a leading position, let alone a 20 year old girl. However, the work of the Party and the ability of our women and girls themselves have smashed these concepts.

The youth constitute the new blood for the Party. Young men and women are people of sacrifice. People 40 years of age and older are able to do propaganda work, but when it comes to hurling themselves into struggle and work they do not have the same drive as the youth, because it is natural that they will be concerned about their homes, about their wives and children, about their health, etc., while the youth do not worry about these things, but throw themselves without hesitation into any job or struggle which the Party sets them, provided there is continuous work to educate and convince them.

We have a very good youth organization, but the revisionists tried to liquidate both this and the women's organization. «What do you need them
for?»; they said and indeed, in some other countries, they broke up the women's organization, while we, on the contrary, strengthened it more and more. The revisionists also wanted to corrupt our youth organization, however, our Party took no heed of their «advice» but did the opposite; it ceaselessly instructed and took concrete measures to ensure that the youth was continuously tempered and strengthened.

Our Party has directed its efforts to ensure a thorough understanding of what tasks the organizations of the Front, the trade unions, the youth and the women have, with the aim that their activities should not be mixed up, in this way confusing the competences and tasks of one another. They have common tasks, but they also have specific tasks. All these, of course, were defined in the course of the struggle and during the whole time these organizations and powerful levers of the Party have gained great experience, both in their joint work and in their specific work. Our Party has specified the aid which it gives each of them with the objective that it should surround all our people with its own teachings and set them in motion, because, besides the working class, as the leading class, the youth and the women, each have special problems.

We thank you for the visit which you have made and invite you to come to Albania as often as you have the possibility. I wish you a good journey and success in the struggle which your Party is waging, which we consider our own struggle. We assure you that we will fight to the end with even greater intensity for our great common cause, for the triumph of the proletarian revolution throughout the world and in this direction we have the aid of your Party and all the Marxist-Leninist comrades in the world.

Please convey the warmest greetings from me and all my comrades of the Political Bureau to the party members and the leading comrades of your Party.

I wish you a good journey and success!
THE SOVIET-AMERICAN ALLIANCE AT WORK AGAINST THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

May 23, 1969

Today there is nothing so anti-popular and detested by the peoples of the world as the aggressive collaboration of the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists against the freedom and independence of the peoples, against the revolution and the efforts for the progress of human society. In Vietnam or in Czechoslovakia, in the Middle East or on the banks of the Ussuri River, in the Mediterranean Sea or the Sea of Japan, wherever there are conflicts and tense situations, there the grasping claws of this sinister, ultra-reactionary alliance are always at work.

By the moment at which they occurred and in the way they were carried out, the events in Czechoslovakia once again confirmed not only the existence of a Soviet-American plot for the division of spheres of influence and the establishment everywhere of their political, economic and military hegemony, but also the fact that this plot is being put in practice. The Pontius Pilate stand which the United States of America and the other Western powers adopted towards the aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia reveals all the cynicism and baseness of this monstrous imperialist-revisionist machination. The recent changes that were brought about in the top hierarchy of Prague are further testimony to this truth.

It is entirely understandable that, having the noose around their necks, the Kremlin chiefs would do their utmost to establish if not the «normalization» so greatly desired, at least the appearance of it, in Czechoslovakia. After the fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia, a very difficult situation was created for the Soviet leaders. Their features as social-imperialists and social-fascists were plainly revealed. Their efforts to present their armed aggression as «internationalist aid» were quite unable to deceive international public opinion which rose in anger against them. The Czechoslovak people's resistance was building up. The Dubcek capitulationist clique proved to be neither completely ready, nor in a position to carry the will of the Soviet invaders through to the end, to create a stable situation in favour of them in Czechoslovakia. The ground was smoldering under the feet of the Soviet invaders.

But the Czechoslovak issue and especially the
difficulties which the Soviet revisionists encountered after their occupation of Czechoslovakia, had serious consequences for the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique within the Soviet Union also, in further deepening the contradictions within the ranks of the Soviet leadership and increasing the discontent and opposition of the people to its treacherous imperialist line. At the same time, their relations with their friends and allies abroad, with the various revisionist parties and different peoples, became worse. The contradictions among the revisionists became more acute, the mistrust towards the Soviet leading clique increased, the prestige of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the revisionists was badly shaken and hit rock-bottom.

Czechoslovakia became a very dangerous running sore for the Soviet revisionists. The further continuation of the situation created there would have brought very grave consequences for the Kremlin clique and its entire policy.

Without creating a certain appearance of «normalization» of the Czechoslovak crisis, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique would be unable to go on deceiving the Soviet peoples and avoid the imminent outburst of the people’s anger against it. Without closing the Czechoslovak wound in some way, the Soviet leaders would be unable to placate their allies in the revisionist countries who are living with the fear that what happened in Czechoslovakia might happen to them, too, and to appease the indignation of the various revisionist parties and restore some of their lost prestige.

Finally, as the recent meetings of the preparatory committee in Budapest and Moscow proved, without finding some way to temporarily ease the Czechoslovak crisis, the Soviet revisionists would be unable to call the shattered and disoriented revisionist parties together in their capital on June 5, as long as the Czechoslovak issue was not settled, at least formally. They are well aware that in order to be on good terms with their bourgeoisie and avoid its harmful propaganda, their Italian, British, Scandinavian and other friends could not willingly set out for Moscow unless first the impression of the «normalization» of the Czechoslovak situation had been created and the process of the rehabilitation of the Moscovite invaders had begun.

But how could this be achieved? There were two ways: either to withdraw the occupation troops from Czechoslovakia, a thing they could never do, or to bring to power another team, more suitable and capable of carrying out their aims even though this team might not be absolutely ideal for the Soviet clique. They chose the second course — they removed Dubcek and placed Gustav Husak at the head of the Czechoslovak revisionist party. In order to carry out this scheme, they used every means, ranging from provocations, espionage and blackmail to promises and threats, sending the Soviet Minister of Defence, Marshal Grechko in person, to Prague for this purpose.

But it is a fact that in carrying out this operation, the Soviet leaders had the full backing and
support of the American imperialists and internal and foreign reaction. Throughout this entire period, the latter were careful to avoid adding to the Soviet leaders’ troubles in Prague. This American concession was, of course, made not without ulterior motives. This is a concession, indulgence, for which the revisionist gentlemen of Moscow will not fail to compensate their Washington partners four-fold. The indifference shown over the removal of the Dubcek team, which until recently had enjoyed all the sympathies of the Western bourgeoisie and reaction, shows that, as against the major interests of the Soviet-American alliance, the fate not only of this team but of Czechoslovakia as a whole, is simply a token to be bartered. Nixon felt that the Soviet chieftains could not commence the summit talks with the American imperialists to complete their joint schemes against socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples without first putting their own backyard in order. Richard Helms, the head of the CIA, spoke openly of this to representatives of the American businessmen on May 11. «The American-Soviet relations in the future will depend on what way the Kremlin leaders have solved their own problems with the countries of the communist bloc,» he declared. On the other hand, «normalization» in Czechoslovakia would, to a certain extent, appease American public opinion, which, after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, is not so willing to approve the immediate commencement of the planned Soviet-American talks.

In the existing situation, the changing of guards in Prague, though not a complete and final solution, helps the formation of a scar over the wound, so that the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists can conclude the deals they have in mind.

It is true that after August 21, last year, Dubcek and his team had totally capitulated to the occupation and betrayed the supreme interests of the Czechoslovak people. But for the Soviet leaders it was not enough. They want to rule Czechoslovakia through a «Czechoslovak leadership», which will be loyal and obedient to their orders and at the same time, will be strong and capable of crushing the people’s resistance. Due to the circumstances under which it came into being and the existing conditions, the Dubcek team lacked these attributes. It never succeeded in becoming a compact leading group, which knows what it wants and acts energetically to attain its objectives. Dubcek’s boat was swamped in the waves which the Soviet revisionist occupation of Czechoslovakia and his own capitulationist and traitorous line whipped up.

The Soviet revisionist propaganda is now making a lot of noise to present the new Czechoslovak quisling, Husak, as a «strong hand» who allegedly defends the interests of Czechoslovakia and is capable not only of establishing order in the country, but also of creating correct mutual relations with the Soviets. Moreover, the Western bourgeoisie, too, is echoing this propaganda and
Dubcek's former ardent supporters are at a loss for words to sing the praises of Husak's «virtues». A truly surprising orchestration! «His patriotism as a Czechoslovak cannot be questioned», writes the American paper «The Christian Science Monitor». The influential newspaper of the French bourgeoisie, «Le Monde» responds, «Husak is by no means 'unconditionally' an agent of the Soviets». On the other hand, Emil Zatopek, the authorized spokesman of Czechoslovak reaction, states: «I share Husak's opinion and admire his nationalism. He is a real politician».

That Husak is a Slovak national-chauvinist, is an extremely well-known fact. But why, among all that great bunch of collaborationists now gathered in Prague, did the Soviets pick precisely on a Slovak nationalist who, without doubt, leans towards the Soviets, but still is not one hundred percent one of their men? The fact is that not only on August 21, but even long after that, Husak's name did not figure on the list drafted by the new czars of the Kremlin for their lieutenant in Prague. By placing a publicly known ultra-nationalist and anti-Marxist at the head of the leadership of the Czechoslovak revisionist party now, despite the fact that he may cause them more than a few problems, the Soviet leaders ensure their hegemony in Czechoslovakia and, at the same time, give the latter the appearance of an «independent» state. They know that in order to strengthen the positions of the Slovak bourgeois nationalists to the detriment of the Czechs, Hungarians and others, Husak will always need the support of Moscow, which will be given him in dribs and drabs and to the extent that he is ready to carry out its orders and defend its interests. After all, as far back as history records, national division has been the favourite weapon of invaders. On the other hand — and those at the Kremlin are very careful about this — the existence of a nationalist at the head of the Czechoslovak leadership gives the Western bourgeoisie the possibility of justifying its indifference to the fate of Czechoslovakia and acceptance of its occupation by the Soviet revisionists. Hence, it is quite clear that in Moscow they have thought this over well and have decided to put up Husak, bearing in mind which way the sympathies of the Western ruling circles run.

From whatever angle you look at them, the events in Czechoslovakia reflect the collusion and conspiracies of the Soviet revisionists with the American imperialists, both of whom, in order to safeguard their own selfish interests and to carry out their counterrevolutionary plans, are always prepared to trample underfoot and sacrifice the freedom and independence of the peoples, their national honour and dignity. In 1939 Czechoslovakia was sacrificed in order to satisfy Hitler's aggressive appetite, in the hope that this would help strengthen the alliance of the big Western powers with fascist Germany, in order to protect their own imperialist interests and to push Germany eastwards, towards the Soviet Union. Now, too, Munich has been repeated. Now, too, Czechoslovakia has
been abandoned by the Western powers and left to the mercy of aggressors. Just as the Western bourgeoisie called on the Czechoslovak people to display «discretion», «realism» and submission, thirty years ago, now, too, it is not failing to repeat the same slogans. The attitude of the Vatican, this most authoritative representative of international reaction, is typical. «Confronted with Moscow’s stand,» wrote its weekly «Osservatore della Domenica» on April 23, this year, «the Czechoslovak realists must yield, because they have no other way out.»

Certain other actions which «by coincidence» assumed greater development and accompanied the recent events in Prague also confirm that big deals had been struck at the expense of the Czechoslovak people for the sake of the greater interests of the Soviet-American «holy alliance». The most important of these are the plans of American imperialism on the Vietnam issue, the proposals of the Soviets and their allies of the Warsaw Treaty about «European security», etc.

As a matter of fact, these problems were on the agenda even before, but some new aspects in connection with them have shown up recently. Thus, for a long time the Soviet leaders have been sparing no effort to help the American imperialists out of the impasse they have got into in Vietnam. But since Nixon’s coming to office, these efforts have been intensified and the collaboration of the Soviet revisionists in helping attain American aims has become more open. The fact is that in presenting his new 8-point plan for the so-called political settlement of the Vietnam issue, the American president did not conceal that the backing of the Soviet leaders, their intervention with the Hanoi government, is absolutely indispensable to its implementation. In other words, Nixon says to the Soviet leaders: «Pay your debt. We helped you in Czechoslovakia, you must reciprocate by helping us in Vietnam». Their mutual concessions open the way for the implementation of new counterrevolutionary schemes of the Soviet-American «holy alliance».

The Soviet revisionists’ policy of so-called European security must be seen in the context of these political concessions and deals. The Khrushchevite revisionists have called for «European security» at other times, but the West has turned a deaf ear to them. Formerly, the Soviet plan was made conditional on the recognition of the German Democratic Republic and its eastern and western borders, while the new plan differs both in substance and direction. For instance, it no longer mentions the German Democratic Republic, nor the western borders of Poland and Czechoslovakia. The leading circles in NATO and, especially Bonn, noticed this «oversight» with special satisfaction. The Western news agencies gave wide publicity to the speech delivered in the Bundestag on April 23, by the West-German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Willy Brandt, who, according to them, «reconfirmed» on this occasion, that the Soviets had informed Bonn that the post-war realities (the existence of East Germany, the Oder-Neisse
line, etc.) did not constitute a precondition for the holding of a European Conference. What does this mean?

The deal at the expense of the interests of the German Democratic Republic and Poland is quite clear here. In this way, the Soviet revisionists are trying to secure their flanks in Europe in order to concentrate their forces on the PR of China.

But, while the Soviet policy of «European security» has raised hopes in the West, it has caused no little unease among the partners of the Warsaw Treaty and, above all, the German Democratic Republic and Poland, which have sensed that it is they who will pay the price of this «security». It is interesting to note that, while the Soviet propaganda does not lay down any precondition for calling the meeting on «European security» and moreover emphasizes that there will be no such preconditions, the Polish propaganda lays down very clearly defined conditions. For instance, a recent article in the Polish theoretical journal «Nowe Drogi», in polemics with the Soviets and in opposition to the text of the Budapest «Call», writes: «It goes without saying that recognition by the FGR of all existing borders, the Oder-Neisse border and the border between the GDR and the FGR, as well as renunciation by the government of the FGR of its atomic aspirations and its claims to represent the whole German nation. are the basic premises of the European security system».*

* Emphasis is ours.
sacrifice and know only too well that without freedom there is no national dignity and no socialism. Their only road to salvation is to resort to all means of struggle up to armed combat, against the foreign invaders and local traitors. The workers and peasants, the women and youth, and the patriotic intellectuals of Czechoslovakia will rise in struggle against the foreign invaders to make life in that country intolerable and impossible for them, will drive them from the sacred soil of their Homeland and restore the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this just struggle they will not be alone. They will have the solidarity and backing of all the revolutionary forces and the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

The events in Czechoslovakia are a great lesson and warning to all peoples of the danger which the Soviet-American alliance constitutes to their freedom and independence. The freedom and independence of any people, the right to be sovereign and to develop in conformity with their own conditions and desires, are defended not only where state borders begin and end, or on the day the enemy breaks down your door and violates your home. They are defended every day and every hour, in a blow for blow fight with the imperialist and revisionist enemies, who never rest and never give up their designs of subjugating all countries, big or small, wherever they are.

But the criminal schemes of the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists will be defeated by the united strength of the revolu-
ON THE EVE OF THE REVISIONIST FARCE IN MOSCOW

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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They say that the meeting of the revisionist parties will finally take place on June 5, this year. The farce that was begun five years ago by Nikita Khrushchev and zealously played through by his successors, is now ending in a truly ridiculous performance in Moscow. One cannot recall how many meetings and conferences of so-called initiator, consultative, preparatory, drafting and other groups, commissions and committees, have been held during this period. One cannot recall how many communiques have been issued, how many statements published, how many dates and timetables have been fixed for this meeting of renegades. Its history is the history of the disintegration and political and ideological degeneration of the whole of modern revisionism and, first and foremost, of Soviet revisionism. It is the history of the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, the history of the gradual but definite transition of revisionism to its most counterrevolutionary extreme, to social-imperialism and social-fascism. It has cost the chiefs of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union great efforts and toil to gather together the representatives of the divided, corrupted and disintegrated revisionist parties. They have had to resort to great pressure, threats, trickery and blackmail and have spent many roubles to force the other partners to attend this general meeting of revisionists.

For the Kremlin chiefs, the question of convening a broad revisionist assembly has been not only a major matter of prestige, but also one of the most worrying problems of their course closely linked with their global strategy and their policy of hegemony and expansion. During these five years, the objectives of the meeting have changed a number of times in conformity with the political situations through which Soviet Khrushchevite revisionism was passing and with the preoccupations and problems facing it during one period or another. But, right from the beginning down to this day, the main objective of the Soviet leaders has been to rally all the revisionist forces around themselves, to exert their complete ideological, political and organizational control over the revisionist front and to launch it unhesitatingly and without reserve into struggle against the revolution and socialism and the Marxist-Leninist parties. For the renegade chiefs of the Soviet Union
their absolute domination over the other revisionist parties has been and still is one of the main foundations of their domination over the Soviet peoples and their deception of world public opinion. Had they not had a foreign clientele which, like it or not, had to cheer for them, it could hardly be imagined that they would still be able to keep up the disguise of «communism», «proletarian internationalism», and Marxist phraseology, with which their demagogy and fraudulent propaganda is packed.

As a result of the powerful blows and the consistent principled struggle which the Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist parties have waged against modern revisionism, and, in particular, against Soviet revisionism, the opportunist line of the renegades who are ruling in the Soviet Union has been thoroughly unmasked, their treachery has been laid bare and their criminal schemes have been exposed. On the other hand, their own activity against the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples, their ever closer collaboration with imperialism and reaction and, finally, their recourse to open, aggressive, colonialist acts against other peoples, have made their isolation more complete and further reduced that little authority and prestige they still had left.

Under these conditions, the meeting of the so-called international communist forum under the aegis of the Soviet revisionist chiefs, is an effort to pull themselves out of this quagmire. They need a good conduct certificate from this «forum» in order to persuade the Soviet peoples that they are not isolated, that their domestic and foreign policies are «Marxist-Leninist» policies which have the approval of the «world communist movement» and that Moscow remains the «centre» of this movement, as always. Therefore, the discontented, those who criticize them and those who have revolted against their policy, in particular, should shut up and submit.

In the field of foreign policy, the Soviet chiefs want to utilize the revisionist general meeting for ulterior purposes. They would like to publicize the fact that it is convened in their capital and presided over by them as approval of their line by «world communism».

But their ambitions, desires and hopes are one thing and the reality is another. The revisionist meeting in Moscow is being held in a situation which is extremely difficult for the whole revisionist front. Not only is there no international unity and collaboration among the revisionist parties today, but they are split and disorganized both internally and externally. Following the example and tradition of bourgeois parties, they are eroded by opportunism and liberalism, by factions, by careerist struggles for power, etc., and the bulk of them have turned into bourgeois nationalist parties which are concerned only to further the narrow interests of the national bourgeoisie. The policy of interference and pressure which the Soviet leaders have pursued towards these par-
ties has driven them further on this course. The many vicissitudes associated with the preparations for this meeting indicate, perhaps better than anything else, the great decline and the grave situation that exists in the relations among the revisionist parties. The successive campaigns launched by the leaders of the Soviet Union to get this revisionist conference together not only failed to lead to compatibility of views or coordination of joint actions, but made their differences still deeper and their contradictions more acute. Now the opposing attitudes of the various partners have fully crystallized and taken concrete shape. Attempts to escape from Soviet tutelage and hegemony constitute one of the main features that characterize the internal conflict on the revisionist front.

The aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia not only made their relations with the other revisionist parties much more tense but provided the latter with the formal justification to oppose Soviet hegemony and to keep alive their centrifugal aims which, in many cases are very far-reaching.

This is not the main consequence of the aggression against Czechoslovakia. The main thing is that it made clear that the relations of the revisionist parties with those who have usurped the leadership of the Soviet party can be only relations of submission, servile obedience and of blind implementation of their dictate. If they resorted to armed violence in Czechoslovakia, they will use other means to subjugate the disobedient parties or to organize coups in them and to promote leaders to their liking at the head of the states where they cannot send their tanks.

Hence, on the eve of this meeting the situation is rather uncomfortable for the Soviet revisionists, but, just as they occupied Czechoslovakia and reduced the Czechoslovak revisionist party to «obéissance», they have to dominate the other revisionist parties politically and organizationally, too.

In the existing situation, the various revisionist groups do not seem to be very willing to accept the foreign policy of Moscow one hundred per cent. If they are united in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, they are divided over those issues on which the Soviet policy is contrary to their national interests, squabbling over dominant positions and superiority in various zones, etc. Having renounced the principles of proletarian internationalism, their relations with one another are full expression of irreconcilable national and international contradictions of the bourgeoisie. Each of the parties wants the conference to support and advertise those theses and principles which it propagates and implements in its own country regardless of whether they are contrary to those of the other parties.

After all these years, and despite their mutual compromise and concessions, the preparatory commissions have not yet been able to formulate a joint text for the final communique. When it
emerges, we shall see what this creation of the revisionist «collective wisdom» will be like.

The fact is that the revisionist meeting in Moscow, designed by Nikita Khrushchev, on the calling of which his successors have expended all their energies, is now ending in a desperate effort to establish peace among the participants in it.

The disputes, contradictions and disintegration of the revisionist front reached their climax with the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia. On the eve of the meeting, the rulers of the Soviet Union are making great efforts to surmount the Czechoslovak obstacle. It was to this end that changes were made in the Prague leadership and a series of other steps were taken. Now, the Kremlin chiefs are making Husak some gifts and many enticing promises. For instance, it is said that they have opened their purse and are to give Czechoslovakia considerable credits in gold rubles to prop up its national economy which is steadily declining. Moreover, Grechko has promised that he will soon begin to withdraw some of his troops from Czechoslovakia, allegedly as the first phase of a total evacuation. These manoeuvres, of course, are intended not only to consolidate the internal and external positions of the Husak team, but also to create the impression that the occupation of Czechoslovakia is a thing of the past. If this objective could be realized, it would eliminate the main argument of certain disobedient revisionist parties, which are making their participation in the Moscow meeting conditional on the «normalization» of the situation in Czechoslovakia. Moreover, if a favourable impression could be imposed, then the possibility that the aggression against Czechoslovakia may become the main issue at the Moscow meeting, which would completely ruin the plans of the Soviet rulers, would be diminished.

But, despite all the efforts by the Soviet chiefs; certain revisionist parties have let it to be understood that at the meeting they will not pass over the «Czechoslovak issue» in silence. For many revisionist parties, especially for those in Western Europe, this has now become not only an argument to show to the bourgeois parties that they are independent of Moscow, but also a means of defence against the hegemonic interference and pressure of the Soviet leaders.

Undoubtedly, the revisionist chiefs of the Soviet Union would have liked to have the present Moscow meeting approve a document that would express the whole ideological and political line of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, that would endorse the Brezhnevian theory of «limited sovereignty», and the «new proletarian internationalism», that is, complete submission and servile obeisance to the Soviet leaders. They would have liked to have the conference recognize the right of the Soviet revisionists to intervene in and launch aggression against other countries, in order to justify the counterrevolutionary Soviet-American alliance...

Faced with the opposition of the other partners and with the alternative of holding no meeting at
all, the Soviet revisionists were obliged to retreat. They proved to be «magnanimous» and agreed to a so-called limited and unitary agenda, which they dubbed «the current tasks in the fight against imperialism and the unity of action of communist and workers’ parties».

From the limited facts and comments published in the revisionist press, it seems that the principal document drafted by the preparatory committee is a blank sheet of no value whatsoever. It commits no one to anything, either in words or in practice, and has been formulated in such a way that all can sign it without any hesitation.

As for the problem of «the fight against imperialism», which, according to the agreed agenda, the conference is to discuss, every one understands that this is an empty phrase devoid of any political meaning, tangible content and practical action. Here the demagogy reaches such a degree of absurdity that it turns into something entirely ridiculous. Who are «the knights of the round table» gathered now in Moscow, and against which imperialism will they fight? The Soviet revisionists, who themselves are imperialists of the worst kind, and who are linked in close alliance with their partners of the USA, or the revisionists of the western countries, who are identifying themselves with their imperialist bourgeoisie? Will those who occupied Czechoslovakia and who are brandishing their sabres against other countries, or those who have become standard-bearers of counterrevolution in their own countries, fight imperialism?

One fact alone is sufficient to show what a clumsy fraud is the demagogy about the fight against imperialism which the revisionist meeting intends to take up for discussion. The preparations for the Moscow meeting have been made at the same time as the preparations for the summit talks between the new Nixon administration and the Soviet government, at the same time as the Geneva talks between the Soviets and the Americans are taking place in peace and tranquility about matters regarding their nuclear monopoly and about imposing disarmament on peoples, as the two big powers are negotiating with a view to dividing up the Middle East, as the USA blesses the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and makes no secret of its hope that «Moscow will urge Hanoi to come to an agreement», as Nixon puts it.

It is clear to every one that the real stand of the conference is not that which will be proclaimed in the orations of those taking part, nor that contained in the documents which it will approve. Its real stand is that which is applied in practice, on the concrete daily issues. And practice shows that the attitude of the revisionists is not only pro-imperialist, but much more than that. It is a stand of open collaboration with imperialism, the objective of which is to suppress revolution and undermine the liberation struggles of the peoples, to liquidate socialism and preserve capitalism. The counterrevolutionary Soviet-US alliance is now a
fact of international daily life, against which the peoples have embarked on a life-and-death struggle.

The revisionists are making a big fuss in connection with the forthcoming Moscow meeting, and pretending that it will strengthen and consolidate their unity. This is another bluff, another empty claim. There has not been and never will be unity among anti-Marxist-Leninists, traitors and renegades. The split in the present revisionist parties is neither a fortuitous nor a temporary phenomenon. It is the result of their opportunistic, capitulationist line, a result of opposing interests. On the eve of their meeting in Moscow, almost all the revisionist parties have not only spoken of the existence of differing views and appraisals among them on many political and ideological issues and international relations but have also stressed that they will defend them stubbornly in Moscow and will stick to them after the meeting as well. And these are not differences over literary styles or preferences in sport. They have to do with concrete stands on fundamental issues, like their stand towards that imperialism about which they are going to talk or towards the Soviet Union itself. One can indulge in demagoguery about unity, this costs nothing, but in practice it neither convinces nor deceives anyone.

In considering the situation on the eve of the revisionist meeting in Moscow, the emergence of a new factor cannot fail to strike the eye: that is, the special interest of the US imperialists and the world bourgeoisie in this meeting of «communists». Its general anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary direction undoubtedly attracts the attention of world reaction like a magnet. The calculations of imperialism and reaction are simple. They are afraid of the revolutionary movement and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, but they are not worried by the existence of revisionist parties and the present policy they are pursuing even under Soviet hegemony, because far from constituting a danger to bourgeois democracy, they are a real embellishment of it. Their presence in the capitalist states, their appearance as opposition leftist forces, creates the illusion of political freedom and of the democratic rights of the working people, and this is essential to a society with developed class struggle. After the failure of social-democratic parties, who better than the revisionist parties can play the role of scabs, saboteurs and wreckers of the revolution? Are the French or the Italian revisionists not playing this despicable role in Europe? Is not the example of the revisionist parties of Latin America not typical? On orders received from Moscow, these parties have turned into detachments of the struggle against the revolution in their own countries, into parties of compromise and national betrayal. Their recent legalization by the military dictatorships has not been done without the «wise counsel» of Uncle Sam in Washington. The US imperialists are not much disturbed if these opportunist groups occasionally utter a few words against them. They
know that words are words and deeds are deeds. Moreover, it is essential that the revisionists should pose as anti-imperialists, otherwise they would quickly expose themselves and become of no use.

Before they go to the present general meeting, the revisionists have also held separate meetings. Those in Moscow, Budapest, and Karlovy Vary are well known. After each of them, the Soviet leaders, who have also been their organizers, have shouted and screamed about their «success», have bragged about the «consolidation of unity», about their «joint activities», about their «common ideology, policy and interests». Before long they have set to work to call another meeting. But experience has shown that the revisionists' boasts have been stale demagogy to cover up their failures, to cover up the deepening of the divisions, disintegration and disorganization of the revisionist front. There is no doubt whatsoever that this revisionist general meeting in Moscow will share the same fate as the former ones. It cannot end otherwise than in ignominious failure.

The present revisionist meeting is based on the fight against Marxism-Leninism, against the genuine revolutionary parties, on the mobilization to wreck the revolution and undermine the liberation struggle of the peoples. However, history has proved that betrayal of the proletariat and socialism leads but to bankruptcy and defeat. And the present revisionists, who have raised the tattered banner of counterrevolution and want to reverse the development of society, cannot be any excep-

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tion to this rule. Their course leads them to their doom, and the resolute struggle of the working class and the proletariat, of the Marxist-Leninists and genuine revolutionaries, will certainly push them into their grave.

By organizing the Moscow meeting of traitors, the revisionist chiefs assume a major responsibility before the international communist and workers' movement and the working people of the whole world. The proletariat of all countries can never forgive the revisionist cliques for this dirty undertaking the aim of which is to attack and split the forces of the revolution, to undermine Marxism-Leninism and socialism. The proletariat cannot remain indifferent towards the endeavours of the revisionists and the bourgeoisie, who are trying to deceive it and lead it astray to oppress it and clamp the shackles of capitalist slavery on it more firmly.

It is up to the Marxist-Leninists to rise boldly and with determination against this new plot, to expose the revisionist cliques of usurpers and strike them down mercilessly, to isolate them and smash them once and for all. The genuine communists and revolutionaries cannot avoid this great duty they have. Whether inside or outside the revisionist parties, they must fan the flames of the revolutionary struggle in order to free the working masses from revisionist influence, which has misled them, and hurl them into struggle against the renegade cliques. They must smash the chains with which the revisionist chiefs keep
the working people, the rank-and-file party members and the lower cadres bound, through bold concrete actions.

The course of the blow for blow struggle against the revisionist cliques, for isolating and mercilessly exposing them, is the only correct course to smash and liquidate the modern revisionists and ensure the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. This is also the correct course for the formation and consolidation of new Marxist-Leninist parties, loyal to the end to the genuine ideology of the working class and to the strengthening of proletarian internationalism, the course that leads to the triumph of the revolution over counter-revolution.

OPEN FIRE ON THE REVISIONIST BETRAYAL

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

June 10, 1969

The proceedings of the Moscow revisionist meeting are clearly demonstrating its anti-Marxist character. It is obvious that its organizers are aiming to set up a counter-revolutionary bloc, a yellow International in the service of the Soviet revisionists and in collusion with imperialism against the revolution and communism, against the freedom and independence of the peoples. The present conference of the revisionists will put the seal on their betrayal of communism, and the final separation of the Marxist-Leninists from the revisionists. With this, the revisionists assume a grave responsibility before the international working class, before the world revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement. They condemn themselves to the sternest and most merciless punishment of history.
The anti-Marxist nature of this meeting of revisionists, which they were pleased to call «a meeting of international communism», is also apparent from the fact that neither Brezhnev, nor any of the other twenty or so orators who have spoken so far, has made any mention whatsoever of the 1957, or 1960 Moscow Declarations. A genuine communist meeting cannot escape making an analysis of who has and who has not applied the principles of these Declarations, and making an earnest Leninist self-criticism, or criticizing those who have violated them.

Since 1957 and 1960, a great deal of water has flowed under the bridge: the betrayal by Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites has spread and caused very great damage to international communism. The Soviet-US imperialist collaboration, the Cuban crisis, the fascist occupation of Czechoslovakia, the anti-Albania designs, the betrayal of the struggles of the Vietnamese and Arab peoples, the subversion within the communist movement, the sabotage of the revolutionary and national liberation struggles of the peoples, and so on, are only some of links in the chain of revisionist betrayals. Why are these events not being analysed? Are they not of a character important to the communist movement?

But the revisionists, who have betrayed communism, who are rabid anti-Leninists, are not interested in this. They want to bury these documents which are obstacles on their course of betrayal. If an analysis were made of these docu-
ments, it would lift the lid and lay bare the revisionist filth, the Khrushchevite betrayal, both in the Soviet Union and in the world communist movement.

The revisionists gathered in Moscow like to call themselves Leninists. But how can such people be Leninists when they dare not analyse why the contradictions in the communist movement arose, the source of which lies in the betrayal by the Khrushchevites, in their unscrupulous violation of the 1957 and 1960 Declarations, in their hostile activity against the Party of Labour of Albania and against all the parties and the revolutionaries that remain true to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and to the Moscow Declarations?

How can these people be Leninists when they lack the courage to openly criticize the mistakes and betrayal? So far, only the so-called leader of 300 Australian revisionists had the «courage» to say that the action of the Soviet revisionists in Czechoslovakia was a mistake. But that was all. He not only did not speak of other «mistakes», but even about the ones he mentioned, he did not say what was the reason that compelled the Soviet revisionists to dispatch the red soldiers to Czechoslovakia as invaders, to suppress the freedom and independence of a fraternal people. Perhaps, after the head of Australian revisionism, some one else may speak, of course, «within the rules», just so much as to avoid risking the loss of the fund of rubles. And these «Leninists» who haven't the
courage even to criticize their associates, swear that they will be lions in the fight against imperialism! No one believes the anti-imperialist thesis of the revisionists. Even the participants of the revisionist meeting themselves can hardly believe it. But the Soviet revisionist leaders need this thesis to cover up all the filth of their betrayal, their collusion with the US imperialists, as well as to make their acolytes commit themselves to their line, regardless of the fact that many of them represent only themselves.

How can the participants in the Moscow meeting of traitors be called «Leninist» when, while they admit that differences exist in the communist movement, they uphold the false theory: «Let us put aside what divides us and cling to what unites us»? This is a clear expression of the opportunism against which V.I. Lenin fought with determination all his life. What can unite Marxist-Leninists with traitors to communism? Nothing! Everything divides them. Even the champions of this alien thesis themselves recognize the truth of this, both in practice and in theory. The situation will not be saved by conforming. Sooner or later those who think this way will suffer the consequences when the heavy fist of revisionist social-imperialism strikes them.

Before they summoned the representatives of the revisionist parties to Moscow, the Khrushchevite chiefs of the Soviet Union swore black and blue that the aim of the present meeting would be to hold a democratic discussion on the questions of «the struggle against imperialism», the strengthening of the «unity» and coordination of the «joint activity» of the so-called communist parties, and that no questions would be raised on the internal and foreign policy of any party not taking part in the conference and, in particular, the question of China.

But now they have them bailed up where they can’t get away, the Soviet revisionists have laid their cards on the table, showing that their promises and assurances were a bluff, a fraudulent tactic to draw into their trap those parties which wavered or did not approve all the aspects of the foreign policy of the Kremlin chiefs. They remained true to the plans and designs of Nikita Khrushchev who, five years ago, took the initiative to call a general meeting of the revisionist parties.

Brezhnev’s speech on Saturday confirmed, once again, what the Party of Labour of Albania has been saying from the outset, that the real aim of the revisionist meeting, organized by the Khrushchevite chiefs of the Soviet Union is to establish and strengthen the Soviet hegemony over the revisionist parties and to turn them into mere tools of its foreign policy, to intensify the fight against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the revolution.

What strikes one most in Brezhnev’s speech is his intention to impose his dictate on the other partners, to bind them hand and foot to the aggressive imperialist policy of the Soviet revisionist. Although the general secretary of the revision-
ist party of the Soviet Union touched on many problems of the present international situation and the relations among revisionist parties in his long speech, being unable to find any suitable argument to support his theses, he resorted to the worst warmongering language filled with threats and sabre-rattling which even John Foster Dulles would have envied if he were alive. He threatened the Chinese people with «conventional war, as well as with a big nuclear war» and bragged about the military potential of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet revisionists have long been threatening Yugoslavia, Albania and Rumania, too. For this aggressive purpose, they have assembled armed forces in Bulgaria, which has become a dangerous place d'armes of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique in the Balkans, have stationed an increasing number of military troops along the Rumanian border and sent their fleet into the Mediterranean.

But the enemies cannot intimidate us. The Albanian people have nerves of steel. They are capable of coping with any danger, wherever it may come from, and will utterly rout any enemy who dares to attack them.

It is true that there is a hatred of Marxism-Leninism common to them all, and that all the revisionist parties are zealously engaged in sabotaging the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples. However, as it turned out in practice, this was insufficient to preserve their cohesion under Moscow's leadership. Nor can the demagogic and false slogans like that of «unity of action» against imperialism do this. Since no struggle is being waged against imperialism in fact, there can be no «unity of action» against it. Only a concrete action in which all the partners are interested, only drawing them into a major joint adventure, can keep the revisionist parties hitched to the Moscow chariot.

The anti-China outbursts at the world revisionists meeting are necessary to the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique to provide the US imperialists with proof of their authentic loyalty to the Soviet-US alliance and to assure the ruling circles of the international bourgeoisie that there is no danger to them whatsoever from the «revolutionary» phraseology of the speeches which are being delivered now in the Georgievsky Hall of the Kremlin. This was obvious also in the praises which Brezhnev sang to US and world imperialism, when he spared no words to exalt its economic and military potential, «its powerful, highly organized, mechanism of production».

Brezhnev's speech was filled with general principles divorced from reality, from the events of the day. These are familiar tactics of the Soviet revisionists. With their Marxist phraseology they want to conceal their counter-revolutionary activity and to hoodwink the uninformed, particularly the Soviet people, whom they keep under strict quarantine so they do not come in contact with the truth. Thus, for instance, while the chief of the renegade clique spoke at length about the whole world, he was silent about Czechoslovakia, as
if nothing had happened there. He said nothing at all about the activity of the imperialists and revisionists in Czechoslovakia.

The turn of Hussak, this faithful servant of the Czechoslovak revisionists and vacillating ally of the Soviet revisionists, to take the floor and sing hosannas in Brezhnevian terms to the occupation of his country, is coming round. This will provide the new czars of the Kremlin with «arguments» to tell those who raise the Czechoslovak question that it is useless for them to do so, since those most concerned have nothing to say about it.

The persistence of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in pursuing their hegemonic and expansionist policy to the end was apparent also in Brezhnev’s stubborn defence of the now notorious theory of so-called «limited sovereignty». Although the ill-fame this criminal policy has earned for itself obliged him to camouflage it carefully, still he did not conceal the intention of the Khrushchevite rulers of the Soviet Union to persist in their ambitions to subjugate foreign peoples and countries and keep them under their yoke. Brezhnev had a great deal to say about «nationalism» and the principles of «proletarian internationalism», but it is already clear what the Soviet revisionists mean by nationalism and internationalism. To them, every effort of the peoples of Eastern Europe, over whom they are dominant, to defend their plundered freedom and national independence, any opposition to their colonialist exploitation, is nationalism. They call anyone who opposes the occupation of Czechoslovakia or denounces their aggressive and expansionist policy, every honest communist who rejects revisionism and upholds Marxism-Leninism, a «nationalist».

But the demagoguery and self-righteousness of the Soviet revisionists deceive nobody. Their «theories» that they intervene, allegedly, to defend socialism and the peoples from the «activity of imperialism» are clumsy lies. The intrigues they hatch up around Vietnam and their sabotage of the struggle of the Arab people are two concrete examples which everyone can see, every day and at every hour. Therefore, both the words uttered by Brezhnev and his allies about Vietnam and the resolution which was adopted at the meeting about the Arab countries are bluffs, manoeuvres to conceal the manipulation of these issues within the framework of the Soviet-US alliance for the division of spheres of influence. But do the Soviet revisionists think that they will put down the struggle of the Arab peoples with that resolution, signed by persons like Larbi Buhali, who, when his Algerian people were shedding their blood in torrents for freedom and national independence, went skiing and broke his legs on the picturesque Tatra mountains?

The tactics pursued by the revisionist clique of the Soviet Union during the preparations for the Moscow meeting and the attitude it is maintaining in it show that they are seeking at all costs, to involve the ruling cliques of the revisionist
parties, who have sold themselves body and soul to the new czars of the Kremlin, in their counter-revolutionary adventures. Their attitude at the Moscow meeting will show once again to what degree they have become lackeys of Brezhnev. These cliques are setting those who follow them blindly on a dangerous course. The members of their parties are faced with the alternative: either to fight Marxism-Leninism, Albania and all the revolutionary forces, or to open fire on the revisionist betrayal.

The Party of Labour of Albania and all the Marxist-Leninists of the world will always perform their internationalist duty. They will fight to the complete destruction of modern revisionism. We shall return again and again to the exposure of the criminal schemes and activities of the Soviet revisionists and their allies, such as those which are being hatched up now at the Moscow meeting. We shall never allow the Khrushchevite Soviet leaders to deceive the international working class with their damagogy. And we are convinced that public opinion everywhere in the world and, first and foremost, the revolutionaries themselves will rise against modern revisionism, to overthrow it and bury its great treachery. Right is on our side, therefore, victory will be on our side, too.

WHY ARE THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS AFRAID TO SPEAK ABOUT CZECHOSLOVAKIA AT THE MOSCOW MEETING?

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

June 14, 1969

Long before the meeting of the revisionist parties began its proceedings in Moscow, it was known or expected that the Kremlin chiefs would pursue there the tactic of silence about the fascist aggression they undertook against Czechoslovakia in August last year. Well-known, also, was the brutal pressure they brought to bear on their revisionist partners to refrain from saying anything about or making any allusion to one of the basest acts of international gangsterism, which profoundly shocked the conscience of the world and filled the hearts of the real internationalists everywhere with deep indignation. The Kremlin chiefs wanted the «Czechoslovak issue» to be glossed over as if it were something accidental, a simple episode in the relations between «fraternal
countries» and «sister parties», an event of no great consequence.

The very fact that the Soviet revisionists failed to come up with anything better for themselves than this cowardly stand is the most eloquent proof and an indirect admission of the rotten foundations on which they base the whole of their official «argument» about the «necessity» and «indispensability» of intervening in Czechoslovakia, of the alleged «internationalist aid» they gave the Czechoslovak people against «class enemies», etc. In reality, the question presents itself in plain, unequivocal terms, in the form of these two alternatives: either the intervention was really «indispensable», really «fraternal aid», hence, a positive thing, in which case the authors can face the meeting and the whole world with their heads high and a clear conscience; or it was a barbarous aggression against a socialist country, a flagrant violation of its sovereignty and independence, and in this case the culprits must be confronted with their vile deed, with their shame revealed. By seeking the fig-leaf, the revisionists of the Kremlin are virtually admitting with their own mouths that they have placed themselves in the pillory.

At the meeting, the Soviet leaders would have liked to present a pompous spectacle of «proletarian solidarity», precisely on the theme of the Czechoslovak issue, to turn it into a festival of panegyric hymns to praise the «merits» of the «guiding» state and of the «mother» party to the skies. If they decided to protect themselves by skulking in silence, like a band of unrepentent gangsters who commit a crime and then try to cover their tracks, they did not do this from their own desire.

As a matter of fact, the Czechoslovak adventure cost them very dear. From the political point of view, their invasion has turned into a disastrous defeat for the aggressors. The Czechoslovak people's resistance ruined the plans of the invaders: the list of nominees for the «revolutionary workers' government» which had been prepared in advance, had to be discarded. Willy-nilly they shut themselves in the chambers of the Kremlin with the Czechoslovak captives and there, behind an iron curtain, staged the farce of talks «between equals». Instead of ousting the revisionist Dubcek-Svoboda team, a thing which they themselves had proclaimed on the first day of the occupation, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique felt obliged to beat a retreat and to content themselves, for the time being, with the capitulation of Dubcek and Svoboda.

Another surprise, closely linked with the former, was the repercussions which the Czechoslovak events aroused in the ranks of the revisionist parties of other countries. They were stunned and confused and the revisionist front began to show dangerous signs of disintegration. The false slogans of the «diversity of roads to socialism», of «liberalization», of «humanism» gave birth to more than a few illusions and tendencies to break away from the tutelage of the big boss. But Soviet revisionism would not be revisionism if it gave up the
struggle for hegemony. Indeed this is one of the most characteristic features of the process of capitalist transformation. The new overlords in Moscow showed clearly that they have made up their minds to settle the differences with their partners, wherever they can, by means of the «dubinka» (bludgeon).

The Soviet revisionists had a hard job getting the flock back in the fold. The meeting, which had been planned for last year, was dropped and in place of it they began meetings with the parties, one by one, talks between groups, exchanges of opinions at preparatory commissions, which gradually led to a compromise agreement not to re-open the Czechoslovak wound. But all the carefully arranged staging was in danger of being smashed to smithereens if the Czechoslovak «normalization» were not ensured. The stubborn resistance of the working class and youth in Czechoslovakia, not only to the foreign occupation, but also to the capitulation of the Czechoslovak revisionist party, made any agreement that might be reached outside Czechoslovakia and to its detriment practically impossible.

Under these circumstances, the Kremlin decided that Dubcek was no longer doing its bidding. He proved to be incapable of establishing «order» in the country and of carrying through the post-August, revisionist-fascist «normalization». Stuck as he was in the dingey tossing about between the waves of the people’s resistance and the pressure of the occupationists, he was giving no assurance about the stand he would maintain at the coming Moscow meeting. Thus, another squeezed lemon was thrown into the rubbish basket, and Brezhnev’s choice fell on Husak. This, of course, does not mean that Husak is a hundred per cent reliable for the Kremlin rulers. But he is the man for this stage, a person who has undertaken, among other things, to play the delicate role to ensure the functioning of the conspiracy of silence at the Moscow meeting. If he is willing to carry out the task assigned to him, he may be allowed «to taste the delights of power». And later? The «spare parts» are at hand to make the necessary adjustments.

It is now clear that the changing of the guard, that took place in Prague two months ago was part of the preparatory measures for the meeting which is taking place in Moscow. It is clear also that the only speaker authorized, on the basis of the Soviet sponsored agenda, to refer to the «Czechoslovak issue» at the meeting, is the new chief of Czechoslovak revisionism, Husak. It goes without saying that this «right» of his was granted from the start on two conditions: on the one hand, he was to open his mouth only if some disobedient participant showed signs of life and, on the other, he was allowed to speak, not to complain about the plight of his people fallen victim to aggression, but to support the Soviet tactic of justifying aggression.

Even before the meeting, the Prague revisionists, kneeling in obeisance to the occupiers, had already issued statements and resolutions describing any attempt to raise the Czechoslovak issue
at the meeting as an "act of interference in the internal affairs" of Czechoslovakia.

For its part the Soviet paper "Pravda", in an openly threatening tone, warned the delegates to the conference not to allow themselves "to yield to the temptation to win popularity in their own countries by adopting an anti-Soviet stand". The allusion to those who had the slightest inclination to mention the Czechoslovak issue was more than clear.

The overwhelming majority of the revisionist parties made haste to respond to the "call" and their representatives at the meeting, to their own disgrace and that of the meeting itself, adhered to the instruction and uttered not a single word about the Czechoslovak issue, although they spoke about everything under the sun, while concentrating on slanderous attacks on the CP of China. Only here and there were "dissident" voices heard, and even these were apologetic and weak. Thus, the Australians, the Swiss, the Norwegians and some others took the "courage" to say that the aggression against Czechoslovakia was a "mistake". The Italian revisionists, preoccupied as they are to give proof of autonomy in the context of their whole campaign to take part in the bourgeois government, once again expressed what they call their "profound disapproval" of the intervention in Czechoslovakia. This was enough to set the whole, previously prepared, mechanism, in motion. There are reports that a procedural fight has been going on behind the scenes all these days between the Italian and the Czechoslovak delegations contending for the right to have the last word. Of course, the Soviet organizers of the meeting had anticipated this and, as could be expected, the struggle over procedure ended in favour of Husak.

Husak's speech at the meeting accurately reflects the whole abyss of betrayal and degeneration to which modern revisionism must lead. This unprincipled lackey, who has had a lightening career, passing from jail to the throne within a short time, agrees to serve his overlords of the Kremlin.

"What surprises us most," said the Czechoslovak quisling, "is the fact that certain fraternal parties, even some of those here, having superficial reports about our affairs... draw immature conclusions about the Czechoslovak problem, a thing which is contrary to our interests." "Therefore," he continued, "the others should be more patient and show understanding." In short, they should all shut their mouths and join in the conspiracy of silence without reserve.

Thus, according to the revisionist logic, the Soviet army divisions, tanks and aircraft stationed on Czechoslovak territory are allegedly "superficial reports". The invaders have kicked the Czechoslovak people in the face and are consistently ruining their country in every direction, reducing it to the status of a simple colony, while the quisling Husak proclaims at the meeting that there is no "Czechoslovak problem"! According to this logic, it turns out that certain parties must not
be hasty in drawing «immature conclusions» about the affairs in Czechoslovakia, while certain others must rush to send troops to occupy Czechoslovakia militarily. «Don't interfere in our internal affairs. This is our business,» shouts Husak, according to formulas he has learned by heart. How can such a claim be taken seriously when all the world sees that Czechoslovakia has been reduced to the level of a country without «internal affairs», that the Soviet revisionists have thrown out any such rights and do what they please in these matters? Who does not know that, in the present circumstances, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique can pull the strings in Czechoslovakia to suit their own interests: they can dissolve parliament, they can change governments, they can organize party plenums and can concoct statements and communiqués?

Thus, Husak's speech is not and can never be an expression of the will of the Czechoslovak working class, of the feelings and aspirations of the Czechoslovak people, of the spiritual state of the Czechoslovak youth, all of whom are languishing under the heel of the foreign invader.

Husak wanted to render his bosses one other service in the way he treated the ill-famed thesis of «limited sovereignty». From all the hodgepodge he dished up, in a few words, this is what emerged: each socialist country has its internal sovereignty; as regards relations with the outside world, especially when it is a question of defending this sovereignty, the notion of sovereignty is indissolubly linked with the interests and the

hegemonic policy of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique.

To help him make this anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary thesis more «convincing», the Soviet revisionists brought out an actor held in reserve, the ill-famed chief of Hungarian revisionism Janos Kadar. This inveterate revisionist who, having been released from jail, joined the fascist Imre Nagi and, together with him, led the criminal counter-revolution in Hungary in 1956 and liquidated the Hungarian party, now becomes the «ideologist» of the Brezhnev theory of «limited sovereignty» and of the fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia. «We ought to know,» he said, «and experience proves that when the destiny of a socialist country is at stake, then everybody intervenes.»

And what other words can one expect from a hardened counterrevolutionary who, along with Marxism-Leninism, has sold out the sovereignty of his own country, where capitalism is now in full bloom, who remains in power thanks to the bayonets of the occupation forces of his Moscow bosses and who, like a professional mercenary, dispatched Hungarian troops to rob the Czechoslovak people of their freedom? Even the chiefs of the Kremlin must realize that the veteran quisling Kadar is hardly qualified to defend their aggressive theories, but, as the saying goes, «half a loaf is better than no bread».

As the days roll on, it becomes ever clearer to the participants themselves that, according to the plans of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique who organized the revisionist meeting in Moscow, its purpose
is to legalize their counterrevolutionary policy of conspiracies and aggressions, of hegemony within the revisionist front and of the imperialist-revisionist global strategy.

A meeting of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties would not have failed to put Brezhnev, Kosygin and company in the dock for the crimes they have committed to the detriment of the great cause of communism, for the capitalist degeneration of the political, economic and social life in the Soviet Union, for their collaboration with US imperialism, and their traitorous stand towards the major problems of the time — Vietnam, the Middle East, etc., for their hostile policy towards the PR of Albania, etc. A genuine communist meeting would have turned into a stern indictment of the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia. Because, for the meeting, too, the question is posed in plain terms in the form of the above mentioned alternatives: either the intervention of Czechoslovakia was a fine act, in which case it should be praised and supported; or it was a crime, in which case it becomes the duty of the communists to forcefully stigmatize it as an act incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and with relations among communist parties and socialist states. And the truth can be found not by trusting Husak, who is nothing but an unscrupulous steward, but by listening to the Czechoslovak people who are groaning under the foreign yoke. A genuine communist meeting would never have remained silent about so serious a problem, but would have branded the clique of imperialist aggressors in the Kremlin as traitors and criminals.

Despite all the efforts of the Moscow revisionist clique, despite all «international» conferences and statements, the cause of the Czechoslovak people cannot be buried. The fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia remains a living and crushing indictment of the Moscow clique and all those who have hitched themselves to their chariot. No conspiracy of silence can absolve the Soviet revisionist aggressors from responsibility for their crimes against the Czechoslovak people, against Marxism-Leninism and the working class of all countries, against the living revolutionary forces that express the true aspirations and interests of the peoples. In Czechoslovakia, the Soviet occupiers are sitting on the volcano of the anger and vengeance of a people who are fighting for their fundamental rights. The Czechoslovak people will succeed in winning these rights in a revolutionary way. They have been crushed with armed violence, and with the force of arms they will free themselves from the odious yoke of the fascist-revisionist invaders and local traitors and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the working class and the genuine Marxist-Leninist vanguard which will emerge from their ranks in the course of the struggle.
THE LINKING OF THE COMMUNISTS WITH THE MASSES AND DRAWING OF THE MASSES INTO REVOLUTION REQUIRES INTELLIGENCE AND MARXIST-LENINIST PERSPICACITY

From a talk with a delegation of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L)

July 12, 1969

Comrades,

It is a great joy for me to meet you, because we are comrades and brothers, we are from two countries close to each other and because our struggle and efforts and yours are for the same cause and have the same objective.

Through your press, we follow your revolutionary work and efforts attentively. We realize that you are working and fighting in difficult conditions, but your work and struggle are part of the common contribution which all the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionaries of the world are making to the cause of the revolution. No doubt you meet difficulties in your work and you will do so in the future, too. Revolutionaries continually encounter such difficulties, but they surmount them in struggle and through struggle.

First of all, you have a revolutionary working class and a big peasantry, decisive factors these, which constitute a big plus for the work of your party. For many months on end and especially in recent days, workers, peasants and students, all over Italy, have been holding ceaseless strikes and demonstrations. In our opinion, these demonstrations and strikes do not have the winning of certain victories in the economic field as their only objective, although the bourgeoisie and the revisionists are trying to make out that they have only such aims. In fact they have political aims, first of all. I think that you have made a correct assessment of them in your press as movements which, apart from economic objectives, have political aims first of all, because they are directed against «the centre left» bourgeois regime and other currents. But we think that no manoeuvre of the present bourgeois regime in Italy can deceive the genuine revolutionaries.

The workers, peasants, students, etc., in a word, the whole Italian people, are a vigorous people but, standing in the way of this great revolutionary drive, manoeuvring together with the bourgeoisie, are the leaders of the revisionist party, those of all the other anti-Marxist, Trotskyite currents, created by Italian monopoly capital in order to reduce and damage the genuine revolutionary activity of the masses. Of course, these are minuses for you.
In Italy the modern revisionists still have influence among the masses of the workers. It is clear that this influence cannot last for long or have sound political foundations, however the fact is that the revisionists have plenty of forces and have experience and traditions of organization. Exploiting these advantages, they are trying to keep the working masses under their influence, under political obscurantism. In the economic conditions prevailing in Italy, through their slogans, they are hindering the workers from recognizing the situation and seeing clearly the road which they must follow in the circumstances of Italy today.

Of course, the powerful mass movements in Italy have their source in the economic difficulties which the country is experiencing. In the existing conditions the working class is encountering great difficulties, it finds itself facing all sorts of obstacles, even in its efforts to ensure a livelihood. In these circumstances, we can say that economic issues predominate to some degree, but it is important that the economic demands of the masses should be linked with the political demands and it is up to your Party to carry out this task.

We are in agreement with you and your Party that in our struggle we need care and cool-heads in working out the line, that efforts must be made to find the correct course on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. But it cannot be pretended that this course can be achieved immediately, because this requires a great deal of work and a long struggle.

To achieve this objective, first of all, it is essential to have a strong party and, around it and under its leadership, a broad front which includes the broad masses of workers and peasants as well as other progressive strata of the poor. In order to attain their objectives, the Marxist-Leninist parties cannot fight alone, without the masses, but must fight together with them and at the head of them. Without the masses they cannot do absolutely nothing. If they do not link themselves with the masses and become their leadership they turn into sectarian nuclei. A party which intends to become strong, steel-like, must first of all work out a correct line, gather all the masses around itself, organize them and bring them into movement. Only such a party can successfully and fearlessly combat the influences which the parties of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists try to exert from outside.

There is no doubt that the stronger your party becomes, the stronger will be the pressure, struggle and terror exerted against it by the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. The danger from this direction always exists. Naturally, the greater the danger which threatens the party, the more obstacles it may encounter, because the party will come up against individuals who waver. Only when the party has worked out a correct line which touches the heart-strings of the masses and is able to demonstrate this line, to make it clear to them and to convince them of its correctness, only then will the masses follow the party of the working class and defend it to the end.
We are pleased to see that your party is trying to work in this direction. This is very important. The modern revisionists who are working to undermine your party, a thing which assists capital, are now trying to take part in the bourgeois governments. They are trying to quell the resistance of the working masses they have under their influence. The revisionists do not neglect the policy of «drawing in» the masses. On the contrary, they too, make efforts in this direction, through their demagogy and false Marxism. They still have a large number of voters, amounting to several millions, hence a big mass of people who follow them. This is because the workers still have hopes in the «socialism» which the revisionists preach, still have faith in some treacherous chiefs such as Longo, Berlinguer, Amendola and others. The renegades do this work through a rotten party organization which is not and never can be Marxist-Leninist.

This problem must make us think deeply and draw valuable lessons on how we can further strengthen the work of the party in order to win over the broad masses of workers and peasants and the other strata of the poor. You have concrete experience from your activity in this direction. We know, for example, that in Naples, your Party went into action and brought out correct slogans with which it was able to attract many people who took their stand shoulder to shoulder with it. Two to three thousand workers came out on your favour in Naples alone. This is a great thing. Of course, compared with the numbers of the broad masses of the Italian proletariat, this figure is far from what you are aiming at. Nevertheless, you succeeded in having your line embraced by some thousands of people in just one city. This shows that when persistent work is done, the line of the party becomes known to all, everywhere. The same thing occurred in several other places in Italy, too. Of course, the strengthening of your party will frighten Italian reaction and the modern revisionists, but at the same time it will make them even more savage in their opposition to you. Nevertheless, the increase in its revolutionary activity will be of value in further steeling the party.

However, a situation like that in Naples is still not apparent in Milan, and this is understandable. The bourgeoisie is stronger in the North, therefore the work of your party in that city proceeds slowly. Milan is the biggest industrial centre in Italy. The capitalists there have experience and possibilities to manoeuvre and to launch cunning slogans to deceive the workers. You know the situation better than I, but I think that the worker aristocracy must have deeper roots in Milan than anywhere else. And this is logical because, from the profits it draws, the bourgeoisie has the possibility to throw a few more crumbs to a small section of the working class, especially to its leaders in order to corrupt them. Nevertheless, I think that even in Milan good conditions exist for the development of the work of the party. Therefore, the leaders of the party are trying to create and strengthen the organization of the party in that city.
and have not restricted themselves simply to finding a few friends or sympathizers. The most important, although the most difficult work, is to create the organization of the party and not just to get hold of a few people. What great care the activity of the comrades who work in that region with such a developed proletariat demands! We are confident that your Party will advance there, too, as all over Italy, because the conditions there are favourable.

In the course of his contribution the friend from Italy said that he had been greatly impressed by an article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» 1 about the former Italian partisan, Tercilio Cardinale, the commander of the «Antonio Gramsci» Battalion, incorporated in the First Shock Brigade of the Albanian Anti-fascist National Liberation Army, who fell a martyr for the freedom of Albania in July, 1944, and that the publication of this article was an expression of feelings of proletarian internationalism on the part of the Party of Labour of Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha went on:

Cardinale was a fine comrade, a resolute fighter who fought in the ranks of the First Shock Brigade of the Albanian National Liberation Army. He could not be distinguished from our other good fighters. In the context of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of

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1) «Tercilio Cardinale — an Internationalist Fighter», July 8, 1969.
put up this resistance. Someone may say that «the Albanians are a satellite of China», but however bourgeois they are, when they think that China is far away and in case of an attack by enemies on Albania, will be unable to assist it directly, they change their opinion and look with admiration on Albania which is heroically resisting the storm of the time. And gradually sympathy and respect for us, for our small country, arises among these people. Likewise, there are others who, although they are not in agreement with the course we follow, nurture a sympathy for Albania.

Then what should be done about them? Should we cast stones at these people who speak well of Albania and judge correctly that it does not present any danger to their country? No, such people do not find any reason why they should not sympathize with our country and we consider them friends. Perhaps they do nothing today, but tomorrow, in time of danger, if the need arises, they might say a good word about Albania, which might be very valuable. And the danger to Albania from the member countries of NATO and the Soviet imperialists always exists. Perhaps this danger is not imminent today, but for us, the difficult moments have not been eliminated. There have been occasions in the past when Italian patriots and the proletariat have protested against the policy of bourgeois governments of that country, coming out in support of Albania, as was the case after the First World War in 1920, making the struggle of the Albanian people for freedom easier. In the future, too, such people will say a good word about this country and this is a plus for us.

I want to say a few words about the experience we have in connection with the problems of the Front. To follow the line of the Front means to follow the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the practical application of the line of the masses. In our work in connection with the Front we have followed the experience of the Soviet Union of the period of Lenin and Stalin. This work is apparent everywhere in all our activity, and this we do not hide. To deny the reliance of our Party on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin is not right, not Marxist. In the difficult conditions of the Anti-fascist Liberation War, under the fire of Italian and German fascism, we made every effort to persuade people to leave the ranks of the enemy. I personally, in the deepest illegality, have had meetings even with some who later became the quislings of fascism, such as Fasili Frashëri, Mehdi Frashëri, Abaz Kupi (Bazi i Canës) and others. I did this with the aim that if it were not possible to get these people to fight the occupiers, at least we should neutralize them. We knew that is was difficult for such elements to remain in the National Liberation Front. We managed to get some of them to join the Front, although we were clear that, later the time would come when they would betray us, but we did this, not to win them over as persons, but to win over to the Party the deceived masses which they had with them.
Let me give you an example. The Zogist Abaz Kupi, a dyed-in-the-wool clan chief, whom we knew was not only one of Zog’s men, but also an agent of the Intelligence Service, had come illegally from Yugoslavia. We knew, also, that he was against the Italian occupiers and the quisling prime minister of that time, Mustafa Kruja. Proceeding from these latter facts, we sent our people to the place where he had established himself and called on him to unite with us in the fight against fascism and the traitors. He agreed to this. However, we were quite clear about how much Abaz Kupi would fight the occupiers and the traitors. The Party understood why he united with us and how long this manoeuvre of his would last, but still it acted patiently with him. And things turned out just as the Party had foreseen. He pursued his own aims.

When the conditions were maturing, before we finally settled accounts, we sought to talk with him again. To this end I went to Shëngjeri, a village near Tirana, where he had established himself. In order to show that we were friends and had no fear, I went to his headquarters accompanied by only four or five people. This was rather bold, it was great carelessness on our part, because he placed many men from his bands all round the house where we held the meeting. We had a fierce argument, right there in his lair. During the discussions he frequently went to the windows, specially left open, so that the armed peasants of his band who were outside in the yard would hear what he said. On one occasion, addressing me in a loud voice he said, «Listen, Mr. Hoxha, I shall give the land to the peasants and not you communists». But I got up and said in a louder voice, «The poor peasants will get the land only from the communists, they will never get it from you Zogists, because for the 15 years on end he was in power, Zog never thought about the people and did nothing about this question». After a bitter row with him I left. With this, I want to tell you that conversations with such persons are difficult, but they must be held for the sake of the ordinary folk who follow them, whom we must win over to the party. The work we did in the Front, little by little, undermined the foundation of these people with influence. And when the time came to strike them the final blow, they collapsed like a house of cards because we had attacked their positions among the people, long before and they were isolated and left on their own without the masses.

The party absolutely must get rid of and make a clean break from the spirit of group. What helped us to score success in unifying the groups? Of course, we did not achieve success immediately, but only after we threw out those elements who hindered us, with whom we had worked for a long time, not for what they were themselves, because we knew what they were, but for the misled masses they had with them, we did this so that those who followed them blindly, but who in fact loved communism, would understand the treachery of their leaders and come over to the
Party in its just struggle which it was leading against the occupiers and traitors. When we had ensured that the broad masses of their followers had understood the correctness of our line, only then did we commence to expose the leaders as the traitors they were, with all our strength.

We cannot say that people like Anastas Lulo and company were agents of the enemy right from the start, because if this had been the case, they would have handed us over to the fascists, since they knew all our comrades. They fell into the lap of the enemies and became their agents later, but by that time our Party had been greatly strengthened, had created many bases, spread widely among the people. Thus, when our cells held meetings in the city suburbs, the masses themselves, not organized in the Party, acted as guards and protected the members of the Party from the spies and gendarmes. With this I want to say that it is possible that such a thing could occur with you, too, because the enemy works especially on the communists who are not well formed ideologically and politically. Therefore the comrades must be known thoroughly and everything possible must be done to make them clear on every problem and to work patiently with them.

I want to tell you about our experience. In the Party we had people who were good fighters but who wavered at different moments — Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu, Koco Tashko, and others were like this, people who continually wavered and finally fell into the mire of revisionism. We did everything in our power to save them. When we saw mistaken opinions and actions, we pointed out to them their positive aspects but at the same time we criticized their mistakes and negative aspects, of course not very severely at first. After we allowed them to continue their work, when we saw that they were again expressing wrong opinions or carrying out mistaken actions, when it was seen that they were not correcting themselves and the cup was full, we raised the question about them in the Central Committee and we did this proceeding from the interests of defending the line of the Party. In this direction we did not make any concession, we did not deviate from the line of the Party in any way.

Now we can say that at all levels of the Party, from the leadership to the base, everybody contributes to the discussion, openly and sincerely. It is a pleasure to go to a party meeting, whether the Plenum of the Central Committee, the party committee of a district or a party basic organization. Every communist is keen to go to the party meetings because there is no petty spite, personal issues are not raised; the communists do not go there with ulterior motives. This is so because the situation in the Party has been steeled. But such a situation was achieved only after a long, difficult and principled struggle. If you read the History of our Party, you will see that before 1948 the situation was not as it is today. We ourselves, in the leadership of the Party, have experienced various difficulties. On many occasions, the meet-
ings of the leadership began at lunch time and ended the following morning. We went to these meetings with aching hearts, because we knew we would encounter alien views and opportunist stands. This was a consequence of the undermining work of the Yugoslav revisionists and a group of traitors to our Party and people. In these conditions, very grave situations were created over nothing.

However, after a stern and resolute struggle this phase was overcome, the culprits were exposed and thrown out, everything in the Party was cleared up and, by making every effort, the method of work steadily improved, while the leadership of the Party grew stronger. The only correct course, which the party must follow to deal with and get out of grave situations is the rigorous implementation of Marxist-Leninist principles. The political and organizational tasks of the party must be discussed until the line is decided. But this is insufficient. It is essential that all without exception must fight for the application of the line without the slightest concession. Our Party has always proceeded from the principle that if you take power, you must strive to hold it to the end and must in no way allow the doors to be opened to bourgeois ideology, because it works like a worm within an apple, which might look fine and red in the outside but, in fact, is quite rotten inside.

We are convinced that your Party has gained experience and will gain even more in the future.

We have some experience, as you see, but this is insufficient, therefore we, too, must learn still more and precisely for this reason we make efforts to ensure that the work of the Party is constantly invigorated, because the situations change and the work and its forms must change in conformity with the situations. The economy in our country is developing continuously, so the work of the Party in all directions must change, must advance, too. It is the same in education and culture, etc.

In the meetings of the Central Committee we have been continually obliged to set new tasks. This is how we acted over the revolutionization of our school. In this direction our work is still only beginning. This means that in the future we must make greater efforts to put the decisions of the CC of the Party about the school into practice, so that the whole Party is mobilized and understands first of all that the problems of education come into every link of our life, of course without neglecting the economy and other problems.

The problem of educating people, especially the youth, is a major preoccupation of the Party. Now the History of our Party is being studied right throughout the country. Apart from this, we must study other materials, too. There are communists who complain that they do not find the time to carry out all these tasks. The Party advises them to think for themselves how they can solve these problems. It says to them: since you
are communists, you must, without fail, find the
time for this task, too, therefore get down to work
and after your working hours in the plant, the
cooperative or the office, study the History of the
Party, take up the problems of the school and
other problems, too, because the communists must
take up all of them. If they do not take them up,
who else will?

The forms and methods of work change and
are continuously improved. The communist must
be thinking all the time about everything, how to
work and how to organize the work better, in
order to cope successfully with all the tasks which
he undertakes. To this end we must learn conti-
uously from books and from the active revolu-
tionary life of the masses of the base. The leaders,
too, absolutely must be linked with the base of
the party and consult with it about how to solve this
or that problem, because they will find the most
fitting solution among the masses.

The party teaches the communists to say what
they think, whether good or bad, and from the
opinions of each it will draw lessons and conclu-
sions. Let us take the question of education. On
this problem a broad people's discussion has been
held in Albania. During this discussion about
600,000 people spoke, expressing important opinions.
There were also some who said empty words. The
Party allows people to speak, to express their ideas
freely. All this activity of the masses over educa-
tion was carried out without hindering production
or any one's 8 hours' work in any way, because
the discussions were held outside working hours.
There were quite a few people so busy on the
problem of the revolutionization of the school that
they got little sleep, they were always in action,
because they understood the special importance
of this great problem of principle which the Party
put forward. Hence experience is relative, it is
gained while fighting and working.

We thank you sincerely for the assessment you
make of the modest experience of our Party, but
bear in mind that you should take from it only
what you think is necessary and might be of value
to your Party and country. You should proceed
from this viewpoint in every instance.

Don't despair if you run into difficulties. You
must bear in mind that when we speak of the
experience of our Party, our conditions are not the
same as yours, because we have state power in
our hands, we have many cadres and other possi-
bilities, while you do not always have time and good
conditions for your work. Nevertheless the party
will be understanding you, but in order to make
these difficulties known to the communists, in the
course of their activity, the leaders must integrate
themselves with the comrades of the base. Cer-
tainly, if you work with the comrades of the base
you will not have time to shut yourselves away
to prepare beautiful articles, but these must be
done, too. The preparation of an article or the
compiling of a material is not a job which can be
done all that easily. These things require study,
facts, time, etc., and the cadre, the leader, has to
find them. It is self-evident that when there are insufficient comrades to assist the leadership, its task is heavy because it has to do a great deal of work itself.

The meetings with you are a great assistance to us. Comrade Ramiz informed me about the ideas you exchanged on some questions which have to do with strengthening the party. In this direction you must work persistently with the comrades. I am speaking from our own experience, because although our Party, being older, has more experience, as you said, still we have comrades who are not properly steeled, therefore the task devolves on us to work and educate them.

Marxism-Leninism possesses a wide range of methods of work to make the masses think properly. It is possible that at the first moments some individuals will not be strong, but when they acquire a soundly-based ideology and class consciousness, they, too, will think well, will work as revolutionaries and advance. With ordinary people, if they are helped once, twice or three times, they will certainly correct themselves. Of course, this refers to those who are sincere, because it is difficult to educate someone who is not sincere. Hence persistent work for the education of comrades must be done with those who have a sound Marxist-Leninist base, while incorrigible elements must be thrown out of the party, because great care must be taken to ensure that the party is not turned into a party without a definite colour, containing all sorts of elements, like the Togliatti party in your country.

We are not opposed to differing opinions and views in the party, but they must proceed from sound positions, with the aim of finding the correct solution for the problem under discussion and strengthening the party. To raise views in the party without this intention, simply confuses the course of the party. In these directions we can exchange opinions and assist one another. We would be happy to meet you and hold consultations more frequently, because we see such consultations from the viewpoint of our common struggle. We consider the struggle of the Italian people the struggle of a fraternal people. Apart from this, imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism present the same danger to you as they do to us. Therefore we consider meetings and exchanges of opinions with each other and the combination of joint actions essential. Around Albania we have the peoples as friends, but only the Marxist-Leninists as friends and comrades. This is why we raise the request to meet them more frequently.

In the existing situation in Europe and in the world, we want your Party to emerge as a strong party, not only in Italy but also in the international arena so that, together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, we can intensify the struggle for the solution of the major political problems which exist in the world today, especially in Europe.
At the end of the conversation, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

I wish you good health and wish your Party ever greater successes in its struggle. Please convey my good wishes and the best regards of our Party to all your comrades.

THE OBJECTIVES ARE ACHIEVED THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS AND NOT THROUGH STERILE DISCUSSIONS

From the conversation with the General Secretary of the Peruvian Communist Party
Saturnino Paredes Macedo

July 12, 1969

We are very happy to meet the leader of the fraternal Peruvian Communist Party, the struggle of which we follow with great admiration. I tell you sincerely, Comrade Paredes, that your coming to Albania has been a great help to us, because through you we have been acquainted with the great experience of the struggle which the fraternal Peruvian Communist Party is waging against the capitalists and big landowners in your country. We believe that the struggle which you are waging, based on Marxism-Leninism and the living forces of the Peruvian proletariat and peasantry, is an important part of the great struggle which
all the genuine Marxist-Leninist communists in the countries of Latin America are waging. At present we and all the communists of other countries of the world are following attentively and with special satisfaction the extension of the revolutionary movement in Latin America, which is mounting continuously, irrespective that the capital of the USA, that of other powerful capitalist countries, as well as all sorts of other open and disguised enemies, exert their savage domination there.

The struggle in different countries on the Latin-American content shows that the revolutionary movement, led by the Marxist-Leninists, is very big. The important thing is that this struggle is mounting continuously despite the dangerous influence of various hostile currents, some of which pose as leftists. Although these currents exist, the Marxist-Leninist parties, which have built up the correct line of the armed struggle against Yankee capital and the merciless struggle in the ideological field against anti-Marxist trends of every kind, are advancing steadily.

We observe with satisfaction that your Party too, is organizing the implementation of its correct line well. In particular, you have created bases, not only in the city but also in the ranks of the peasantry. This is absolutely essential, because for the triumph of the proletarian revolution it is not enough just to have a correct line, but you must organize the application of it in practice, correctly, in conformity with the concrete conditions of the country.

We Albanians understand the role of the peasantry in the revolutionary movement particularly well, because even today, the majority of the population in our country are peasants. Both before and during the time of the National Liberation War the Albanian peasantry was a revolutionary class. It was heavily oppressed, suffering poverty and want and, at the same time, very patriotic, resolutely brave and ready to make sacrifices. Our peasantry immediately accepted the proletarian line of the Party. Even though a large number of workers still did not exist in Albania, the peasantry understood that the line of the Party had its base in the working class. Right from the start, the Albanian peasantry saw that in the cities the occupiers were being attacked every day by the communists and that the struggle and program of the Communist Party of Albania satisfied its age-old demands. Our Party continually instructed its members that, along with the struggle against the occupiers in the city, they must work and struggle in the countryside too. And that is what was done. The fight flared up in Peza and the mountains of Kruja, in Kurvelesh and Korça, in Vlora and Berat, in the highlands of Mat and Shkodra, Dibra and Tropoja. Not only did we find sound support bases, but everywhere the peasants took up their weapons and came out as partisans.

You too, understanding this basic problem properly, are showing special care for the question of the peasantry. This is due to the correct leadership of your Party. You have great experience in
connection with the peasantry. To lead such a great union of the rural proletariat, which includes more than a million peasants, like yours in Peru, means that your Marxist-Leninist Party has a proper understanding of the major question of the allies of the proletariat. That is why the forms of work which you employ and the results which you have achieved in Peru, in the struggle for the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in practice, constitutes a great treasure for all us Marxist-Leninists of other continents, and it is our duty to study this with great care.

Meetings between us for exchange of opinions, to benefit from each other's experience, have exceptionally great importance. When we meet the comrades of other countries and learn about their struggle and experience we are strengthened. We meet many comrades of different Marxist-Leninist parties and groups who work in illegality or legality, according to the conditions which exist in each country. We talk with them about different problems. During our talks, but also in practice, we have observed that some of them conceive the role and duty of the communist somewhat narrowly.

Some think that the whole attention of the party or the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement should be concentrated solely on the work with the workers of plants and factories, thus ignoring the closest allies of the proletariat, the poor and middle peasantry, in general, and the farm labourers, in particular. The situation of the peasantry is miserable everywhere. When things become more difficult in the city, the bases of the party and the revolutionary movement which it leads, always on the Marxist-Leninist road, can be created in the countryside more quickly and, very often, be more secure.

But there are also comrades who do the opposite, again because they see the problems narrowly. They concentrate all the work of the party in the countryside and forget the city, where the great capitalist organization and the powerful proletariat which has the historic mission of overthrowing the decayed capitalist society through the revolution, are found.

Likewise, there are "communists" who say that they have no possibility to follow the line of struggle. In our talks with them we bring up examples, the revolutionary stands of the comrades of the Peruvian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Brazil who are successfully following the correct road of struggle of the organization and mobilization of the working class and peasantry. The comrades of Brazil have acted as you comrades of Peru have done in establishing bases in the countryside, too. Many other parties, too, are struggling to prepare this situation, which is not an adventure, but a correct Marxist action.

When we meet and talk with people who confine all the work of the communists to the cities alone, as I mentioned above, we give them the fine experience of the fraternal parties of Latin America as an example. With this we do not want in
any way to tell them that they should undertake adventures, contrary to the concrete circumstances in their country, that they should take up arms prematurely, no, but based on the concrete conditions, we think the peasantry is a great revolutionary force. However, in the countryside of a country where, for example, there are millions of poor peasants, savage big land-owner capital rules, therefore the communists in that country must not concentrate the struggle only in the city, where it is true that the reaction is more organized, but must struggle in the countryside at the same time. Perhaps it is still not the time to fight with rifles there, but if the moment to launch into armed struggle is to come, the situation must be prepared as the communist comrades in some countries of Latin America, who have begun to prepare the terrain, are doing. This, dear Comrade, is why we value your consistent Marxist-Leninist struggle so highly and are so pleased with it. At the same time we feel ourselves greatly indebted to revolutionary comrades like you who are fighting in difficult conditions.

We also rejoice over the fact that you are tempering the party by purging its ranks of revisionist elements. What you are doing is another great job. All of us have suffered from this disease, therefore, your Party is no exception in this direction. We must always be vigilant in the struggle against enemies of the party because they are always trying to weaken or liquidate us if they find the opportunity, or if we slacken our vigilance.

Anyone who closes his eyes to this danger and goes to sleep will be destroyed. What will happen to him is precisely what happened in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. That is why it is essential that our revolutionary ideological-political vigilance must be strengthened continuously.

Our Party, too, has gone through all this. It has tried patiently to explain things to those who make mistakes, to help them once, twice, three times, employing all forms of work, with the aim of correcting them in the interest of the Party and the revolution. When matters have reached the point that this interest is being damaged, and when it has been seen that the efforts made with these people have not given results, then we have thrown them out of the Party without hesitation, because we must not leave the worm in the apple, for otherwise, although it might look beautiful from the outside, it will gradually rot and, after a time, will not only become totally worthless but will also become a dangerous source of infection for the others. That is why you and we and all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties do well to purge our ranks of anti-party elements, because this strengthens these ranks. It is true we need numbers, but first of all we need quality in the composition of the party. A party in which there is monolithic unity is able to win over the broad masses of the people and not merely to replace one, ten, or a hundred worthless individuals or enemies whom it expels, but can admit into its ranks, in place of them, tens
of thousands of other new people, proven in struggle and action. We understand and are very pleased that you have acted correctly and in the Marxist-Leninist way to make your Party a genuine bolshevik party as Lenin and Stalin advise us. In my humble opinion, I think that had you operated otherwise, the revolutionary cause in Peru would not have advanced.

The strengthening of the Peruvian Communist Party is the guarantee that it will always advance with sure steps. The activity which you are carrying out is encouraging. As far as we know, your basic work is not guided by subjective tendencies but is based on revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideas which always have the aim of tempering the party.

It seems to us that during the revolutionary purging of the party, you have applied some revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forms of work which are correct not only for you, who are working for the preparation of the revolution, but are essential also for us, who have triumphed in the revolution and are now deepening it further. Without taking measures, without the continuous revolutionization of the party, the revolution fizzes out. I refer particularly to the tendencies of some of your people who, as we have heard, tended to engage in endless discussions in the party basic organizations, while forgetting about the main problems of the party. Debates in an unhealthy spirit do not have their source in genuine Marxist-Leninist sentiments and realistic ideas, but in subjectivist feelings and thoughts. Criticisms proceeding from unhealthy positions are never constructive but, on the contrary, demoralize the revolutionaries and hold back the revolution. Although rare, such a phenomenon occurs in the odd party basic organization in our country, where there is some element that gives more importance to second-rate and personal questions. Thus, when someone makes a mistake, the discussion begins in the party basic organization not about the mistake, but about someone's «beautiful eyes» and goes on from meeting to meeting and not in a healthy spirit, the main big problems which the basic organization has, are inevitably forgotten, the communists are involved in quarrelling with one another and divided into groups and cliques. When they first appear these groups or cliques may not have a political character but a personal character, because at first they are not directed against the party. However, in passing from person to person, discussion of the differences becomes less principled, the disagreements are extended to a broader circle of people and then they weaken or endanger the party. Thus, the party basic organization is divided in two, the efforts of the party on the problems which are worrying it begin to be restrained, the people are occupied only with personal problems and petty discussions and thus, the main problems are neglected and the organization is weakened.

The party teaches us that shortcomings and mistakes must not be permitted in our ranks. As soon as they are discovered they must be criticized.
and corrected in time to prevent them being extended to the point that a split is created. With this I want to say to you that by relying on the correct revolutionary method and principles, you have solved the problems which have been worrying you, correctly.

As we have heard, the elements whom you purged were influenced by Castroite leftist adventurists, whose efforts were directed especially at students. From what we know, reading the «theories» of Castro and others like him on the party, the armed struggle, the role of the peasantry and the confidence which the party should have in it, we see that all these «theories» of theirs are not Marxist at all. In reading Che Guevara’s notebook which was published in Cuba we ask the question: what sort of Marxist can live as a savage in the Sierra and organize the work in secrecy from the masses, in whom he has no confidence?

Therefore, you have acted very well in attacking the Castroite adventurer tendencies and purging the unhealthy elements from your ranks, because it was certainly their plan to sabotage the sound bases of the Peruvian Communist Party among the peasant masses.

The reactionaries and capitalists are not fools. They see that in the villages of the Latin-American countries there is such a vigorous force, as the poor and middle peasantry, which from day to day is becoming organized and a force that terrifies them. This is why they are doing everything in their power to establish calm in the base areas of industry. They know that if they did not have calm in the countryside, if they were not able to exploit the land without difficulty, and if they did not have those who work this land, where the grain, cotton, sugar-beet, and fruit are produced, where the livestock is raised etc., thoroughly under their domination, industry would be paralyzed and then the capitalists would certainly be faced with great disturbances and disorders. The capitalists and all reaction are well aware of this.

Today, American imperialism has spread its roots to the four corners of the earth to secure agricultural and mineral raw materials for its own economy. In order to protect these privileges, it maintains a big army with which it forcibly suppresses the workers of its own and other countries and, indeed, it has even managed to buy the brains of people in the countries which it considers «allies». It supplies credits and arms to all the reactionary ruling cliques which have betrayed the national interests, so that they can keep their peoples in bondage. For these reasons, the peasant movement is playing a great role everywhere today against the predatory aims of imperialists, and therefore, the Marxist-Leninist parties must rely on this movement. These parties have their main support, as they must, in the working class in the first place, but they must also have bases in the countryside where the peasantry is the main and natural ally of the proletariat.

You did very well that you purged the ranks of the party of anti-party elements who used all kinds of methods to weaken and liquidate the
party. «Why do we need the party», «first of all we have the army,» says Fidel Castro. The language in which he speaks shows that he has never been a Marxist. But how can a people's army be maintained without the leadership of the party? There was an army in Albania even in the time of the ex-King Zog, but it was weak and reactionary, while our army today is strong and a people's army precisely because it is led by a Marxist-Leninist party. In a few words, that is why Castro's concepts about the role of the army are not Marxist.

As you have seen for yourself, we have achieved some successes but we still have a great deal to do. The main thing is that the masses are struggling with great enthusiasm to implement the line of the Party and that our people are politically formed. Now, major efforts are being made to ensure that, together with their ideological and political formation, we uplift the masses from the aspect of schooling, science, and technique. Of course, we still have a great deal to do in this field, because the liberation of the Homeland found us very backward in all sectors. We have to work to ensure more rapid progress in all directions: for the modernization of our industry, the electrification of the whole country, the intensification and mechanization of agriculture, the irrigation of the land and raising the agro-technical level of our cooperativist agriculture, the development of education and culture, etc. To achieve all these objectives requires a protracted struggle and work but we are fully convinced that now we have created more favourable conditions for this.

First of all, among the people there is a great drive and ardent desire to advance, indeed I want to say that the demands for planning are such that they greatly exceed our real possibilities. We are very happy about the fact that the demands to advance come mainly from the masses themselves, to whom we are obliged to explain the limits of our possibilities to realize their demands, as well as the course which must be followed to create new possibilities for us to advance even further. The great enthusiasm of the masses and their confidence in the correct line of the Party is a very positive aspect. This also has an influence on the economic level which, in our country, has not declined but, on the contrary, has been continuously raised. If we compare the present economic level with that of the first years after Liberation it is as different as day from night, but you have to know the Albania before Liberation in order to conceive the transformations which have been carried out here.

There is no doubt that in the coming years the economic level of our people will be raised higher. You should bear in mind, comrades, that in our country prices have never gone up. On the contrary they have been continually reduced. The policy of our Party and government has always had this aim. This policy is based on the real situation of our country which is quite different from that of the other countries of the world, including the
revisionist countries, where prices are raised from time to time.

In Albania both industry and agriculture have developed well. We have always borne in mind that we should build the factories and the plants, in the main, close to the raw material. In the majority of towns there are dozens of factories, although there are some which have only one, two or three plants. In all districts or regions we now have engineers, economists and veterinary and zooveterinary specialists, not to mention teachers, doctors and other specialists with higher training. The party committees are making plans for the mobilization of all these cadres of whom there are now hundreds in every district, in this revolutionary drive. Together with the masses these specialists have discussed and decided to set up technicums with their own forces and have scored success. Thus on their initiative, affiliates of the University of Tirana and the Higher Agricultural Institute for the branches of mechanical and electrical engineering, agronomy, etc., have been set up in many districts; in many instances these have been set up in addition to what the Ministry of Education and Culture had envisaged. In our country the ideological, political, educational and cultural level of the people is being raised ever higher.

Thank you very much for the kind words you said about our Party but we want to tell you at the same time, that we rejoice greatly over your successes. Please convey our ardent good wishes to all members of the Peruvian Communist Party and tell them that in the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people they have comrades and brothers, loyal to the end, until our common ideas of socialism and communism triumph throughout the world.
SHAM ANTI-IMPERIALISM — A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY MASK OF KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

July 15, 1969

It is not long since the rhetorical discourse of the heads of the revisionist parties came to an end in the Georgievsky Hall and their decisions to «strengthen their unity» and «to fight imperialism» were made public. Now the Soviet revisionist leaders are trying to persuade the world that, after five years of strenuous effort and struggle, they allegedly scored a major success in gathering their much desired revisionist council in Moscow and forcing the majority of the minor rulers of the participating parties, either by the whip or the rouble, to sing to their tune.

But the fanfares and boasting of the Soviet press cannot conceal the bitter truth that the Brezhnevite troika drew very small dividends from all that capital it had invested in the revisionist meeting.

It was very far from attaining the objectives the Soviet revisionist leaders wanted to attain. First, in general the meeting did not become a unified choir unconditionally supporting the great-Russian chauvinist policy of the Soviet social-imperialists. The obvious difference between what is said in Brezhnev's speech and what is not said in the final document of the meeting, proved that the Moscow revisionist patriarchs were unable to impose all their theoretical theses and political concepts on their partners in the talks. The utter failure of the efforts of the Kremlin leaders to preserve the ideological, political and organizational cohesion of the revisionist front, under their control and leadership, became quite evident.

In spite of its pronounced anti-communist and counterrevolutionary trend, the final document was unable to patch up all the weak spots, where the wall within which the Soviet chiefs are trying to keep the revisionist herd penned, is disintegrating and collapsing. It is a fact that the scrap of paper the inveterate opportunist chiefs of the revisionist parties signed in Moscow is already being interpreted in quite different ways by those who signed it. And nothing else could be expected. It is the result of mutual compromises and concessions, expressed in a bunch of acrobatic formulations that satisfy everyone and commit no one. The only clear obligation they assumed voluntarily is: to intensify their fight against Marxism-Leninism,
the revolution and socialism, their pledge to wreck the revolutionary and people's liberation movement, and to speed up their complete integration with the bourgeoisie. As regards the question of the choice of which imperialism they will link up with, with Western or Soviet imperialism; on this they left their hands completely free.

The theses and stands contained in the so-called principal document of the revisionist meeting have the aim of distorting the glorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the revolution and revolutionary dictatorship of the working class in very cunning ways. This document is intended to provide a theoretical basis for the scabby, capitulationist, renegade stand of the modern revisionists towards the major issues which have come to the fore today as a result of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and the great anti-imperialist and liberation battles waged by the peoples of all continents. The revisionists want class conciliation at all costs and are retreatting with their tails between their legs, before the threats and pressures of the bourgeoisie. Through their document they beg the bourgeoisie to reward their betrayal with certain concessions, so that they can get together to safeguard the system of capitalist exploitation, to suppress the proletariat and ward off the revolution.

No great effort is needed to recognize the fact that the Moscow revisionist charter is not about fighting imperialism but about sabotaging this fight, not about fanning the flames of revolution but about extinguishing them. The bombastic theme, «the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and unity of action of the communist and workers' parties and of all the anti-imperialist forces», chosen so painstakingly by the Soviet revisionists is a clumsy bluff that is quite unable to conceal their counterrevolutionary aims.

Political parties, the various social forces, the policies of states are judged and evaluated not by their words, not by their statements, but by their deeds, by their practical actions. What do the facts show?

The whole essence of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism has always been and is linked with the attitude towards imperialism, and especially towards US imperialism, the greatest and most ruthless enemy of the peoples of the whole world. The reactionary character of Khrushchevite revisionism is manifested precisely in the line of the Soviet-American collaboration to dominate the world. Every step of theirs, every stand of theirs in the international arena, is taken within the framework of this alliance and serves its counterrevolutionary objectives.

The antagonism and struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism are an expression of the antagonism and class struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the line of struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of the revolution and socialism
and the line of collaborating with imperialism to suppress the revolution and destroy socialism.

Not only have the modern revisionists, headed by the Khrushchevite Soviet clique, given up any kind of struggle against imperialism, but they are trying, with the whole of their line and activity, to undermine all the anti-imperialist forces and to quell the flames of their revolutionary struggle. Both in their general line and in their stands on specific issues, the positions of the revisionists are counterrevolutionary and pro-imperialist from start to finish.

In order to conceal their capitulation to and collaboration with imperialism, to distract the attention of the peoples from the schemes and actions of imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the modern revisionists indulged in a great deal of «anti-imperialist» demagogy at the Moscow meeting and in the document they approved there, and made a lot of noise, particularly about certain important issues of present-day world policy, such as those of Vietnam, «European security», the Middle East, disarmament, etc., etc.

But while they prattle about anti-imperialism, the modern revisionists allow nothing to hinder them from taking practical measures, one after the other, to strengthen their allround ties and collaboration with the imperialist powers, especially with the USA and its chief Nixon. The two big nuclear powers — American imperialism and Soviet revisionism — are forming a close nuclear military alliance aimed against the revolutionary peoples of the world. The ill-famed treaty of 1963 between the Soviet Union and the USA, on the partial ban of nuclear weapons tests, the other treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, prepared jointly by the USA and the Soviet Union last year, etc. — all these are intended to preserve the nuclear monopoly of these two big powers to be used as a means of blackmail to threaten and subjugate the peoples for the purpose of establishing their joint domination in the world. The aim of the current negotiations between the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists on limiting missiles and on other problems is to achieve coordination and joint implementation of their aggressive, counterrevolutionary plans. The talks which are to be held with Nixon in the near future, also cast their shadow over the Moscow meeting which left all doors open for manoeuvres and agreements. It is a fact that the «anti-imperialist» resolutions of this meeting caused no misgivings whatsoever on the other side of the Atlantic. The Americans had full knowledge about the external and internal aspects of the Moscow farce, of which they were informed in detail by the Soviets.

The stand taken towards the struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations has always been a line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists. In our time this becomes even more emphatic. In the final analysis, the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat depends directly on the outcome of the struggle of the peoples of Asia,
Africa and Latin America which undermines from the foundations the domination of world imperialism, both behind the lines and in the metropolises. Lenin's words that «the revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would be a mere fraud without the complete and closest unity of workers in the struggle against capital in Europe and Latin America and of the hundreds of millions of 'colonial' slaves oppressed by this capital», are truer than ever today.

Although in words, the modern revisionists describe the national liberation movement as an anti-imperialist force, in deeds they undermine it.

What kind of aid can the Khrushchevite revisionists give the cause of the liberation of Vietnam when they maintain the closest ties and are constantly strengthening their alliance with the murderers of the Vietnamese people, when, in the interest of the American aggressors, they are striving by all methods and means to compel the heroic Vietnamese people to capitulate and accept the American plan of the so-called «peaceful political solution», in order to perpetuate the domination of the American and the Saigon puppets in South Vietnam?

Let us take the Middle East as another example. For the needs of the counterrevolutionary global strategy, Soviet social-imperialism is carrying on all-round activity to conclude a political agreement with American imperialism in order to sabotage the liberation struggle of the peoples of that area. The aim of all their efforts it to compel the Arabs to capitulate to the Israeli aggressors, to extinguish the flames of the armed struggle of the Palestinian people, to realize the criminal Soviet-American plan for the division of spheres of influence, to split and plunder the peoples of the Middle East.

The basic aim of «joint anti-imperialist actions», says the principal document of the Moscow revisionist meeting, «remains as always, to ward off the danger of war, the danger of a world thermo-nuclear war which continues to threaten the peoples with mass extermination, to fight for peace throughout the world.» According to the revisionists, the socialist countries, the working class, the communist parties, the oppressed peoples and nations, which are the anti-imperialist forces of our time, must abandon all their revolutionary ideals, must give up any kind of struggle against imperialism and reaction for national and social liberation and make the struggle for peace against the threat of war their supreme objective. And in order to persuade them, they say: «...the struggle for peace is integrated with the peoples' struggle for freedom, progress and democracy, to get rid of foreign violence, colonialism and neo-colonialism, reaction and fascist dictatorship». Thus, it follows that the struggle for peace is the «magic wand» which will allegedly solve all the major problems harassing the peoples.

The struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism. To direct the struggle for peace against the danger of war alone, as the
modern revisionists do, is to fight the effect and leave the cause untouched. The threat of war does not come out of the blue but from imperialism. War has been and is the outcome of the exploiting social order, its inseparable fellow-traveller. There can be no peace in the world as long as imperialism continues to exist. To proclaim the struggle for peace as the principal objective and to direct this struggle against the danger of war alone, means to perpetuate the status quo in the world.

The main objective of the anti-imperialist forces cannot be the struggle for peace against the danger of war, but must be the struggle to smash and do away with imperialism. This is the only way to avert the danger of war. Therefore, the main road for the defence of peace and prevention of war is the road of the revolution. And if the imperialists dare to unleash a world war, it will result, not in the destruction of mankind, as the revisionists claim, but in the destruction of imperialism, buried by the peoples’ revolution. Contrary to the views of revisionists who say «either peace at any price or total destruction», the Marxist-Leninists adhere to the revolutionary thesis that the salvation of the peoples, of the proletariat, depends on the destruction of the imperialist system of oppression and exploitation.

The «peace», «anti-imperialism», «unity of action» and other fraudulent demagogic slogans of the Soviet leaders today sound like a false clamour to distract the peoples’ attention from the reality, from the emergence of Soviet revisionist imperialism on the world stage and from its claims and threats.

The main characteristic of the foreign policy of the Soviet leading clique today is its going over to open fascist methods, to violence, to military adventures and armed aggression.

The recent events in Czechoslovakia have shown that the Soviet clique is no longer bothered by the principles of the peoples’ freedom and independence, self-determination and sovereignty. For it there exists only one principle, that of trampling underfoot and violating any principle, agreement, treaty or alliance. Of what kind of freedom and independence, of what national sovereignty of the satellites of the Soviet Union can one speak when in fact, the Soviet military forces are stationed in all their countries and make the law there?

But the appetite of Soviet imperialism goes beyond the bounds of the area which is directly under its influence. The policy of military blackmail is now openly directed also against the other countries of the Balkans. The Soviet naval fleet is more and more extending the zone of its activity in the Mediterranean Sea and the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The Minister of War of the Soviet Union, Marshal Grechko, visits one capital after another — Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Rawalpindi and Delhi with his military plans in his brief-case.

Regardless of the torrent of words poured out there «against imperialism», regardless of the differences in the views of its representatives about
certain problems of the world situation, overall, the revisionist meeting in Moscow submitted to the predetermined objectives and aims of the Soviet leaders, to which we have often had occasion to refer in the columns of this newspaper.

The chiefs of the revisionist parties who hitched themselves to the Soviet chariot assumed a grave major responsibility before the working masses in their countries and the entire international working class. They set out on a dangerous course which will have very grave consequences for them.

The essential feature of the meeting was its anti-China character, the aim to line up all the revisionist parties in the campaign against China, Albania and other revolutionary forces in the world. The fact that neither China nor Albania are attacked by name in the documents of the meeting in no way alters the truth of this. That is only a base manoeuvre on the part of the sneak who hurls the stone and tries to hide his hand, and is intended as a certain consolation to those revisionists who, wanting to avoid involvement in more dangerous adventures, content themselves with empty talk.

The Moscow meeting of the revisionist parties, organized and presided over by the renegade chiefs of the Kremlin is another despicable act of diversion against the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement and revolutionary forces, intended to sabotage the joint anti-imperialist front of the peoples and to undermine the national-liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It was used by the Soviet leaders as a means to conceal their rapprochement and collaboration with American imperialism, as a means to draw the attention of the peoples away from the imperialist and revisionist plots for the division of spheres of influence and domination of the world.

But the great gamble organized by the leaders of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union is doomed to failure. Our Party has pointed out on a number of occasions, and the facts of daily life have confirmed that, with or without the revisionist general meeting, Khrushchevite revisionism can never escape the total bankruptcy which is inevitable for it. It has already been proved that whoever has united with the bourgeoisie and the other enemies of the working class, that whoever has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and has raised his hand against it, whoever has abandoned the sacred cause of the revolution and the freedom of the peoples and has united with imperialism and the counterrevolution, is doomed to suffer the fate of all renegades, the fate of regressive forces condemned by history.

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The traitors’ meeting in Moscow provided further evidence of the unprincipled struggle and quarrels among revisionist parties and countries,
of the further decay and degeneration of the revisionist front.

Although the main document is full of "internationalist principles", which allegedly exist in the relations among "sister parties" and "fraternal countries" and despite its euphoria about "unity", it cannot conceal the deep divergencies seething within the revisionist cauldron which has long been corroded and cracked. Indeed such words do not even serve to camouflage the rotten partial, temporary and unstable compromise which the revisionist cliques managed to reach at the present moment after much toil, mutual pressure and blackmail. Even among the revisionist chiefs there were those who complained at the meeting that, although the principles governing relations among "communist parties" and "socialist countries" are stated correctly and look beautiful on paper, in practice things are quite different and these principles are unscrupulously trampled underfoot.

But whoever has more or less followed the preparations for and the proceedings of this ill-famed meeting cannot help noticing that all the high-sounding statements of the revisionists about the unity which was allegedly attained and strengthened at the present meeting are an out-and-out bluff. The profound differences that were expressed before and during the meetings on many of the most important issues, the lamentable results of the meeting at which a number of revisionist parties refused to endorse the whole or parts of the main document which emerged from the meet-

ing, are facts which speak for themselves. The Italian revisionists said quite openly that while, on the surface, this document presents the appearance of unity, in reality, it conceals major disagreements.

The Party of Labour of Albania has more than once emphasized the fact that there is not, nor can there be, real and stable unity among the revisionist herd. Of course, all the revisionists, from the Khrushchevites to the disciples of Togliatti, who, at the present meeting represented the most pronounced opposite poles, are united in a single counter-revolutionary front by their hostility to and their joint campaign against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary forces that uphold it, although on this question, too, there have been and are differences in tactics among the different revisionist groupings. But fierce contradictions and ever deeper divisions in the ranks of revisionists are inevitable. They stem from the class and ideological nature of revisionism itself. The participants in the meeting are now striving in vain to minimize the disputes and differences, to conceal their real causes and to present them as temporary and easily surmountable.

They stem from the social and class basis of revisionism, which represents the narrow selfish interests of a bourgeoisified class or stratum - the new "socialist" bourgeoisie, in the countries where the revisionist cliques have usurped power, of the "worker" and "communist" aristocracy and
bureaucracy in the capitalist countries. This leads, as it must do, to bourgeois nationalist positions.

The revisionist cliques in the various capitalist countries are linked with the interests of their own national bourgeoisie and the imperialist groupings in which it takes part. They are dependent on these interests, and this cannot fail to lead to contradictions and conflicts with the revisionist cliques of other countries, in the first place, with those of the countries where the revisionists are in power. These contradictions and conflicts come to the fore particularly at moments of crises and tension, when the revisionist cliques more openly take the side of their own bourgeoisie. V.I. Lenin pointed out that it was precisely the connections of the opportunist parties of the Second International with the local imperialist bourgeoisie that, during the crisis caused by the First World War, took them openly to the side of their own bourgeoisie, to the positions of social-chauvinism and social-imperialism. The transition of Soviet revisionism to social-imperialism, which found concrete and brutal expression during the Czechoslovak crisis, further crystallized the contradictory positions on the revisionist front. Each new crisis will further split and more and more fragment the international revisionist front.

The contradictions amongst the revisionists stem from their lack of a clearly-defined common ideological basis. The fight against the fundamental theses and principles of Marxism-Leninism unites them all. But in the revisionist theories of this or that country and area, there are strong influences of various trends of bourgeois ideology, a thing which undoubtedly leaves its mark on the theoretical positions of the revisionists of various countries about this or that problem. Standing on the position of pragmatism, each of these parties distorts the Marxist-Leninist principles in that spirit and direction and to that degree which best responds to the interests and requirements of the particular revisionist group at the given moment. The clearest example of this is provided by the theoretical wavering of the Soviet revisionist leadership, from the Khrushchevite liberal positions down to the present pseudo-Marxist, social-fascist and social-imperialist hard-line positions.

At the revisionist meeting in Moscow there was a clear crystallization of two main contesting lines within the international revisionist front: the line represented by the Soviet revisionist leading clique and its supporters, and the line represented by the Italian disciples of Togliatti and many others. Both these lines are utterly anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary. The contradictions between Soviet great-power chauvinism and social-imperialism and the narrow bourgeois nationalism of the other revisionist groupings, and the contradictions between Soviet imperialism and the Western imperialist bourgeoisie are the essence of the struggle between them.

The Soviet revisionist leadership aims, first and foremost, to unite the whole international revisionist front under its dictate, to mobilize all the revisionist forces unreservedly and impose on
them its tactics in the struggle against the cause of the revolution and socialism, against the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In particular, the Soviet revisionist leadership strives to prevent the other revisionist cliques, especially in the countries where they are in power, from pursuing an independent policy of their own, to stop their free line up with the West, to keep them within its own sphere of influence, as semi-colonies of Soviet imperialism and tools obedient to the changing requirements of Soviet policy, as a support for its expansionist and neocolonialist aims.

The beautiful phrases such as «internationalism», «comradely collaboration», «respect for sovereignty» and «non-interference in the internal affairs of the others», with which Brezhnev's ill-famed speech and the document issued from the meeting were replete, can scarcely deceive anyone.

The opposite line, that of the Italian disciples of Togliatti and of many others, which is characterized by the efforts to escape from Soviet tutelage, was clearly crystallized during the meeting. It wants to ensure the greatest possible independence, in both domestic and foreign policies, to have free hands in its manoeuvres to integrate itself with the local bourgeoisie and imperialism, to advance at this or that rate on the road of bourgeois degeneration, without being linked with the twists and turns of Soviet policy or compromised by the defeats of the Soviet revisionists, etc. At the Moscow meeting, the supporters of this line aimed at further weakening the dominant positions of the Soviet ruling clique in the international revisionist front.

In compliance with these aims and objectives, they persistently stressed the thesis that, at the present time, there cannot and must not be a leading party, state or centre in the «world communist movement», that all the parties should be equal and independent. «It is essential,» said Berlinguer, «that the independence of each party is fully respected not only in deciding its policy, in seeking its own road to socialism and the construction of socialist society, but also in determining its own stand on the major problems of our movement.» This was an open challenge to the hegemonic positions and dictate of the Soviet leadership.

Fearing reprisals on the part of the Soviet social-imperialist clique, the disciples of Togliatti demanded that the meeting sanctions as a principle that «the disagreements that may be expressed during international meetings in discussing and voting on proposed documents, as well as non-participation in these meetings, must not have consequences in the relations between parties». This is a very clear indication of the nature of relations among the revisionist herd, where the brutal dictate of the Soviet clique, which is enforced by the bludgeon, and the ruble prevails.

At the Moscow meeting, the Soviet revisionist clique was compelled to face the difficult issue of Czechoslovakia which has stuck in its throat.

At first, the Soviet revisionist chiefs tried in every way to pass it over in silence. Indeed, they
did not fail to exert pressure and threats on those who might dare raise this issue in a critical way.

But, since these attempts did not succeed, the Soviet revisionist leadership was compelled to show its cards and, with the support of its zealous lackeys, from the quisling Husak to Kadar, tried to justify its fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia and even to reserve itself-the right to a possible repetition of such acts in the future, under the pretext of «internationalist aid» for the «socialist countries» which are allegedly endangered by imperialism. This shows very clearly that the principles of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, of which the revisionists speak, are utterly worthless, that towards others, the Soviet revisionist chiefs adhere to Brezhnev’s ill-famed theory of «limited sovereignty», that the relations of the revisionist parties with the Soviet social-imperialist chauvinist clique cannot be other than relations of submission, of servile obedience and blind implementation of its dictate.

If one sees the real essence of the question behind the polished and rounded phrases, the main document adopted by the Moscow revisionist meeting is nothing but an unprincipled temporary compromise between different revisionist clans. It is a reflection of the present balance of forces between revisionist groupings of opposing tendencies.

The facts prove that the Moscow revisionist meeting by no means smoothed out the contradic-
tions on the international revisionist front, as the revisionist leaders are noisily trumpeting abroad. On the contrary, it brought them out, crystallized and polarized them further, thus preparing new, even deeper divisions and crises between these renegades from Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the revolution and socialism. This is an inevitable objective process.

The challenge which the revisionists gathered in Moscow tried to make to Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary forces of the world frightens no one. On the contrary, it further increases their determination to fight modern revisionism to the end, to denounce all its demagogic manoeuvres more forcefully, and to mercilessly expose its counterrevolutionary plots and plans. There is no doubt that the revolutionaries, the genuine communists, wherever they may be, will certainly be able to analyze the present situation correctly and draw the necessary conclusions. The meeting of revisionists in Moscow, the decisions it adopted and the line it defined showed that they have irreversibly placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front and the international communist movement. On all fronts, both on the political and the ideological fronts, the revisionists and the Marxist-Leninists are on opposite sides of the barricade.

The world situation today is developing favourably for the revolutionary forces and unfavourably for imperialism and revisionism. The revisionist front has decayed, the breaches in it
are wide, the quarrels between its sections are increasing and extending. But the Marxist-Leninists, those fighting for socialism, for the freedom and independence of the peoples must not be lulled to sleep because of all this. As the Moscow meeting showed, the imperialist and revisionist enemies still have not laid down their arms. The fight of the Marxist-Leninist parties has dealt them heavy blows and given them no time to draw breath but it must be continued at an ever greater rate and intensity. The final victory over the new opportunism will still require great efforts and toil and will be achieved through ever greater determination, courage and maturity on the part of the Marxist-Leninists, through militant actions and skilful fighting tactics, which will assist every day and every hour in realizing the objectives of our revolutionary strategy.

The great propaganda campaign which the revisionists, led by the Soviet revisionists, are now conducting in order to advertise their opportunist theses and the documents of the Moscow meeting of traitors is obviously aimed at hoodwinking public opinion, at poisoning the minds of those strata of working people who are still under revisionist influence, and diverting attention from the criminal imperialist-revisionist plots.

In these circumstances, Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries are faced with the great task of responding to the new tide of demagogy which the revisionists have launched on a world scale, with all-sided revolutionary activity in order to unmask and smash the revisionist offensive. Great tasks lie ahead for the Soviet people and the Soviet Marxist-Leninists. They must rise against the cynical demagogy and false propaganda of their renegade chiefs — Brezhnev, Kosygin and company, who are seeking to represent the Moscow meeting as an endorsement by the «communist parties of the world» of their treacherous line of restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union and of their imperialist foreign policy. The Soviet Marxist-Leninists must no longer tolerate the fraudulent claims of the clique of usurpers who are posing as fighters for socialism and the world communist movement, while inciting counter-revolutionary struggle everywhere and by every means, who pretend to condemn imperialism and to defend the freedom of the peoples, while they themselves commit imperialist aggressions, as in the case of Czechoslovakia, and are now threatening other countries with war.

Great responsibilities now devolve on the honest communists who still belong to various revisionist parties. Now that the revisionist cliques, advancing on the road of betrayal, have deepened the split organizationally, too, every communist is faced with the clear alternative: either with communism, with the revolution and against the revisionist betrayal, or with the revisionist chiefs on the road of betrayal. Now there can be no room either for illusions or for waverings. Accounts must be settled with the revisionist chiefs, with revisionism in general: we must burn bridges.
with them, not only in the ideological and political spheres, but also in the organizational sphere. Revolutionary communists and revisionists can no longer militate together in the ranks of one party. No sentimental feelings, no alleged tactical considerations can justify staying any longer in the ranks of revisionist parties. The genuine communists, all real revolutionaries must unite and found new, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties.

The anti-communist meeting in Moscow is a farce organized by the Soviet revisionists for base aims of political and ideological speculation. Those taking part in it could never raise and discuss their problems openly or make a concrete analysis of their line and activity. It is up to the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, all those who stand loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to carry out their internationalist duty, to come out openly, and boldly expose the revisionist betrayals. The plans and the counterrevolutionary unity of the revisionists must be countered with genuine Marxist-Leninist unity and a courageous, principled and all-sided struggle must be waged against the revisionist cliques in power to overthrow them and to carry forward the glorious cause of the revolution and socialism everywhere, the struggle for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

THE STRENGTHENING OF LINKS BETWEEN MOSCOW AND BONN — A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY AMERICAN-SOVET GLOBAL STRATEGY

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The revisionist chiefs of the Kremlin are pursuing a typically czarist policy — that of alliance and collaboration with the imperialist and reactionary forces and of struggle against the peoples and the revolution. In recent times the contacts and political and economic agreements between Moscow and Bonn have increased continually and rapidly. The primary reason for this increase is that it is in the related imperialist or revanchist interests of these two imperialist and war-like powers in the context of the counterrevolutionary imperialist-revisionist global collaboration, to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in Europe and throughout the world.

Not only the official visits of state and polit-
ical personalities but also the all-round extension of economic relations between them, speak of the intensification of the political and economic links between these two states. The Moscow clique of revisionist renegades is interested in developing and expanding these relations with that power which is considered the favourite of American imperialism in Western Europe, in order to carry its counterrevolutionary deals to the detriment of the other peoples of Europe through to the end, even by sacrificing the sovereign rights and vital interests of such countries as the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.

And if sometimes the stale propaganda of the Kremlin raises the spectre of West German revanchism, it does this for deliberate aims, for purposes of intimidation and to keep its hold over the centrifugal tendencies and all the patriotic and anti-imperialist revolutionary forces in those countries which are under the hegemonism of the Soviet revisionists and operate against it, against the social-imperialism of Moscow. Of course, in the existing political conditions of Europe and the present-day political development of West Germany, the militarist and revanchist forces of that country, their activity during the electoral campaign and their efforts to revive and re-organize the Nazi party and its storm organizations must not be underestimated, because they constitute a serious danger to the security and stability of Europe. The lessons of Hitler's period have not been forgotten by the peoples. However, the policy of rapprochement with Bonn which the Kremlin clique is pursuing, objectively supports and encourages the revival of fascist and militarist forces in the heart of Europe, and incites their ambitions for expansion at the expense of other peoples.

There are many facts which speak of this process of reconciliation and all-round political rapprochement between the new czars of the Kremlin and the rulers of Bonn. Whereas Khrushchev's treacherous policy of capitulation opened the way for this process years ago, now Khrushchev's successors in the Kremlin have widened this road by raising the militarists of Bonn to the rank of equal partners and being ready to sacrifice the vital interests of other peoples on the altar of this counterrevolutionary collaboration, which they try to conceal under the smoke-screen of «European security». In recent years and especially in the past few months, there has been a real flood of messages, delegations, exchanges of projects for agreements and the conclusion of agreements of the most varied forms between Moscow and Bonn. The representative of the Soviet revisionist clique Patolichev visited West Germany as minister of foreign trade, offering the businessmen of Bonn the maximum possibilities for entry to Soviet markets. Meanwhile, an agreement was concluded on the joint production of large-diameter oil pipes, a project which will cost the colossal sum of one billion marks. For its part, the Soviet side is ready to continue the construction of the «Druzhba» oil and gas pipeline (which was originally destined
for the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary only) deep into the territory of West Germany, in order to sell the German capitalists Soviet oil and gas at low prices. The representative of the German monopolies, Klaus von Dohnany, deputy minister of the economy in Bonn, who visited Moscow for this purpose last May, formed the conviction that the Kremlin was «seriously and concretely interested» in strengthening its economic links with West Germany.

The talks about the opening of the Frankfurt-Moscow airline should be seen in the context of all-round rapprochement with Bonn, while the West German side, exploiting the readiness of the Soviet revisionist clique to make concessions, insists that in the near future this line should be extended through Siberia in order to make a more direct connection with Tokyo, making easier in practice the possibility of the creation of the Bonn-Tokyo axis and thus making Siberia a «bridge» for communication and a future military alliance between West-German European militarism and Japanese Asiatic militarism.

Naturally, all these agreements which in appearance are «simply economic agreements» and «with mutual benefit», are based on definite political interests and orientations. The Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Gromyko declared in the Supreme Soviet that his government wanted to have «normal relations» with West Germany. A series of convincing proofs speak of this «desire» and «readiness» of the renegades of Moscow: during the bloody anti-Chinese provocations on the Ussuri last March, the revisionist ambassador to Bonn, Tsarapkin hastened «to inform» the government, leaders of Bonn, presenting white as black, just as his colleagues did in the main capitals of the capitalist world. This was a clear signal from the Soviet revisionists to the West German militarist and revanchist forces to go on working undisturbed to complete the provocation hatched up by them for the election of the president in an illegal way in West Berlin, because they themselves were engaged in a much more serious anti-Chinese military provocation on the Far-eastern front. Through this commitment the Soviet revisionists said to their partners in Bonn: «Have no fear of loud words. Act in Berlin, you'll find no hindrance there». And this is what occurred. While the representatives of Bonn behaved in that city as if it belonged to them, flagrantly violating the conditions laid down by the Potsdam Conference and other international agreements, once again the Soviet revisionist capitulationists left the German Democratic Republic in the lurch and took a stand betraying the interests of the German people. This stand was repeated again recently, when the three Western powers took the initiative, on August 7th, to propose another dirty deal with the Soviet revisionists «in order to ease» the situation of West Berlin. Echoing this proposal, the TASS agency hastened to placate the Western partners and to assure them «the Soviet Union has never opposed talks in connection with the question of...»
West Berlin» and «our opinion is that West Berlin must not become an obstacle to the solution of the European question, but thanks to its position, must become a bridge between East and West». Of course, this is neither the first nor the only occasion which the revisionist clique of the Kremlin has used to sell out the interests of the German people by using them as a bridge of communication with the capitalist West.

But the readiness of this clique to gamble with the future of the German people and other peoples does not stop at this. It loses no opportunity to continue its flirtation with the militarist and revisionist clique of Bonn. The revisionist Prime Minister, Kosygin holds secret talks with Bonn’s ambassador to Moscow and welcomes and farewells various West-German politicians with special warmth. A few days ago; a delegation of the West German Free Democrat Party, headed by the chairman of that party Schiel held intensive talks in Moscow, while last week, an important delegation of the Social-Democratic Party, headed by Helmuth Schmidt, leader of the Social-Democratic group in the Bundestag which takes part in the government coalition, completed its talks with Gromyko and Polyanski. Finally, today, an important West-German delegation arrives in Moscow, where it will conclude a new trade agreement and discuss the creation of a joint commission for scientific and technological collaboration. It is possible that this delegation will also raise the question of Kiesinger’s coming visit to Moscow; which is awaited with lively interest by the revisionist chiefs of the Kremlin. The present visit will crown their rapprochement and further integration with Bonn through direct talks with one of the main leaders of the West German ruling clique, whose fascist past and activity are now widely known. The fascists of yesterday and the revanchists of today are the favourite collaborators and partners of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique.

The gift of fifty red roses which the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sent the West German president on the occasion of his birthday was not simply a display of diplomatic good behaviour but a significant political gesture. The Chancellor of Bonn Kiesinger appreciates this and expresses his gratitude when he openly explains the real roots of this stand. «They (the Soviet revisionists),» says Kiesinger, «want the best possible relations with the West, bearing in mind their situation with China.» Speaking to journalists on his return from his meetings with Nixon in Washington, Kiesinger said, «The American president, too, was of the same opinion as us (and the Soviet revisionists), that the main problem for the future which is worrying the West is the growing power of China.»

It is not accidental that one of the main points of the government program of the Kiesinger-Brandt «grand coalition» (that is, the alliance between the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats) has been to «open up» towards the European East, «a new policy» as they called it, towards the revisionist camp. Of course, this «new
policy» serves the aims of the imperialists of the West by giving a new impulse to the process of disintegration and capitalist degeneration which has begun in those countries. This rapprochement with the revisionist countries was inaugurated years ago between Bonn and Moscow, in the time of Adenauer and Khrushchev, but now it has been put on a more so-called scientific basis of development, taking care, however, to avoid showing excessive zeal and unnecessarily provoking the jealousy of Moscow over the tendencies of its satellites towards autonomy.

The revisionist clique of Moscow is interested in intensifying its political-economic-cultural relations with Bonn, not only because this state is becoming a dominant power in Western Europe. Its counterrevolutionary concept about «European security» and the preservation of the status quo in that zone, even in active collaboration with the militarist and revanchist forces of West Germany, requires this intensification. At the same time, however, this political concept of the Soviet revisionists is the outcome of their counterrevolutionary strategy for a phoney peace in Europe and real war in Asia, in order to have their backs secure in Europe and their hands free in Asia, to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the whole world.

This course, naturally, is an expression and a consequence of the counterrevolutionary Soviet-American collaboration for the division of the world between these two «superpowers»; to keep the peoples in bondage to them and to suppress revolutions.

The Soviet people, who, during the Second World War, experienced the barbarities and inhuman savagery of the Hitlerite invaders, made the decisive contribution to wiping out the fascist beast and to the victory of the peoples over fascism with their heroic fight which cost them 20 million victims. There is no doubt that they cannot approve any policy of rapprochement with the successors to the Hitlerites and angrily reject the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique's treacherous policy of collaboration with the revanchist-militarist forces of Bonn, because such collaboration is a repetition of the ill-famed Munich course, an incitement and encouragement to the expansionist appetite and ambitions of those reactionary forces. Finally, such a policy totally tears the mask from this clique, exposing them as betrayers of the vital interests of the Soviet people themselves and the other peoples of Europe, especially the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic, who cannot permit; and will never permit; the revival of the Hitlerite Reich, or the revival and action of those political forces of reaction and fascism that set Europe and the world ablaze in the past.
VICTORY CAN BE ACHIEVED AND GUARANTEED ONLY IF YOU HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE MASSES AND ARE GUIDED BY THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

From the talk with some French communists

August 28, 1969

During the days you have stayed in our country our comrades have, of course, informed you about the successes we have achieved in the construction of socialism and about the tasks which we have to solve in the future. In the course of the work; apart from successes we also have shortcomings. In the future, by organizing and combining the work well, by increasing our efforts and sacrifices, we shall have even greater successes and try to gain ever stronger positions for the complete construction of our socialist society.

Today our Party is working in such a way as to ensure that the revolutionary spirit, which is seething in all the Albanian communists and people, following the 5th Congress of the Party, a spirit which can be seen all over the country, right up to the most remote corners of our Homeland, is further deepened and strengthened, with the aim of assisting all sectors of the economy to develop still better in a rhythmical and normal way, so that one of them does not become a hindrance to the other.

From an overall analysis of the work and efforts of our Party for the improvement of the economic conditions of the country to the proper level, for the construction of socialism in Albania, we have to say that the results we desire cannot be achieved without a ceaseless ideological, political and economic revolution. In order to achieve these results in the economy, the main thing is that even greater efforts must be made by the Party for the ideo-political uplift of the masses.

The decisions of the 5th Congress of the Party have been an extremely great help to our Party and the working masses of our country to promote the development of the economy. As a result of the revolutionary enthusiasm which erupted all over the country following the Congress, both in industry and in agriculture, in education and culture, etc., we have had splendid successes at work, have had perceptible results in the development of agriculture and livestock farming, the breaking in of new land, land improvement and irrigation, etc. All these results have led to the further strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, from both the
organizational and the ideological aspects. Now we can say that our peasants have been convinced and see clearly that the road of collectivization which the Party showed them is the right one. In short, great efforts have been made in all fields of life to achieve new successes, step by step, in strengthening the positions of socialism.

The decisive factor in achieving these successes is the people, led and educated by the Party, and the people understand us very well and are working with all their energies to carry out the tasks put before them, so that our country will advance and socialist Albania will grow stronger and more prosperous from day to day.

Today we, the Party and the people, have set ourselves a major task — the further revolutionization of our school, the axis of which will be our Marxist-Leninist ideology. In order to achieve this aim we must radically revise all the text books and school programs from this point of view. This will be done not only for the University but for all categories of school.

The Soviet revisionists have begun to scream accusations at us that we are militarizing the whole people, from the pioneers to the pensioners. But we are taking no notice of their accusations and are attending to our own affairs. We want to educate the youth in the spirit of love for the Homeland, for science, for the people and the Party. Let the revisionists scream their heads off that we are militarizing the youth — this does not worry us at all. We are faced with very great tasks for the revolutionization of the school and to carry them out we have to do a great deal of work.

The Party has always worked unceasingly for the education of cadres, because we are aware of the fact that not all of them are capable and there are communists amongst us who make mistakes, whom we try to correct.

An important factor which is giving major results in the direction of the education of the cadres of the Party is the consistent application of the line of the masses. Had we not done this, the results of our work would not have been so good. Hence, by relying on this base, we have achieved greater results in all sectors of the life of the country.

I can give you some examples to illustrate this.

Recently some changes have been made in the method of work of our people’s courts. Our courts were people’s courts even before these measures we took, but now they are still more so. Today apart from the functionaries of the courts the people, too, take part in the trials, judge the question under examination and give their opinion about it directly. In our country, all the possibilities have been created to ensure that the laws are severe for traitors, thieves, etc., whereas for those who commit minor misdemeanours we practice the method of conviction.

The aim of this is to make the culprit understand the fault he has committed and, after the trial, to come out convinced that his guilt has been
judged fairly by persons elected by the people themselves. Hence, from such a method of judging the case, the guilty one has the possibility of being corrected more quickly.

We have had obvious results from acting in this way in judging cases and, consequently, the number of people sentenced has been reduced. If we examine the statistics of thefts, for example, it turns out that they are diminishing from year to year.

We have achieved good results; also, in the question of divorces, the number of which has diminished greatly in recent years. Why is this? Because in every activity and in the solution of every problem, the masses, the people, have begun to take part. If a man wants to separate from his wife and things have gone so far at the divorce court, the masses, the residents of his suburb, ask the petitioner to explain to them why he is trying to get a separation from his wife with whom this one or that one has seen him quarrelling unjustly. The people, the residents of one apartment, block or suburb, know one another well, because they live together, therefore what they say is the truth, is right and they are able to judge the question well. When they know that the wife is honest, all of them come to her defence and condemn the aims and stand of her husband. As a result of these measures; an atmosphere unfavourable to those who seek a divorce without a basis has been created, therefore the problem of divorces is now settled very correctly amongst us

and this strengthens family understanding. This explains why the number of divorces has diminished.

For putting the line of the Party into practice, the work which is done with the communists is very important. They must be the first who understand the line well and fight with all their strength to apply it. We are aware of the fact that not all are capable of properly carrying out the tasks with which they are charged, therefore it is necessary that the Party works hard to ensure that they thoroughly understand its line and exert all their strength to put it into practice. To this end, the Party works continuously for the education of the communists, and this work is done, first of all, in the party basic organization; in the education circles, etc.

We have decided that candidates for party membership who come from the administration, or from the ranks of the intellectuals, should do their probation period in production, in the mines or other centres of production, such as the agricultural cooperatives, etc., under the direct supervision of the masses, of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, or the soldiers. When the party basic organization examines the candidate's application for admission as a party member, it seeks the opinion of the working people of the work centre where he has done or is doing his probation period. The masses give their opinion, his work and stand are analysed carefully there, and what the workers say about whether or not he has the
qualities to become a party member, is listened to. If the masses, especially the workers, do not see the qualities of a communist in this person, they tell the Party bluntly that he is not worthy of admission to its ranks; because they know that people are not admitted to the Party for their beautiful eyes, but those who are admitted are precisely those who are outstanding among the masses for their lofty moral-political qualities as people of the vanguard, at work, in society and everywhere. After all the facts are gathered on the spot, where he has done his probation period, then the party basic organization decides whether to accept him or not.

We take all these measures with the aim of ensuring that the Party is strong and linked with the people like flesh to bone, because only in this way can we build socialism and raise the defence power of the country.

Although the situation in our country is sound, healthy and revolutionary, we always bear in mind the fact that we have enemies internally and abroad, whom we must never for a moment underrated. We have big enemies, such as the American imperialists, etc., but the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionists are just as dangerous for us. We cannot and must not neglect or underrated them. Even the slightest neglect of them would have very dangerous consequences for us.

Both the imperialists and the revisionists are experiencing difficulties today. They are in a grave crisis, the effect of which can be seen both within those countries themselves and in the relations between them. This crisis has military, political, economic and other aspects. Naturally, this causes the reaction of the working masses, which is expressed in their frequent strikes, protests and demonstrations. This is the explanation for the fact that there is a great upsurge of the revolutionary drive of the masses today, in Italy, France, Britain, America and elsewhere.

There are crises of this nature, also, in the revisionist countries, which compelled the Soviet revisionists to undertake their military intervention in Czechoslovakia last year, in order to keep it under their tutelage, because Dubcek and his gang were hastening to break away and to turn their country into a bridgehead of imperialism. This intervention clearly demonstrates the decay of the Soviet revisionist regime, which is turning into a military fascist regime. There is nothing surprising in this, because it is a consequence of the course of betrayal which the Soviet revisionist chiefs are pursuing. As a result of their treacherous policy, the satellites of the Soviet Union have now begun to struggle to break away from Soviet tutelage. Now the situation is such that the traitors of the Kremlin are incapable of keeping their vassals in check, except by means of arms.

The aim of the Soviet revisionists in keeping their satellites; from Poland and Czechoslovakia down to Bulgaria, under their tutelage, is first of
all to secure their own borders. This is the explanation for the fact that the Soviet revisionists have their occupation troops stationed in all these countries, with the exception of Rumania, today. However, on the borders of Rumania, too, they have assembled whole divisions of troops, while in Czechoslovakia they have dozens upon dozens of divisions, etc.

The Soviet revisionists think that they can keep the «rebels» around them only through military occupation. With the stand they have begun to maintain all they are doing is tying an even heavier weight around their necks. This stand has aroused the hatred of the peoples of all those countries. We see this very clearly in Czechoslovakia where the Soviet fascist militarists have been put in a very difficult position, because a growing passive resistance has begun and has become very serious for them. This resistance is organized by the bourgeoisie for its own interests; by the patriotic people and by the revolutionaries. There are even some signs of the beginning of armed resistance.

When they are faced with emergency situations; as in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists do not hesitate to engage in military intervention and to dismiss from the leadership in the occupied country all those who do not serve them blindly, replacing them with more obedient vassals. This is how they acted with Dubcek, in place of whom they put Husak. But just as they removed Dubcek, tomorrow they might remove Hus-
ak and bring in place of him, say, Strugal, who is just as much a traitor. However, the renegades of Moscow will not be able to stabilize the situation in Czechoslovakia, because the resistance of the Czechoslovak people will grow from day to day.

The development of events in Czechoslovakia has made all the revisionist leaders who are ruling in the countries of «people's democracy» afraid of the Soviets. Following the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Soviets are exerting great pressure on the Rumanians. The Rumanian leaders are dyed-in-the-wool revisionists, but not aggressive. The things they say are mere talk.

First of all, the Rumanian revisionist leaders are not brave, as they are demonstrating. If they maintain an anti-Soviet stand today, this comes about because, at the moment, they are benefitting from the difficulties which have been created for the Khrushchevite traitors by the events in Czechoslovakia. We think that for the Soviet revisionist leaders, Rumania is the weakest point today, therefore they are trying to turn the Rumanians, among whom they find a certain resistance, into slaves. The Rumanians are defending their Homeland not as socialists, but as nationalists. They are defending their Homeland from the Soviet social-imperialists, proceeding not from Marxist-Leninist positions, but from nationalist positions, because they know that the Soviet revisionists are very dangerous and can guess what would occur in Rumania if they moved in there.
What must be kept in mind, first of all, is whether or not the Rumanians will resist if the Soviet troops move in on Rumania. Up till now nothing is being said, but we know it is a fact that the Soviets are trying to convince the Rumanian leadership to agree to the holding of military manoeuvres by Warsaw Treaty troops within Rumania. Their problem is to get their foot in the door, then everyone knows they will never leave; and that is why the Rumanians are resisting on this point. They agree in words they are members of the Warsaw Treaty, but they do not want the manoeuvres to be held on their territory, while the Soviets are being very insistent on this question; they invite the Rumanians to take part in the manoeuvres of this treaty which are held in other countries, but they do not go, because they know that later it will be demanded of them that the manoeuvres are held on the territory of Rumania.

At the Congress of their party which was held recently, the Rumanians expelled from their leadership all those who were pro-Soviet. These things show that the situation in Rumania is not stable, that the Rumanians are under continuous pressure from the Soviets.

We followed with attention the visit which the President of the United States of America Richard Nixon made to Rumania at the beginning of this month. The Rumanians tried to frighten the Soviets with this visit. But would Nixon really defend Rumania? It is hard to believe such a thing, because the USA has many open and secret agreements and alliances with the Soviet revisionist leadership, therefore it is logical to believe that Nixon does not want to fall out with the Soviets.

The Rumanians maintain relations with Tito, too. The Soviet revisionists are also threatening Yugoslavia. Precisely during the days when they occupied Czechoslovakia and began to threaten Rumania and Yugoslavia with the concentration of big forces in Bulgaria, as well as in the other revisionist countries, we published an article1 in the organ of our Party «Zëri i popullit», in which we made known to the peoples of the whole world that in case of an eventual attack by the Soviet social-imperialists against Rumania and Yugoslavia, the Albanian people would stand beside the Rumanian and the Yugoslav peoples. This declaration was right. Irrespective of the irreconcilable ideological differences we have with Tito and Titoism, our stand was welcomed both by the people and the leadership of Yugoslavia. But can it be said that Tito is afraid of an attack by the Soviet revisionists? No. He does not believe that he will be attacked from that direction, but under this pretext, he is taking effective military measures to strengthen his own positions within Yugoslavia. Tito fears that the Khrushchevites of Moscow, exploiting the difficult situation that exists in Yugoslavia, may overthrow him from within.

1 See note 1 on page 108 of this volume.
The truth is that the cauldron is seething there. The contradictions between the nationalities which that country comprises have been greatly exacerbated: the Serbs have been set against the Croats, the Croats against the Slovenes, the Slovenes against the Serbs, the Montenegrins against the Macedonians, the Serbs against the Albanians, etc. Brezhnev is aware of these major contradictions which exist between the nationalities that make up the Yugoslav state, and this is precisely what Tito is so afraid of, that is why he is making preparations and taking measures to strengthen the internal situation. At the same time, he is telling the Soviet revisionists that he understands their attitude very well.

I am sure that Tito will fight against anyone who may try to attack Yugoslavia. With the measures he is taking, he is telling Brezhnev and company that he will fight and, on the other hand, at the same time, he is warning his internal opponents to keep quiet, not to move, because he has big and important forces at his disposal, which he will use against all those who dare rise against him. Hence Tito is hoping to kill two birds with one stone, in the first place, to consolidate his political positions within the country, and, at the same time, to mobilize the Yugoslav people against an aggression by the Soviet revisionists.

For these reasons Tito was pleased with our declaration. And it is in our interests that he should not permit the entry of aggressive Soviet troops if Brezhnev demands that they should pass through Yugoslavia to attack Albania. We can say, and we are certain of this, that Tito will not permit the Soviet troops to enter Yugoslavia.

In Yugoslavia there are one and a half million Albanians, towards whom Tito has now begun to maintain a more tolerant stand, while giving them certain rights, like that of flying the flag, etc. Why is he making such concessions to the Albanians of Kosova now? Because the internal situation is not in his favour. The contradictions between nationalities in Yugoslavia have become very acute. With the external danger of intervention by the Soviet revisionists added to the situation, Tito has been obliged to make some concessions to the Albanians of Kosova who are struggling to take advantage of these conditions by exerting pressure to win their rights.

We do not know whether Yugoslavia will be attacked or not. If it is not attacked by the Soviet revisionists, this is in our favour, but even if it is attacked by the Soviets, the aggressors will run into the resistance of the Yugoslav peoples before they attack us. If the Khrushchevites make such an attempt, Tito will attack them. But even if Tito capitulates, we are determined to fight off any attack that might come from the Soviet revisionists. We have prepared ourselves for all the variants and we are in a position to cope with any aggression. Therefore it will not be easy to invade Albania. We are also ready to deal with any possible attack on the part of NATO. In any case we are convinced that the Soviet revisionists will not
find it so easy to act against our country as it was in Czechoslovakia, where they entered without any resistance at all. If they attack Rumania, the Rumanians may not resist them either, while they know full well that they will meet great and determined resistance from the Albanian people.

Apart from this, our country also has great strategic importance for NATO. Therefore we believe that if the Soviet revisionists attempt to attack Albania, the stand of the NATO countries towards the Soviet Union would change. It is not possible for NATO to remain an idle onlooker while the Soviets damage its interests in this region, but it will warn the Soviets not to attack Albania, otherwise the members of this organization will be obliged to begin the war against the Soviet Union. We think that, in its own interests, NATO will not allow the Soviet revisionists to attack our country and will not fail to react. But if such a thing were to occur, still we are not afraid, because, first of all, we have the people organized and armed. It will be difficult, if not impossible, for those who dare to attack our country to triumph.

In order to attack Albania the armies of the Soviet revisionist traitors will have to pass through Yugoslavia. This will be very difficult for them, because they will have to launch a simultaneous attack with thousands of aircraft, for they calculate that they will have to deal with a resolute people. From where else could they attack us? To get to Albania, they must pass through Greece or the Adriatic. We have made our calculations for all the variants. From whatever direction the enemies intend to attack us, today or in the future, we are prepared to cope with them. The Soviet revisionists know this, they are well aware of the way we think and our determination, and they also know the way the Yugoslavs think.

From the materials which we read and from what we hear from other sources, it seems that the Soviet revisionists, seeing that Tito is not afraid of them, have now begun to change their tactic towards him and are buttering him up. This is apparent from the visit which the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union Gromyko has decided to make to Yugoslavia in the near future, on the invitation of Yugoslavia’s secretary of state for foreign affairs.

From all this it turns out that the situation for the Soviet revisionists is far from brilliant; people everywhere in the world have begun to understand things as they are. These are not the times of the past when the mighty could do what they liked.

The rulers of the Kremlin displayed their true features over the Middle East problem, too, in Israel’s war against the Arab countries. Now the Israelis have established themselves on one side of the Suez Canal, while the Soviet revisionists have got into Egypt. Until quite recently, only the American, Italian and French fleets operated in the Mediterranean, while today a powerful Soviet
fleet is sailing these waters and has created its bases in Egypt, Syria, etc.

Hence, the Soviet revisionists have established themselves in the Mediterranean and have Cairo and all the ports of Egypt in their hands. The economy and army of that country are controlled by the Soviet revisionists and, in the final analysis, Nasser's policy is controlled by them, too. The same thing can be said of several other Arab countries.

How will the problem of the Middle East be solved? We think that this problem will not be solved through talks. The only way to settle it is through the withdrawal of the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists from the countries of that zone.

What will happen if the Americans order Israel to withdraw from the Suez Canal? In that case this canal will remain in the hands of the Soviet revisionists. However, such a thing is not in the interests of the American imperialists. We are all well aware of the great importance of the Suez Canal. If the Americans manage to win Nasser over, he will seek to expel the Soviet forces from Egypt. Hence the situation in the Middle East is serious. The only way in which the problem of the Middle East can be solved is through the resolute struggle of the Arab peoples against the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists. We can see no other solution.

Up until the Second World War, the Soviet Union, as the first socialist country in the world, was encircled by capitalist states and had the Black Sea as its only outlet to the Mediterranean. But today the situation has changed. Now the Soviet revisionists have their fleet in the Mediterranean, thus, in case of war, it will be waged in the Mediterranean before it is waged in the Black Sea, because a part of the powerful Soviet fleet is stationed there. As a result of the emergence of this fleet in the Mediterranean, Greece is in a pincers with this fleet on one side and Bulgaria on the other. Therefore, the American imperialists and the leaders of NATO are doing everything in their power to strengthen the situation in Greece so that they will not lose this important base of theirs...

Facing such a complicated situation we must prepare ourselves, must be ready, must never slacken our vigilance and our military defence, although we are not alone. All the revolutionary peoples are with us, the peoples whom our Marxist-Leninist comrades everywhere are preparing for revolution.

In any case, in a situation like this we are going through, it is our duty and the duty of all the Marxist-Leninists in the world to unite our forces to be able to cope with whatever may come.

We value the revolutionary work which is being done in France and we know very well that the situation for the Marxist-Leninists there is not easy. They will be facing major difficulties for
a long time yet. France is not a country just out of the egg, as we Albanians say. It has a revolutionary history, but it also has a reactionary history. France has very extensive revolutionary experience, but very extensive reactionary experience, too. Therefore, the experience of other parties is essential for all. Why are we meeting? In order to exchange experience with one another, but do we tell you to do as we do, or do you tell us to act as you do? No! We Marxists do not operate in this way, because this would not be correct. Marxist-Leninists must be thoroughly acquainted with and apply correctly the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are the same for all and valid today and in the future, irrespective of the fact that they are implemented differently in different countries, according to the conditions, characteristics and real situation of each country.

You in France have had feudal lords and we have had them in our country. But what were our feudal lords in comparison with yours? Compared with your feudal lords ours were like gnats. While ours had two-story houses, yours had castles. The French feudal lords were powerful lords who were not dependent even on the king, while ours were not so strong. We also had a bourgeoisie, but what was our bourgeoisie in comparison with yours? Our bourgeoisie and the beys have been liquidated. You have gone through all the stages of social development with the exception of socialism. In your country there have been revolutions, peasant wars, the bourgeois revolution of 1789 and the famous Paris Commune. On the land of your country there have been imperialist wars, partisan wars, etc., but in France the bourgeoisie, the barons and the nobles are still powerful. Hence our conditions were completely different from yours, therefore the application of Marxism-Leninism in your country cannot be done in the same way as in ours, or in any other country with conditions different from yours. Although the difficulties are great, we are convinced that they have tempered and will temper the genuine Marxist-Leninists and they will overcome the difficulties.

When we began the war, we were only a handful of people, but we triumphed because we rigorously applied the Marxist-Leninist principles in the concrete conditions of our country. At the same time, in our work and struggle we relied on the experience of the Soviet Union, which was the first country to carry out the socialist revolution. Both for us and the others, the example of the Soviet Union is an experience of great importance. Raising ourselves on this and adopting it in the conditions of Albania, we fought and were able to triumph. You can gain something from the modest experience of our Party, just as the experience of your party is valuable to us.

The fundamental problem is that the Marxist-Leninists must struggle and win the trust of the masses, must strengthen the links which are essential between the party and their own peoples. If you have the support of the people, you have your feet on the ground and only then you can triumph.

Hence, the links which the Marxist-Leninist parties must have with the masses of the people
are fundamental. These links become even more essential especially when the party is working and struggling in conditions of illegality. It is different when the people recognize you as communists, but when they do not recognize you as such, the party must think and find the forms to create these links between itself and the people. This is achieved when the political line of the party represents the desires, opinions and views of the people. Right from the start we said that we must have such a party that it can go deep among the ranks of the people, listen to their voice and desires and fight to the end to fulfill them. Because we thought and acted in this way, during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War the people shared their last morsel of food with the illegal communists and the partisans, supplied them with clothing and defended them as themselves.

In France there are bourgeois and revisionist parties with long-standing traditions and great experience, which do not allow the Marxist-Leninists to operate freely. They will work against them and try to ruin everything that the Marxist-Leninists build.

To be able to have the party linked with the people and put the line of the masses into practice, the cadres of the party at the base must be capable of consulting the opinions of the people and passing them on to the leadership. It is not easy to do this, because in the first place, the cadres must be well educated from the ideological and political aspects, and trained to such a level that they are capable of responding to all the demands of the time.

If we are to have a strong party it must have an answer for all the problems, must not be isolated from the masses and must not put itself in opposition to them.

In what forms must the linking of the party with the masses be done? In order to carry out this task, every party thinks for itself to find the most appropriate forms. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin before the revolution and the Communist Party of France at the time of the German occupation adopted the organization of cells of three. But we, for example, during the war did not use cells of three, despite the conditions of illegality. In each of our cells there were five or six members. As to how the meeting of the cells should be organized, this must be considered in the light of the conditions. Where reaction is stronger, perhaps the organization of cells will be with three, but where it is not so strong the cell could be bigger. On this question we have many examples from the organization of our party in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. Where reaction was greatest we built the smallest cells; in other places the cells were bigger. Hence the organization of the Party at the base can be done according to the concrete conditions.

In the creation of cells we must bear in mind two dangers which could arise: if we create narrow basic organizations, cells of three, the links of the party with the masses will be made more difficult, while if the cells are very broad, there
is the danger that they will be discovered and attacked by the enemy. Therefore the question must be looked at and action taken in each case according to the existing conditions.

Another very important problem is the work which the party must do for the ideological and political training of its members. If we compare what we do today on this problem with what we did in the past, we can say that there is a very great difference. In our Party now there is a great thirst to learn. One example sufficient to illustrate this: formerly we published the organ of the Party, the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», in 15 thousand copies, while now we have raised the number to 90 thousand copies and it is read with great interest by the communists and the whole people. Although we printed 200,000 copies of the History of the PLA, they were all sold immediately and there are still big demands for it.

The party is linked with the masses through its levers. This also brings out the necessity of the existence of allies. To be able to secure allies, it is essential to apply a broad policy with the aim of gathering the most democratic forces of different currents who play some sort of role, around the Marxist-Leninist party. Of course, the party should not talk with the anarchists, but if the need arises to talk with them, we must tell them bluntly that we are communists and openly point out their mistakes. If such a stand is adopted, it may be possible to win over the best elements in their ranks, because even in the anarchist groups there are positive people who have been deceived.

In our opinion, it is good if the activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties is extended among members of the revisionist party, too, and with the work that is done among its ranks that party will be undermined from within until it is completely destroyed. But it requires very prudent work to achieve this aim.

During our National Liberation War, we had occasion to hold meetings even with leaders of reactionary organizations, but nobody made accusations against us for acting in this way, because it was known that it was an essential matter. When a comrade, a leader of a Marxist-Leninist party was in our country, I asked him why a great, influential professor and a friend of Albania was not brought into the society of friendship with our country. They did not do this because they see the problem in a sectarian way and do not understand the importance of allies properly. The professor referred to is not a Marxist-Leninist, does not approve the policy of our party, but is a man who loves Albania. We know that if our country is attacked, he will defend us as the friend he is. Hence this has to do precisely with the question of allies.

For spreading the propaganda of the party among the masses the newspaper plays an important role. If it is to have the proper effect, apart from the main articles, it is necessary that it carries reports, especially those that come from the
base. This has great importance. By publishing reports from the base we bring out good materials which respond to the needs and demands of the masses.

The work with the army must be included in the framework of the work of the communists with the masses. This is a problem which requires great care and attention...

There are a number of problems in the Marxist-Leninist movement, one of which is the work the party must do with the peasants. In order to solve this problem properly, the party must act with exceptional maturity, must talk with the peasants and must open perspectives to them if they want to follow our course. We must make this explanation to them in such a way that they understand us and follow us.

We have been very careful in the work with the peasants; we worked with them while not damaging their interests and at the same time responded to their demands. We kept in mind that the peasants have a two-fold nature, as Lenin said.

The peasants constitute a great reserve for the revolution. The peasants’ barns and haystacks were depots for our arms and the cadres of our party and the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries were hidden amongst them. It is in the interest of the peasants themselves to find allies in their struggle. The poor peasants, first of all, always have big sharks preying on them, the landed capitalists who exploit them.

The peasants must be won over by arousing them to fight, for example, to ensure that irrigation canals are built with state funds, that they do not pay taxes, that they pay nothing to go to hospital and the treatment is free, as we have done here in Albania. With such propaganda the party can gradually win the peasants over, implanting the first elements of socialism in them.

I believe that these comradely talks will help us greatly in our joint work. Once again thank you very much for this frank, sincere and important talk we have had.
NEITHER THE TANKS NOR THE DIPLOMACY OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS CAN DEFEAT THE PEOPLES

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

September 4, 1969

The criminal aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia one year ago, finally and utterly exposed the aggressive, imperialist nature of the policy of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique. Their hegemonic, expansionist and colonialist aims characterize the entire practical activity of the rulers of the Kremlin today, in their relations with all countries and all political forces. Now the Soviet revisionists have lost all their means of political and ideological persuasion and talk only in the language of arms, even with their closest allies.

Although they try to pose as «pure Leninists» and have spared neither their words nor their articles on this theme recently, in fact no one believes them. Their monstrous betrayal of Leninism has wiped out any trace of communism in all fields — ideological, political and economic not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the other countries where the revisionists are ruling.

The revisionists do not trust one another over anything, at any time, and no one trusts them. Although their actions appear to be coordinated, internally they have no real unity and coordination. Any coordination is temporary and based on specific national interests, but absolutely remote from the internationalist spirit. However, even this rotten coordination is achieved only when the Soviet revisionists permit or impose it. Now the contradictions between revisionist countries have reached such a scale that it is impossible for the Soviet revisionist leaders to maintain their hegemony over the others with normal means and they are left with no other course but to use force, to make more and more use of the military blackmail and the Warsaw Treaty, which is an instrument for domination and aggression in the hands of the new czars of the Kremlin.

For more than two years, night and day, military manoeuvres of every kind and rank have been going on frantically in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. The roar of the guns and the tanks, which suppressed the demonstrations of the Czechoslovak people on the occasion of the first anniversary of the revisionist fascist aggression, has yet not died away, while preparations are being made for new military manoeuvres of the Warsaw Treaty. They say that, this time, Soviet,
Bulgarian, Hungarian and Rumanian troops are to take part in the manoeuvres. It is said that the Soviet revisionist chiefs are doing everything in their power to persuade the Rumanian leadership not only to take part in these manoeuvres, but also to permit their being held on Rumanian soil. Large numbers of Soviet troops have been massed on the Soviet-Rumanian border, apart from those which have been stationed in Bulgaria. In Hungary, there are now about 40 Soviet divisions. The movements and the activity of the Soviet warships in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean have increased. There is also talk of an imminent summit meeting of the Warsaw Treaty in Bulgaria.

For what purpose are all these manoeuvres; within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and outside it, bilateral manoeuvres or by the Soviet Union alone, being held in such numbers and on such a large scale? The demagogic camouflage of the Soviet revisionists is that they are allegedly preparing to meet an eventual attack by American imperialism and Bonn Germany. But never before have the Soviet revisionists had such warm, friendly, sincere relations with American imperialism and the militarists of Bonn as they have today.

The people say: «Deeds speak louder than words». The military manoeuvres and preparations of the Soviet Union and its reluctant but conscripted satellites are preparations for war, preparations for the extension of the new colonial empire of the Soviet revisionists, are preparations to put down the revolutionary struggles and movements all over the world. They are the sword of Damocles, hanging over the heads of the dissident satellites in the revisionist camp, and preparations for war to suppress any genuine revolution or uprising in the Soviet Union and other countries where the revisionists are ruling.

Perfidy, the whip and military violence, are always present in every aspect of the relations of the Soviet revisionists with their satellites. The attempts on the revisionist road which the renegade Dubcek clique made last year to liberate itself from the yoke of the new Soviet imperialists, ended with the complete military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the latter.

Now, apparently, the turn of the revisionist Ulbricht is coming. The Soviet leaders, in collaboration with the Polish leaders, are packing his bags for him, because in his own way he is opposing unconditional capitulation to the plots of the Soviet revisionists together with the militarists of Bonn against the German Democratic Republic.

For the time being, Janos Kadar is keeping a low profile, because he has the Soviet divisions which have established themselves in his country on his neck, and is awaiting the appropriate moment to boost the stocks of the «Petőfi» club.

The closest friend of the czars of the Kremlin, although a cocky one, is the inveterate revisionist and anti-Soviet element, Gomulka, whereas Zhivkov, who has transformed the Bulgaria of Dimitrov into an armed base of the Soviet revisionists against the neighbouring countries, is their chicken-hearted friend.
We have written at other times about the policy of the Rumanian leadership which, especially through the visit of Nixon to Rumania, provided the Soviet revisionists with a possibility to show themselves more Catholic than the Pope, despite the fact that they themselves are engaged, openly and behind the scenes, in many base actions and plots of tragic consequences, with the head of American imperialism Nixon.

The only reliable defence of the homeland is achieved by arming the people, by arming the party with the genuine Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the spirit of genuine proletarian internationalism, with a realistic and courageous Marxist-Leninist policy, against whoever violates the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the vital interests of the people; by taking all measures to create steel unity among the people and pursuing a consistent anti-imperialist policy against American imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples, and against its agents, including Israel, as well as against the Soviet revisionists, those rabid enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the socialist revolution and the freedom of the peoples.

Our Party and Government tell the truth openly to everyone. Those who have the slightest illusion that they will escape the clutches of the Soviet revisionists through the support of American imperialism, must abandon this course.

The Albanian people have feelings of profound friendship for the fraternal Rumanian people and have trust in everything good and healthy among them. And the Rumanian people have many such things. The very fact that they understand that the Soviet revisionists are threatening their Homeland and have mobilized themselves to defend their freedom and the borders of their country, shows their patriotism. And for this they have the support, not only of the Albanian Party and people, but of all progressive peoples of the world. The Albanian people will always stand unflinching beside the fraternal Rumanian people against aggression.

For their part, the Soviet peoples must not allow the criminal hand of the Brezhnev-Kosygin traitor clique to repeat the tragedy of Czechoslovakia against the Rumanian people. Likewise, the Bulgarian and the Hungarian peoples must not allow their countries to become jumping-off places for aggression against another country such as Rumania.

Yugoslavia is not excluded from the plans of the aggressive global strategy of the renegade clique of the Soviet Union, either. Last year it subjected Yugoslavia to threats and pressure, exerted by various means and in different directions, on numerous occasions. When they are faced by opponents with strong nerves, the Soviet revisionists are obliged to reckon hard, because defeat awaits them. During their whole history, the peoples of Yugoslavia have proved themselves fearless. And regardless of what the chief of the Soviet revisionist diplomacy might think, they are not falling into its
traps which is diplomacy only in words, but is backed up by guns. Before the fox breaks into the henhouse, first it prowls round and round to terrify the victims from outside, to spread panic and diversion within, in order to weaken the resistance, but then the fox knows how to deal with chickens. However, the peoples of Yugoslavia are neither chickens nor fools.

Our people got to know the peoples of Yugoslavia during the National Liberation War against Italian and German fascism. We have fought shoulder to shoulder and have shed our blood together. Our partisan brigades went into Yugoslavia and fought together with the Yugoslav partisans for its liberation. At that time, we saw their determination to defend the independence and freedom of the peoples. Therefore, irrespective of the irreconcilable ideological and political contradictions we have with the Yugoslav leadership, we reaffirm that with the peoples of Yugoslavia we are brothers, and if their independence is in danger, we shall be beside them.

The People's Republic of Albania is a socialist steel fortress and it wants to have good relations with all the neighbouring peoples on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual respect. Whoever touches Albania will meet his death. Socialist Albania expresses its resolute opposition to whoever violates the integrity, independence and freedom of any people. As they have always done, the Albanian people will take the side of the victim against the aggressor.

The danger of new aggressions by the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists against various countries is real and must not be minimized. But the peoples must not be afraid of them. If the peoples are vigilant, if they never base their hopes of defending their freedom and independence on fate, or on compromises with the imperialists, old or new, but base them on their own resolute uncompromising struggle against any manoeuvre, or blackmail, they will be fully capable of defeating all the aggressive plans of old and new Imperialists.
FIVE YEARS OF KHRUSHCHEVISM
WITHOUT KHRUSHCHEV

*Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»*  
October 12, 1969

Five years ago, in the middle of October 1964, a brief news item from the TASS agency informed the world that a plenum of the CC of the CPSU had relieved Khrushchev of all the functions he had held up till then in the party and the state «because of his advanced age and poor state of health».

The «palace coup» which took place inside the walls of the Kremlin, although sensational in regard to the manner in which it was carried out, came as no surprise. Nikita Khrushchev, the head of the counterrevolutionary revisionist course in the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, had been utterly exposed and discredited. His revisionist reforms within the country had created great confusion and real chaos in all fields, whereas his charlatanism and adventures in foreign policy had gravely damaged the prestige and position of the Soviet Union in the world.

His uncontrolled activity, his ideological and political instability, his utterly blatant plots and schemes against the communist parties and various countries, his mania for turning political somersaults at all times, created a situation in which Khrushchev's remaining in power at the head of the Soviet leadership was endangering the whole revisionist line.

But the main thing, the thing that created the conditions for his overthrow, was the principled, resolute and consistent struggle waged by the healthy revolutionary forces within the communist movement, and in the first place, by the Party of Labour of Albania, which strongly attacked the great betrayal of Khrushchev and his cronies, exposed the ideological, social and political roots of Khrushchevite revisionism, and step by step unmasked every action of the Soviet leaders against the revolution, the peoples' liberation struggle and socialism.

In the grave situation existing at home and abroad for Soviet revisionism at the end of 1964, Khrushchev's closest associates and collaborators, the group of Brezhnev and Kosygin, decided to sacrifice Khrushchev to save Khrushchevism. In the new situation, Khrushchev could not be the appropriate person to rule the Soviet people with a firm hand and establish order and discipline among the satellites, and neither was he the hardened diplomat who could advance the Soviet-American
alliance. Therefore, the ox had to be sacrificed to salvage the revisionist waggon.

And the new revisionist clique which took over, or the «collective leadership», as it called itself after the removal of Khrushchev, soon revealed its true face and intentions. It set itself the task of preserving the entire ideological and political heritage from Khrushchev, while abandoning his naive tactics and methods of action which did them more harm than good. The new group of Soviet revisionist leaders tried to exploit the removal of Khrushchev to create the impression that an important turn had occurred in Soviet policy, that it was determined to make radical improvements, etc. Certain threats made immediately after the fall of Khrushchev and later, against the ultra-Rightists in the Soviet Union, or the suspension of the notorious reforms initiated by Khrushchev in the organization of the party and the state, which hindered the rapid and complete implementation of the revisionist line of the restoration of capitalism, are part of this plan.

Proceeding on this course, and in order to protect the narrow interests of the ruling clique, the new leadership also strove to create the impression that it was to some degree amending the stand adopted earlier towards Stalin, that it was ceasing the Khrushchev-style campaigns for the revision of Marxism-Leninism, which Khrushchev had launched openly with his «theories» at the 20th and 22nd Congresses, in the program of the CPSU, etc. In negotiations with imperialism it dropped Khrushchev’s boasting and publicity, conducted them behind the scenes, far from the eyes of the peoples and the presence of the public.

All this «new policy», now allegedly no longer «subjective», like Khrushchev’s policy previously, was meant to deceive the Soviet people, the revolutionaries and the Marxist-Leninists, to create illusions about the Soviet leadership among them so that they would cease the polemic and the ideological struggle, stop harassing it and leave it in peace to carry on the new course of Khrushchevism without Khrushchev.

From the beginning, our Party mercilessly exposed the deceptive essence of the new diabolical tactics of Khrushchev’s successors and warned of the danger which the creation of any illusion about them could constitute for the peoples’ revolutionary and national liberation movement. The article published in the newspaper «Züri i popullit» about the fall of Khrushchev says: «Even though N. Khrushchev has been the chief of modern revisionism, the political liquidation of Khrushchev as a person does not mean the liquidation of his political, ideological, economic and organizational course, which has been the cause of so many evils and has done so much harm to the Soviet Union, Marxism-Leninism, the socialist camp, and the communist and workers’ movement, the cause of the revolution, the freedom and independence of the peoples and the cause of peace. With N. Khrushchev’s removal from the leadership of the Soviet party and state, Khrushchevite revisionism does not die, its ideology and policy, which are expres-
sed in the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, are not liquidated. They have deep roots, and to eliminate the danger, to stop any possibility of its recurrence, revisionism must be destroyed to its roots.1

Time proved to the hilt the correctness of our stand. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique went even further than Khrushchev, both in the direction of intensifying the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the direction of the fight against Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in order to sabotage the revolution and socialism and to undermine peoples’ liberation wars. Within these five years, the Soviet-American alliance has been concretized and developed in all fields. If Khrushchev is the originator and promoter of the idea of this alliance, Kosygin is its architect. It is he, together with Johnson, who gave it its present counterrevolutionary features, who defined its global strategy and directions and the joint practical measures for the division of spheres of influence and the establishment of the domination of the two great powers over the world. At present, it dominates the whole capitalist-revisionist scene.

Now the USA and the Soviet Union have divided their spheres of influence and counterrevolutionary activity, in which, each on its own account or jointly, fights to suppress liberation wars and the proletarian revolution. They assist each other and work actively everywhere against the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in Vietnam and in the Middle East, and even among their own allies, both in NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

But the most important negative aspect which characterizes this period since Khrushchev was “pensioned off” is the fact that Soviet revisionism has gone over to social-imperialism, with marked fascist and aggressive features. In the international arena it operates like an insatiable blood-thirsty imperialism, with great expansionist and hegemonic pretensions, fighting with all available means to extend its own sphere of influence in the world and to extend its domination over the peoples and states of different continents.

The barbaric aggression against Czechoslovakia last year provides the most typical and clearest example of the political degeneration of the present Khrushchevite leadership of the Soviet Union, of its transformation into a group of unprincipled adventurers who can be compared only with the former Hitlerite chiefs of nazi Germany. The armed intervention in Czechoslovakia and the occupation of that country showed also that a great evolution backwards has taken place in the Soviet Union, which has carried the former Homeland of socialism back to the times of the czars, to the time of the old chauvinist and expansionist Russia, when it enslaved and threatened the peoples.

The policy of colonial hegemony pursued by the chiefs of the Kremlin towards the new states

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 28, pp. 99-100 (Alb. ed.).
of Asia and Africa has been gathering still greater momentum recently. Now its blood-stained tentacles have got a grip in the Arab countries and Africa. After penetrating deep into India, Burma, etc., the Soviets are exporting their capital to Latin America, just as the other neo-colonialists operate. Now the Soviet naval fleet, which is carrying out the old gun-boat policy, blackmailing and threatening the peoples of the world thousands of miles from Soviet shores, has come out in defence of capital of the new bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union and its expansionist policy.

The increased aggressiveness of new Soviet revisionist imperialism has proceeded parallel with, or to put it better, has been the direct outcome of the intensification of the capitalist transformation and the development of fascism in the internal life in the Soviet Union. The betrayal initiated by Khrushchev has been carried through to the end by the other renegades who replaced him. The ruling clique has robbed the Soviet people of the glorious victories of the October Revolution and mercilessly trampled on the great socialist work, the blood and sweat of all those generations who, under the leadership of Lenin, Stalin and the bolsheviks, fought for the lofty ideals of communism and internationalism. Today the Soviet peoples are labouring under the heavy yoke of the revisionist bourgeoisie which does not permit them to breathe freely. Fascist terror and the savage revisionist shackles are the rule there. The country which gave the world the great example of liberation from national and social bondage, which proclaimed the great principles of genuine freedom and democracy, which became the source of revolutionary inspiration and the model of the state of the proletariat, has been transformed again into a prison of the peoples, barbarously exploited and oppressed by the Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist clique.

Of course, the evolution of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, its further political and ideological degeneration, is no accident. Their revisionism, as an anti-socialist and anti-revolutionary regressive trend, cannot stand on its own feet, cannot be carried forward in any way other than through the establishment of the bourgeois dictatorship at home and the policy of aggression abroad. History has proved that whoever has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and gone over to open struggle against it has slid deeper and deeper into the quagmire of the counter-revolution, has been transformed into an obedient tool in the hands of reaction, and in most cases, has ended up in the ranks of outright political gangsters. This rule applies not only to individuals but this is also the fate awaiting those factions, groups and parties which betray Marxism-Leninism and raise the tattered banner of the counter-revolution.

It is not fortuitous that the revisionists of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique now no longer theorize, as they did at the time of Khrushchev, about the major questions of the «revolution», the «state» and the «party», the roads to «socialism» and «communism», etc., but elaborate «theories» which
justify their aggression, such as the theory of «limited sovereignty», proclaimed by Brezhnev, or Gromyko’s claim that «the interests of the Soviet Union extend all over the world». This change, that is, their passage from opportunist social-democratic theorizing to chauvinist ideology of the Hitlerite type, is further evidence to prove that revisionism cannot stop half-way, but evolves towards the most extreme ideologies and policies of the bourgeoisie. Today it is difficult to distinguish which is the more reactionary and savage, the ideology of American imperialism or that of Soviet revisionism. If the latter still maintains some disguise, this does not change its essence in the least. This is just a question of tactics and is dictated by the conditions in which revisionism emerged and developed. But with the passage of time its disguise falls apart and its true imperialist and counterrevolutionary features are revealed.

Anyone who draws up the balance of the results achieved by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique in the course of the five years it has been in power, cannot fail to reach the conclusion that it is a really deplorable and catastrophic balance. The line and policy of the Soviet revisionist leadership have run into major difficulties both at home and among its allies. Its satellites, like the Soviet Union itself, are in a grave political, ideological and economic crisis from which they are unable to emerge. The transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist capitalist country, its efforts to plunder and exploit its revisionist partners to the utmost, have aroused great discontent, resistance and revolts among them. Moreover, the more the great-Russian chauvinism increases; on the one hand, the greater the growth of nationalist tendencies, on the other hand. Seeking a way out of the grave situation and to somewhat ease the burden of the yoke around their necks, the revisionist allies are building new bridges and stepping up their flirtations with the capitalist states of the West. However, this situation cannot fail to add to the anger of the Soviet leadership, which, in order to preserve its hegemony, is increasing its political and economic pressures, and strengthening its military domination.

Real chaos has been created in the relations between the various revisionist parties and the Soviet Union. Moscow has lost much of its former control over a large number of them, especially over the bigger parties; which not only do not obey it on many issues, but even fight it openly in many instances. The invasion of Czechoslovakia added to the divisions, quarrels and the internal strife on the revisionist front. The centrifugal and polycentrist tendencies have increased and the characteristic feature of the relations among the revisionist parties of the various countries today is their mutual mistrust, the struggle for superiority and privileged positions, and unprincipled defence of narrow national interests.

The last meeting of the revisionist parties in Moscow, initiated by Khrushchev and painfully concluded by his successors, revealed, perhaps
better than anything else, how impossible it is for the rulers of the Kremlin to compel the revisionist parties to obey the «baton of the conductor» in Moscow, and the total lack of unity over major questions of ideology, policy and international relations. Each party defended its specific views in conformity with the interests of its own national bourgeoisie and sought to impose them on the others at all costs and by any means.

The total political and ideological degeneration into which the renegade leadership ruling the Soviet Union today has fallen, is the inevitable outcome of its betrayal and its anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary line. But its failure in all directions, its total inability to implement this line as it wanted to do, is the direct result of the principled and consistent struggle waged by our Party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, which have thoroughly unmasked its counterrevolutionary strategy and tactics, have foiled its plots, intrigues and manoeuvres, have laid bare its true face of an imperialist robber, and have warned the peoples of the danger it poses to their freedom and independence, the revolution and socialism.

The firm stands and the blow for blow struggle of our Marxist-Leninist parties have greatly restricted their field of action, have forced them to drop their disguise and come out openly with their counterrevolutionary plans and activities. This has enabled the whole world to see what the real anti-communist and pro-imperialist aims and intentions of the Soviet revisionists are.

However, despite the successes achieved in their fight against Khrushchevite revisionism, the genuine Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionary forces in the world are not resting on their laurels, not relaxing their vigilance even for a moment. They will continue their fight to the end, till revisionism is totally destroyed ideologically and politically, till the socialist revolution triumphs again in the revisionist countries, till the revisionist front has been completely crushed, with no hope of revival in the future.

Without the impulse of the principled anti-revisionist struggle of the Marxist-Leninist forces, the internal contradictions of the Soviet Union and its external difficulties cannot lead to an imminent liquidation of the betrayal and the counter-revolution which has afflicted that country, cannot avert the danger which the new Soviet revisionist imperialism poses to the revolution, the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Certainly, there is a fierce struggle for power, depending on how things develop internally and abroad, going on between different clans in the top circles of the leadership in the Soviet Union, just as in every bourgeois country, but just as in Khrushchev's time, the contradictions, quarrels and struggle for power among revisionist chiefs, are not and cannot be over changes of the line, direction and objectives. They have to do with the practical methods and tactics of implementing the revisionist line, with the implementation of the aggressive imperialist policy.
The bourgeois press, certainly not without the knowledge and consent of the Kremlin, presents the present Soviet leadership as split in two. It presents Brezhnev and the military group as «hawks», while Kosygin and his associates as «doves».

In reality, this American-style terminology and division is used to deceive the peoples, to halt the revolutionary drive of the masses, to arouse illusions and nurture vain hopes that salvation from revisionism, from the Soviet pressure and threats can be ensured through the «wisdom» and the «wise policy» of the «moderate», or through the outburst of open quarrels within the Soviet leadership. Hence, according to this reasoning, the revolutionaries should wait, the peoples should merely fold their hands and hope, leaving the revisionists in peace to continue their work of betrayal!

The past and present history of American, British, and other imperialisms prove the falsity and danger of this propaganda, just as the «palace coup» in the Kremlin in 1964, also, proved it.

In the USA, both the Democrats and the Republicans, the «hawks» and «doves», have been in power, but the war against the Vietnamese people has continued; just as the aggressive policy of the American imperialists against the freedom and independence of the peoples has continued without interruption. Who can say when British imperialism has committed more aggressions — when the Conservatives or the Labourites have been in power?

Marxism-Leninism teaches us, and long practice has confirmed, that although the policy of the imperialist states is implemented by the people in power, in the last analysis, it is not determined by them. It is the social system itself which gives rise to capitalist aggressions, oppression and exploitation. This is how matters stand with the Soviet revisionist leaders, too, who represent the capitalist order which spawned them and is now completely restored in the Soviet Union.

«Palace coups» like that of 1964 might occur again, but they will be only a settling of internal accounts. This batch of revisionist gangsters, together with its aggressive imperialist policy, will be wiped out only by a new proletarian revolution; which will apply the broom to them and all the top bourgeois stratum which is ruling the Soviet Union today.

Today Khrushchevite revisionism is in the process of its decline, and its tendency is to decline more and more. In this situation, the lofty interests of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism in the world require that all the communists, loyal to the triumphant teachings of Marxism-Leninism, must step up the struggle even more for the further exposure of Khrushchevite revisionism and its chiefs, must organize the struggle for its complete political and ideological defeat even better.

Of course, the Marxist-Leninists and the conscious revolutionary section of the world proletariat do not imagine, and have never imagined,
that the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism will be easy and brief. It will require even more work, great sacrifices and energies. But they never fear or shirk the resolute struggle, because only through struggle can they successfully withstand the frenzied attacks of the Khrushchevite revisionists, expose their plots and defeat their aggressive plans.

The Khrushchevite revisionists, and the present-day Soviet renegade leadership first of all, are trying to disguise themselves anew, to use new forms of organization and deception, and find new forms of struggle in order to strangle the great idea of the proletarian revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to destroy socialism and open the road to capitalism.

But the Marxist-Leninists are not deceived. They know full well that the fight for freedom and independence, the struggle for socialism, is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. The one cannot be waged successfully without the other. Their attacks, threats, blackmail and their never-ending anathemas against the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces are by no means proof of their strength. On the contrary, they are desperate attempts to hide their weakness and decay, attempts to create the artificial atmosphere that will temporarily delay the splitting of their shaken camp. The demonstration of strength and brandishing of arms, which has become an inseparable part of the Soviet revisionists' behaviour, have the aim of intimidating and subduing the weak, those who lose their nerve. But the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, all those who are determined to struggle to carry the great cause of the revolution, socialism and the liberation of the peoples through to the end, do not retreat in the face of difficulties and obstacles.

Speaking of the struggle which the revisionists wage against us and its defeat, at the 17th Tirana Party Conference, on December 21, 1968, we said: «It is a fact that the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at their head, were more powerful than we in the economy, in organization and propaganda, but it is also a fact that they could not break us, could not defeat us, but, on the contrary, we thoroughly exposed them and weakened them. And the more furiously our principled struggle is waged against them, the more they try to attack us; so much the more their coalition becomes disorganized, collapses and new and still greater divergencies emerge in their camp, and this undermines them, while it strengthens our just struggle against them».

Let all the revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists go on the attack, let them unite ever more closely in the struggle against imperialism and Khrushchevite revisionism! The future belongs to the revolution, to communism. Soviet revisionism went bankrupt with Khrushchev and now it is going the same way again without him, with Brezhnev and Kosygin. The defeat and collapse

of revisionism is a verdict of history, which cannot be averted. For the time being the revisionist traitors and renegades still have the Soviet people in bondage. But this cannot last long. A people who carried out the October Revolution and defeated fascism, a country of great revolutionary and internationalist traditions can never be reduced to slavery, or turned into obedient tools in the hands of a clique of renegades to carry out its aggressive and expansionist plans. Some day they will certainly rise against the revisionist betrayal and will restore the Soviet Union to its former place of honour and glory.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT AND THE FRATERNAL MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO OUR VICTORIES

From the speech of welcome at the reception for the delegations of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties that came to Albania on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of our people’s revolution

November 27, 1969

First, Comrade Enver Hoxha shook hands warmly with all the members of the delegations, and then he spoke:

We thank you sincerely for coming to Albania on the occasion of this great celebration of our people and Party. Your parties do us great honour by sending you, comrades, on this occasion, as representatives of your parties and peoples.

The Albanian people and the Albanian communists arrived at these happy days thanks to the heroic struggle of our people led by the Party
of Labour of Albania and to the struggle of the communists of the whole world, the world proletariat and the peoples who fought heroically against fascism and nazism, against Italian-German-Japanese imperialism.

Our triumphs in the construction of socialism, likewise are due, first of all, to our internal forces, but at the same time also to the struggle which your peoples, the proletariat of your countries and your heroic Marxist-Leninist parties are waging unflinchingly, with self-sacrifice, in difficult conditions. We are forever grateful to your peoples and Marxist-Leninist parties for this aid which they give Albania, its people and our Party of Labour. That is why this is a joint celebration, yours and ours. We have fought to defend this fragment of territory, little Albania, but you have fought, too. Therefore during these days when you are with us here, on this fragment of territory, dear comrades, please consider yourselves as in your own homes.

Of course we have achieved some successes in our country, but we also have shortcomings and difficulties. All of you are our friends, and as such you know where the roof leaks; as our people say. We are sure that you will look at our achievements with sincere feelings, bearing in mind the situation from which we started out, and, indeed, we can say we started out from practically nothing. But despite this we have achieved something. However, we are aware that we still have a great deal to do. First of all, our main task is to form and temper the new man with communist virtues, because by achieving success in this direction, then the mountains can be levelled, the rivers can be diverted, and anything else, however difficult, can be achieved. Only the Marxist-Leninist ideology and revolutionary practice can form and temper the new man with a new outlook and new views. It is this ideology alone, which, battling with the negative things inherited from the old world, cleanses the consciousness of man of the remnants of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology.

We try to put into practice what the Party teaches us. Of course, we are convinced that you too, will assist us with your valuable advice and opinions. Our Party values the propaganda which you carry out about the Albanian people and the construction of socialism in Albania, the publications you bring out, whether large or small, as continuous and unsparing aid. In the columns and pages of your press, which carries the seal of the sweat and the blood of your comrades who fall on the barricades, we see that you speak with ardour and enthusiasm about the struggle of the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, and this is a thing that deeply moves us and gives us greater courage to achieve further successes.

We express our heartfelt thanks to you and all the communist and Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania and Latin America, for all you have done for our Party and people.

Allow me comrades to propose a toast to the
members of the Central Committees and the first secretaries of all the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world!

To your health, comrades!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism, may it live through the centuries!

Happiness to you all! Cheers!

All reply in one voice: To the health of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Then Comrade Enver Hoxha went from delegation to delegation, talking with them in groups. He stayed a little with the members of the delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil, with whom he held the following short conversation:

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: How are you getting on? How are the comrades? What about Comrade Amazonas?

THE BRAZILIAN FRIEND: They are all fine, and Comrade Amazonas is in good health.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: The struggle in Brazil is continuing.

THE BRAZILIAN FRIEND: The situation in Brazil today is opening great prospects for our struggle. With its measures of violence, the fascist dictatorship itself is helping us greatly to extend our struggle. The people's armed struggle in Brazil is led by our Party. Although we have scored some successes in this direction, the Party thinks that we have a great deal of work ahead of us. Of course, we have difficulties in our work, but everyone knows that there is no revolution without difficulties.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: The leadership of the Communist Party of Brazil and the true Brazilian communists have fighting traditions. As we see it, the primary thing in all work is the question of the line of the party, which must be built in such a way as to ensure that, on the one hand, all possibilities for legal and illegal work are utilized, and on the other hand, the enemy is never overrated or underrated. In our opinion these are major problems for the Marxist-Leninist parties, because the enemy uses various methods, manoeuvres and attacks, by means of which it strives to defeat the revolutionary forces and the Marxist-Leninist parties. We can say that you comrades of Brazil have valuable experience in your revolutionary activity from which the other parties can learn. Some parties do not properly understand the importance of illegal work and have many illusions about the organization of it. In a number of capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie has permitted some possibilities for legal forms of work, but by means of them, it checks up on what the comrades of the Marxist-Leninist parties are doing, and when it sees that their activity is becoming a threat to its existence, it immediately arrests them or eliminates them. Of course, possibilities for legal work must be necessarily utilized, but in no way should we make everything conditional on this and neglect illegal work. Some of these parties are very sectarian and forget that the party must carry on a mass struggle in illegality, irrespective of the fact
that it is legal, because without waging a mass struggle the revolution cannot triumph.

In reply to what this comrade said about work in the countryside and the sending of communists from the city to the countryside, Comrade Enver Hoxha went on:

We understand your difficulties, because even in Albania which is a socialist country, when the matter arises of going from the city to the countryside, difficulties are encountered. It can be readily imagined that this problem must be even more difficult in your country. Undoubtedly, many comrades go there of their own desire, because they understand the policy of the party correctly, but there are also those who don't want to go. The problem is that each comrade must understand that he must go wherever the party needs him, and in order to achieve this, work must be done among the comrades to make them conscious, with the aim that the worker of Sao Paulo will be happy for the interests of the revolution to go to the countryside, because it constitutes a great force for the work of the party and the struggle.

What you are doing is an experience of value for all the Marxist-Leninists, an application and creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Brazil. The experience of other parties must not be applied in a dogmatic way, thinking for example, that we should act in the same way as they did in the Soviet Union. Naturally, you in Brazil and we in Albania will try to gain as much as we can from the experience of other parties, but everything must be looked at and adopted in conformity with the concrete conditions of a particular country. It is very important that we have our principles clear, because if we remain loyal to our principles the work will certainly advance.

Finally, Comrade Enver Hoxha once again thanked the delegations of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties for coming to Albania and cordially wished them good-bye.
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

From the speech delivered at the commemorative meeting dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people’s revolution

November 28, 1969

... We Are Building Socialism Relying on our own Forces ...

Although they realized that their blockade has been smashed to smithereens and that they have been unable to force socialist Albania to her knees, the Soviet revisionist renegades are lamenting that the Albanian people are allegedly «hard pressed» and «not progressing», since they have received no further «credits and aid» from the Soviet Union! But we say to them: Don’t lament over those who are in the saddle! We do not want your so-called aid, which is poison and a trap to enslave the people. We have the great riches of our soil, we have the sweat, the vigour, the iron will and the resourcefulness of our talented people, who are skilfully extracting and utilizing these riches for their own benefit and for that of the cause of socialism. We have our glorious Party of Labour which is leading the country with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and courage on the road of socialist construction. We say to the revisionists: Your blockade, your brutal abrogation of economic agreements, your complete cutting off of supplies of industrial equipment, your stealing of blue prints, the abandonment of work half-completed, etc., may have hampered the implementation of the 3rd Five-year Plan at first, but our national economy never for a moment stopped its victorious march forward and emerged triumphant over your shameful blockade.

We say to them: You are «concerned» about our oil and the extraction of minerals? Don’t worry about us. Compared with the year 1960, oil extraction in Albania has now increased by 80 per cent, whereas the production of copper ore is 4 times greater and the same is true for chromium ore, coal, etc. Your wickedness, your mania for slander, have overshadowed the logic of figures. You invent the tale that the power industry in Albania has allegedly lagged behind. However, the figures show that in comparison with 1960, the production of electric power today is 4.1 times greater. The Fier thermo-power station alone, built in these recent years, is 4 times as powerful as the
Ulza hydro-power station. Are you «worried» about the training of higher cadres? Then take note that in 1960 we had only 4,245 specialists with higher education, while today, about 14,000 such specialists are serving the people. You lament over the state of our agriculture? But we tell you that at no previous time have we ever had such great successes in agriculture as during these last ten years. In comparison with the year 1960, the wheat yield per hectare has grown by 90.5 per cent, thus, it has almost doubled, whereas that of maize has increased 2.2 fold.

What do these facts speak of? They speak of the great victory of our heroic Party of Labour, the victory of Marxism-Leninism in the economic field too, and the complete failure of the revisionist plot. The defeat of the economic blockade, which is a brutal means of subjugation, shows that the Albanian people are invincible, that they do not capitulate to pressure of this kind, just as they are not intimidated by threats and sabre-rattling.

Historical experience in general, the reality and struggle of our country in particular, the magnificent successes achieved by socialist Albania during these 25 years, have once again confirmed the correctness of the great Leninist principle that in the revolution and in the building of socialism, the internal factor is the determining one, that in every action the people should rely on their own forces. This, of course, does not exclude the sincere and disinterested internationalist aid of socialist countries, the international proletariat, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples of the world.

During the National Liberation War, relying on this principle, the Party aroused the whole people, for it was clear to us that freedom is not donated, but is won with the rifle, with bloodshed and sacrifices. We ruthlessly exposed the deceptive manoeuvres of the Ballist and Zogist traitors and of the British and US imperialists, who alleged that the war our people were waging and the blood they were shedding were unnecessary, because the «allies» would bring to us our freedom, readymade. On the contrary, it was precisely the heroic fight of the people themselves that gave them the possibility of taking their fate in their own hands and establishing their own power, which made it possible to bar all the roads to imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of our country in order to bring to power an anti-popular and pro-imperialist regime.

But while our forces were fighting in the mountains, our Party never thought of waging an isolated war, divorced from the general anti-fascist front. Therefore, it linked the National Liberation War of our people with that of the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, and with that of all the peoples of the world who were fighting the nazi-fascists. We in no way underrate the important role played in the liberation of Europe and our Homeland by the great heroic liberation war of Stalin's Red Army, as the Soviet revisionist renegades
falsely accuse us. It was the Red Army under Stalin which dealt the crushing blow to the fascist hordes and created very favourable conditions, also, for the development of our people’s Anti-fascist Liberation War.

Our Party applied the principle of self-reliance consistently and with determination after Liberation as well. We sought the aid of the Soviet Union and Stalin for the development of our country on the road of socialist construction. Our request was fair, honest, normal and internationalist. During Stalin’s life-time this assistance was given to Albania in an internationalist spirit. But our Party and our people did not sit with folded arms, for they never thought that friends from abroad would build socialism for us. We set to work and, with our own forces, which were the main factor, entirely changed the face of our long-suffering Homeland.

This was our salvation, and history showed how absolutely correct and vital was the orientation of the Party about relying on our own forces. As soon as the Khrushchevites came to power in the Soviet Union, they changed the essential aim of the so-called credits and the few factories they gave us. Their «aid» was no longer internationalist, but had an enslaving character. The Khrushchevite renegades sought to make our country completely dependent on them economically and politically. They demanded that for the sake of the so-called aid, we should renounce our sovereignty, that we should become their docile and servile supplicants, that we should approve of every anti-Marxist and anti-socialist word and attitude of theirs without the slightest objection. But they were not well acquainted with the Albanians. It is not we, but they that sell themselves for money. When the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists came out in the open and our Party began the overt fight against it, not only were all the aid and credits completely cut off, but our country was also compelled to cope with the brutal revisionist economic and political blockade. It smashed the revisionist attacks with complete success and continues to advance unwaveringly on the road of socialist construction, precisely because our Party has consistently followed the principle of self-reliance and has now placed our national economy on a sound basis to march on its own feet.

The Soviet revisionist leaders and their docile servants attack Albania furiously because it upholds this principle. They consider this to be narrow nationalism and describe us as «ungrateful»; because we have allegedly forgotten the aid of the Soviet Union in the war for liberation and in the socialist construction, because we dared to rise against their betrayal, because we dare to advance on the Marxist-Leninist road. They are repeating over and over again from Radio Moscow their claim that only they have fought, alleging that they have kept us alive with their economic aid, that if it were not for this aid we should have been snuffed out. With utter brazeness they negate
and disparage the struggle of our people and the other peoples for the defeat of fascism.

There is no trace of internationalism in this, nothing in common with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, with the teachings of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for all the peoples, big or small, make their contribution to the common cause of the revolution, because internationalist aid and support, among the peoples is reciprocal and not one-sided.

Compared with the detestable chauvinist views of the Soviet revisionists, the objective, correct and internationalist assessments by our Party and our socialist state, which have always, in due time, properly defined the character of whatever aid has been given to us, rise still higher. The character of the aid has been changed from internationalist to chauvinist, to enslaving and colonialist, by those that have accorded it and not by us who have received it, for it is they that have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, not we.

We, the Albanian Marxist-Leninists, will never reconcile ourselves to modern revisionism, the Moscow traitors, but will fight until they are utterly crushed. There is and there will be friendship and unity between us and the fraternal Soviet peoples and the real Soviet bolsheviks of Lenin-Stalin.

In the future too, our Party will faithfully follow the Marxist-Leninist course of relying on our own forces, being convinced that the guarantee
WE MUST BE ALWAYS VIGILANT TOWARDS THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS

From the talk with a delegation of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam

November 30, 1969

On behalf of the Albanian people, the Democratic Front of Albania, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Central Committee of the PLA, I wish to express the warmest thanks to your heroic people, the National Liberation Front, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam that have sent you to take part, together with us, in our celebrations.

We have a special admiration for your people and for the unparalleled heroic struggle which they are waging against the most ferocious enemy of your people and all mankind, American imperialism, which, armed to the teeth, is trying to crush the resistance put up by the peoples of the world in defence of their freedom and independence, with the aim of turning them into slaves.

We consider your great successes as our own victories, therefore we are doing everything within our possibilities to assist you. We are aware that our material aid is small in comparison with what we would like to do. You can be certain that in the future too, we shall continue to assist the struggle of your people step by step, in every way that our possibilities permit. We are with you night and day. We in Albania, also, are fighting for the cause of the liberation of the people of South Vietnam from the American imperialists with those means we have at our disposal. We are waging this struggle with propaganda, first of all within the country, to implant in the hearts of the Albanian people boundless hatred for the monstrous deeds of the American imperialists and their lackeys who are shedding the blood of the peoples in order to put them under their heavy yoke; we are also waging it on the international plane.

Although yours is a small people, we see that your struggle and your victories are brilliant. Albania too, is a small country, which the enemies have always tried to wipe out from the map of the world, but this they have never been able to do either in the past, at the time of the Second World War, or now, and they will be never able to do so in the future, either. Even after Liberation they have tried to do us harm, to overthrow our people's state power, but in vain. The courage and determination of the Albanian people, under the
leadership of the Party of Labour, have ensured that all the plots of the enemies of Albania have always failed.

The Albanian people have won their freedom and become masters of their own fate. Nevertheless, the enemies of Albania have left no stone unturned to enslave us. Therefore we and the peoples of the whole world have the duty to be vigilant, because the freedom so dear to us all does not come as a gift, without fighting, bloodshed and sacrifices, but, on the contrary, even when you have won it, you must defend it at all costs. For this, vigilance must be never slackened for a moment, otherwise, great rivers of blood will have to be shed again.

We have been concerned and think as internationalists about the fighting Vietnamese brothers and sisters, who are not sparing their lives to bring the day of liberation to their Homeland. We thoroughly appreciate that your struggle is being waged not only for your national liberation, to defend the honour, dignity and the future of your people, but at the same time, is also a contribution to the struggles the peoples are waging to weaken and defeat imperialism, for the triumph of the great cause of the peoples, for their national freedom and independence, for the proletarian revolution and socialism. Today the oppressed peoples are understanding how they must fight and win their freedom, which is not won with words, with slogans; they are understanding that imperialism never donates it to anyone, therefore it is historically necessary that the people of every country, themselves, fight arms in hand. Without fighting, freedom cannot be won, power cannot be taken from the bourgeoisie.

Your liberation war is still not over. This means that further great sacrifices are required to attain the freedom you desire. Even we, who have state power in our hands, are clear that our struggle is not over either, because our enemies have not given up their aims; they are fighting us with all their means to rob us of our victories. That is why we always remain vigilant and fight to defeat all the attempts and manoeuvres of the enemies, even when they are very sophisticated, because there are those who put a sugar coating on their activity against us. The enemies are always cunning and we must expose them continuously. During the struggle we wage we discern those who do not like us, those who advise us to act contrary to our will, desire and interests.

We are with you to final victory, we are with the struggle you are waging against imperialism and its lackeys. We admire you for this struggle and are proud to be always beside you, because we have complete confidence that the people of Vietnam will never lay down their arms.

Experience taught us Albanians to keep a vigilant eye on the undermining activities and hostile work of the Khrushchevite revisionists in the direction of Albania with communist cool-headedness, and not only on their activities against us. Please don't take offence from what I shall say. We, too, have loved the Bolshevik Party dearly.
and still love the Soviet people, while we whole-heartedly detest the revisionist traitors who have come to power in the Kremlin. When we did not know them, we respected them, but when their countless base deeds against Marxism-Leninism became clear to us, when we saw their repeated betrayals of the Soviet Union itself, and of Lenin and Stalin, we began to suspect and to think: Since they are doing evil things against their own Homeland and people, how can they fail to do this against us and other peoples? — and then we began to expose them mercilessly. The Soviet revisionists see the mistake they have made over Albania, therefore they are trying to deceive us, making efforts to establish diplomatic relations with us, but we are not deceived. We want to have nothing to do with such vile traitors, and it does not worry us if we have no relations with them. For about 25 years, neither American nor British imperialism have maintained relations with Albania and yet our Homeland is advancing and will continue to advance without these relations.

We are profoundly convinced that there are enemies in the Kremlin who do not want the happiness of the peoples and communists of the Soviet Union itself, let alone those of the whole world. For this reason we fight them and we will fight them to the finish. You are in the circumstances of a war and as to what stand you maintain towards them that is your affair. I told you at the outset that the Party of Labour of Albania is and will be with you, with your heroic struggle, but we tell you as communists: be vigilant towards the Soviet revisionists!

Our view is that the Paris talks will not bring any benefit to the Vietnamese people. Anything of benefit, the freedom and independence of your Homeland, will be won only on the battlefield. Only when the Yankee imperialists and their lackeys in Saigon are forced to their knees will there be a conference at which you can be sure of being the victors. Even now you are the victors in Paris, but the war is still not over, the enemies are trying to gain advantage from the situation, to get some relief, because they are in a hole, and that is why the Soviet revisionists are trying to help them get out of this situation, and of this we are certain. The American imperialists and the revisionists of Moscow now have possibilities to organize many joint manoeuvres against the heroic war of your people and we know what the aim of these manoeuvres is. Only the struggle of your people, our people and all others, including the American people, will ensure that their manoeuvres fail.

One cannot say that the American people are bad, but they are so much worked on by the unbridled propaganda of Yankee imperialism that they are confused. However, not only the American families who have their sons in Vietnam, where they are suffering and dying day by day, but also many others are against the war in Vietnam, because they do not want their boys to be sent there to be killed in the future. Therefore we see a moun-
ting movement in the United States of America against the intervention in Vietnam, and the important factor impelling its growth is the resolute fight which you are waging. This means that you must give the enemy no respite, must give it no time to pull itself together; must attack it continuously, mercilessly, so that the situation becomes difficult and staying in Vietnam becomes intolerable; however, the Soviet revisionists are doing the opposite, they are trying to make things easier for these savage enemies of the peoples, forming all sorts of disgraceful agreements with them, and struggling to make you diminish your fight against them.

You can be sure, comrades, that in us you will have Marxist-Leninist comrades loyal to the end. We are not among those who eat their own words. And we say openly what we think. We could be wrong on some question; time will make our views clear to all; but in connection with the Soviet revisionists we are convinced that we have made no mistake, on the contrary, time has confirmed everything we have said about them.

We whole-heartedly want you to win and the reality shows that you are advancing from victory to victory, irrespective of the fact that the enemy is superior in numbers and armaments. This is not just a simple desire. Your fight is stopping the aggressors from kindling new hotbeds for war and shedding the blood of other peoples. We have fought, too, and although we were smaller in numbers than you, we triumphed over the enemies.

The enemies are always perfidious. We have never had any illusions about them. Victory over them is achieved by conquering them on the battlefield, by striking ceaseless blows at them, and not allowing them time to catch their breath.

At the time when the American people are demonstrating against the monstrous crimes of the American imperialist army in Vietnam, Nixon is using another line of demagogy. He declared that poisonous chemicals and bombs of different kinds, which world opinion condemns, are allegedly no longer in use in Vietnam. This is a bluff, because in fact he is using them in your country and he is doing this because the army of American imperialism in Vietnam is in great difficulties. Nixon poses as if he loves the Vietnamese people. What hypocrisy! He is trying to fish in troubled waters, but on no account should you cease your fight, even for a moment. Your tactic requires that you must hit the American army as hard as you possibly can, because the harder you hit it, the more you put the American administration and the Saigon administration in Vietnam in difficulties. They have committed grave crimes everywhere; therefore we say that they must be attacked not just in one region but everywhere.

We have had no illusions about the internal enemies either, especially those who disguise themselves as patriots. In the ranks of the Provisional Government which we created at first, there were patriotic elements who were not communists; we even had some nationalist ministers from those
elements who had not fought, but who had a certain influence in some districts. However, we never agreed to share the state power with the wealthy classes, with the reactionaries, despite their ambitions, efforts and pressure in this direction. The questions is, and of this you are well aware, that state power must never be surrendered to or shared with the quislings. Cliques must not be allowed to hold any position, however minor, in the new people's state power.

If I am not mistaken, we understand the question of the «Vietnamization» of the war in Vietnam in the same way as you do. The objective of the Americans is that the Saigon puppets should continue the war, although we all know they are quite incapable of maintaining the situation without the direct aid of the imperialists. In our country we liquidated the traitors, the leaders of the «Balli», convinced those rank-and-file masses who had been deceived, and in this way, deprived external reaction of the possibility of support within the country. The Americans and the reactionaries in Saigon realize that they are in a difficult position and therefore they are advising some of their reactionary local forces to hide themselves in the political organizations and the armed forces of the National Liberation Front. In this way, if they suffer defeat, when elections are held to set up the provisional government, the main elements will certainly flee to Switzerland or other countries, but they will try to leave some of their men in Vietnam, as a basis for support for their aims later.

The most powerful fight against these aims is waged when steel unity among the people is ensured.

The political unity of the people around the Front and the unceasing daily struggle are the decisive factors to achieve the victory. But this unity remains unbreakable if we are consistent and vigilant at every moment.

Please, do not misunderstand me, I do not want to make comparisons, but it is known from history that during the Second World War, the Greek communists organized their National Liberation Front and fought against the Italian-German invaders. From time to time we had contact with leaders of the Greek National Liberation Army, from the start to the finish of the war. In principle, the leaders of the Greek communists were for the war, but when they met us, what Zachariades told us was not what Marcos told us, what he told us was not what Bardjotas told us, and so on. They told us that they had organized the war very well, that they considered themselves in no danger at Mt. Vitsi, that they had established positions that were impregnable to the enemy, that they would chop the army of the British general to pieces, etc. In fact, however, they were wiped out in an amazingly short time, with one attack by the reactionary enemy army. Following the defeat there were quarrels among these leaders, and precisely because of their lack of unity, now they are reduced to a deplorable state, broken up into five or six groups, each posing as
the «Communist Party of Greece». This is a sad story. But things are different with you. Nevertheless, the manoeuvres of American imperialism must be kept in mind, because it is cunning. You have confidence in your strength and the strength of the people and the people's armed forces. It is our duty to assist you sincerely in every possible way. The weapons, the aid in medicines and food, etc., which come from abroad are for you, but you have the right to maintain your own opinion and to decide for yourselves on everything, in the interests of your people.

You have suffered a great loss with the death of Comrade Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh was a fine, capable and sincere comrade, he was one of those who said openly what he thought. He ought to have lived on to victory, because he had dreamed of and fought for this for many years. All his life he was a fighter, but he did not manage to see the victory. He closed his eyes too soon, although he left you his instructions.

Thus, it is essential that we proceed on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism even when the circumstances may be very unfavourable to us. It can occur, and frequently does, that we will have difficult moments during our struggle, but Marxism-Leninism gives us strength; its ideas help us to have clear views, to see the situation correctly; to think and to act in the proper way. For these reasons our Party consistently organizes a great deal of political work and wide-ranging theoretical and practical activity with the communists and the masses, because not much remains in your head if you try to learn Marxism-Leninism from books alone, if you don't link the principles with life, with the struggle, hence you must learn them and, at the same time, apply them in active life, must make the principles understandable to all, and must not make them difficult. We think that by acting in this way, we shall be able to raise a generation which will understand better than we do what Marxism-Leninism is, what a revolutionary should and should not do, what should be fought and rejected and what should be retained. People of the older generation have hangovers against which constant struggle is waged, whereas the youth, Marxism-Leninism teaches us, are like a clean sheet of paper on which you can write pure heroic thoughts. It is our duty to work to ensure that the youth in our countries love the party, work and the people, and work throughout their lives for the people's happiness. It is our mission also to work for the tempering of the new man, a thing which cannot be achieved very quickly, but we must commence and press on persistently to the objective set, and therefore we must do a great deal of work and struggle in this direction.

I wish all your fighters and your entire heroic people good health, success in their fight and their work, and courage in the war against American imperialism, its lackeys and all other enemies, whether open or disguised. Tell the Vietnamese comrades and the whole Vietnamese people that the Albanians are among their most faithful
friends. Albania will give them all its material and moral assistance, whether in good times or bad. Albania will be with them at every moment, until victory.

We Albanians are grateful to you for the fight you are putting up and this is not merely an expression of affection or sentimental sympathy. You are engaged in a life and death fight for a great cause. Your fight gives us strength in our struggle against the common enemies.

You are going to leave; we would have liked you to have stayed longer in Albania; however, when you get the opportunity to come to Europe again; we should be happy if you visit Albania, too.

Let us drink this toast to the victory and successes of your people!

Please convey our greetings to all comrades. Thank you for the talk.

THE SUN HAS SET ON THAT ERA WHEN THE ALBANIAN WAS COMPELLED TO TAKE THE ROAD OF EMI GrantION

From the talk with representatives of Albanian communities in foreign countries, at the reception given at the premises of the Central Committee of the PLA

December 9, 1969

My comrades and I, dear sisters and brothers in foreign lands, are very happy to meet you here amongst us. Meeting you gives us new strength in the struggle for the good of our people and our common Homeland. Irrespective of the fact that you live in foreign countries, we understand and feel

1 Comrade Enver Hoxha received representatives of Albanian communities living in the USA, Argentina, Turkey, France, Bulgaria, Rumania and Australia, who took part in the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.
how your hearts beat with longing for Albania and love for the Albanian people. Like you who live abroad, we too, do not consider the old Latin saying, that "the Homeland is wherever you are well off" to be correct. The Albanian considers himself well off only in his own Homeland. The patriot and revolutionary poet of our Renaissance, Andon Zako Çajupi, has expressed this lofty feeling of love for the Homeland beautifully in his verses, when he says about the Albanian, "Where does the mud seem sweeter than honey? — In Albania!"

Our fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers fought for this dearly beloved land with outstanding heroism, our whole people, your brothers and sisters, fought for this soil during the National Liberation War led by the Party, and you yourselves, regardless of the country in which you live, have fought with every means you have had at your disposal, because, as the wise saying of our people has it, "blood is thicker than water."

The efforts of many generations of our people through the centuries have not been in vain. How many bloody and heroic wars have been waged in Albania in the past in defence of our mother soil and our nation! And one of the most glorious centres of the Albanian uprisings for freedom and independence has been heroic and martyred Kosova.

The Albanians of the United States of America, the veterans of "Vatra" headed by Noli, many other Albanians in Argentina, Turkey, Australia, France and elsewhere have fought for the lofty interests of the Homeland. Everywhere, wherever they have been, the Albanians have made their contribution to this land, to this Albania, which won its independence in 1912.

The winning of national independence was a marked event for our whole people, but once again they fell under the double yoke of feudal lords, with Ahmet Zog at their head, on the one hand, and foreigners on the other hand. As you know, the traitorous stand of the satrap Zog led once again to the occupation of Albania by fascist Italy. This occupation brought about the maturing of all the conditions for the launching of the triumphant struggle of the Albanian people, for national and social liberation, led by the Communist Party, today the Party of Labour of Albania. This struggle had to be kindled and was certain to end in victory, irrespective of the strength of the enemy, because it was a people's war which was led by a party comprising sons and daughters of the poor, who fought against fascism, but, at the same time, against the beys, agas, money-lenders and other vampires, who, by exploiting the poor people to the bone, compelled many of you or
your parents, to leave your Homeland, your mothers and children and take the road of emigration to earn your livelihood.

The Albanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, fought united in the anti-fascist alliance with the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States of America and all the other peoples that were combating Italian fascism and German naziism. The strength of this small people, which proved to be great in the war in support of the anti-fascist alliance, successfully resisted and defeated all the external and internal enemies. It seems to me unnecessary to explain to you, our brothers and sisters in foreign lands, the reasons for the victory, because as Albanians, you understand the great spiritual impulse, the lofty feelings of our people who fought with all their might for freedom and independence. These lofty feelings reached their culmination in the National Liberation War. Everyone, old and young, man and woman, rose to his feet and hurled himself into the war, disregarding death, the cost in blood, the devastation of homes and whole regions, to ensure that the Homeland was liberated and the people emerged into the light. The Albanian people were determined to bear this heavy burden with the objective that after the freedom so greatly desired had been won, they would establish their own state power and rebuild everything themselves.

The foreigners did not fight in support of our people within Albania. This came about because without in any way negating the aid of the allies as an important factor for the defeat of the common nazi-fascist enemies, the Albanian people themselves fought tooth and nail, often barefoot and poorly clothed, with rifles or any other means that came to hand. We armed ourselves on the battlefield with the weapons we captured from the enemy, and in this way we defeated them wherever we found them, never relenting against them for a moment, until we liberated Albania and, moreover, we pursued them, step by step, into Yugoslavia, where we fought and scored victories over the enemy shoulder to shoulder with our brothers there.

After Liberation, we desired and tried to live as friends with all the states that were allies during the great war. Some of them wanted our friendship and therefore we established friendly relations with them. First of all, we established friendship with the Soviet Union and many other states of Europe which recognized our government. Of course, dear brothers and sisters, you know these historical facts, which are reflected in the documents of our Government after Liberation. At that time we behaved very correctly with the American administration, too, because we wanted to have good relations with the United States of America, although we knew that during the war, operating under the lap, the Americans hatched up plots against us. Here I am not referring to the American people, but to the reactionary leaders of the two big parties of the American capitalist bour-
geoisie, whether Democrats or Republicans. However, regardless of their hostile attitude during the war, we did not breach our alliance with them. After Liberation we again showed our readiness to forgive them. We thought that we should have correct and sincere relations as is the custom of the Albanians, but they did not want this. Not only did they not want this but they did a thousand and one evil things against us, because they understood that the Albania of the past, on which they wanted to impose the laws of slavery, had slipped from their hands. The Albanian Democratic Government which was born from the barrel of the rifle of our heroic people could not be placed under dictate. With little Albania after the war, they could establish friendly relations proceeding from the basis of equality and non-interference, or otherwise we would put them in their place. And we made the position very clear to the United States of America and Britain and all others which did not want to recognize the form of state organization which our people themselves had chosen — the People's Republic of Albania.

We have had and have great respect for every people in the world, including the American people, from the ranks of whom hundreds and thousands are rising against the war launched by the imperialists in Vietnam and their racist policy. We also have respect for the British people, therefore we have never and will never cast stones at them, but on the contrary we have recognized and spoken well about the sacrifices they made at the time of the Second World War and this is because we do not confuse the reactionary leaders with the peoples. However, the historical facts must be recognized. Neither the United States of America, nor Britain, nor the former president Wilson, liberated Albania, as the American Department of State claims. We all know history. They put up Wilson as «the father of democracy», but it was precisely in his time that the secret treaties were signed for the partitioning of Albania and because of this, a million and a half Albanians have long been languishing in slavery outside our state borders. The Albanian people can distinguish very well who is progressive and who reactionary.

They spread slanderous propaganda among you, sisters and brothers, that the Albanian Government does not grant visas to the sons and daughters of this soil who are in exile to visit Albania and all sorts of other tales concocted with hostile aims. We have never prohibited the issuing of visas for our sisters and brothers, but the American Government must recognize that we are a state and cannot allow them to infiltrate their agents here, disguised as tourists, whenever they like, at a time when the United States of America does not permit our delegates to the United Nations Organization to take even one step outside the territory of the UNO headquarters and, on the other hand, makes demagogic statements that now they are permitting the Albanians who live there to go to Albania. As everybody knows, these problems are resolved through bilateral agreements,
which we wanted immediately after Liberation. That is to say, the United States of America cannot decide these matters, which are up to us, too, on its own and whenever it is to its advantage. We cannot fail to define our just stand towards the base actions they have carried out and are still carrying out against us.

The times have changed. The Albania of today is not to be trifled with. Tito, too, who posed as a friend of Albania for a time, was unable to trifle with our people. We had friendly relations with Yugoslavia as long as Tito maintained his disguise, but even when he was no longer disguised we told him that we do not forget our Kosovo brothers, because they are of our blood. We have repeated this to Tito recently. We do not meddle in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but if Tito allegedly has the right to interest himself in injustices committed against a Yugoslav citizen in some corner of the United States of America, Australia or elsewhere, why should we not have the right to interest ourselves in justice for our million and a half brothers, the sons and daughters of the one mother, in Kosovo?! No, nobody can deny us this right. We have been interested in them and will continue to do so. When it became apparent what Tito was, we tore the disguise from him, because the independence of Albania, the freedom of the peoples and socialism in Albania are above everything. Our people shed their blood. They did not suffer and shed blood in order to live in bondage again, but to be free.

With the Soviet Union, too, we had very good relations, we had great love for that country because, as long as Stalin was alive, he respected the independence and freedom of Albania. We retain our love for Stalin because he was a great man. True, the enemies are throwing mud at him now, but in the hearts of the peoples Stalin can never be sullied. The day will come when the figure of Stalin shines throughout the world; and even today, in the minds and hearts of progressive people it always remains brilliant.

The Soviet revisionists trumpeted allegations that Albania had sold out, but the whole world knows and, indeed, even the enemies have learnt, that Albania is not for sale. Albania is a friend to its friends and sincere with all those who are sincere, but it always keeps its eyes open. Towards those who play no tricks, those who remain loyal, Albania is unwavering, but with those who try to harm it, Albania hits them hard, therefore let the enemies make their reckoning well in regard to our country, let them measure, not seven but seventeen times before they cut. Albania has proved that it is not defeated easily. The Albanian people have not been conquered in the storms of history through hundreds of years, and even less can they be conquered now when they have great experience of wars and victories and have power in their hands.

When the Soviet revisionist traitors came to power, we were among the first who dared to rise against them. Today we have become a thorn in
their flesh and we shall never let up on them until they are totally defeated. Of course, there are and will be individuals who, not knowing the invincible strength of the peoples, will say: «What are these Albanians saying? Have they gone mad? Do they think they are bigger than their boots?» No, sisters and brothers, we are not mad, we do not think we are bigger than our boots, but we reckon on the strength of the revolution and the peoples, which is greater than that of imperialism and revisionism taken together. We are absolutely confident of our victory. This is not a conviction of dreamers, but is realistic, because if it were otherwise they would certainly have tripped us over and we would have crashed to disaster. What gives us this force of logic, this revolutionary courage, this clarity about the future? We get these things from the thinking and great courage of the people, our close links with the people, and the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, which we, together with the people, are mastering and applying in a creative manner in our conditions and continuously enriching.

The Albanian communists are ordinary people, prepared to make sacrifices. The enemies curse them, call them «barbarians», «criminals» and all sorts of other epithets. They slander the communists in this way because they are men of the people who changed the face of that backward Albania which many of you remember very well from 30 to 40 years ago. How greatly this Albania of ours has changed! True, the time has been short and we do not boast about the progress we have made but the truth is that changes are great. You, in particular, understand these changes correctly, because you compare the situation with what it was before. Of course, you do not compare these things with the palaces which you see in the centre of Ankara, in the Champs-Élysées of Paris, or with the skyscrapers of New York, which were not built in 25 years, but began to be built centuries ago with the sweat, blood and the sufferings of the working people for the benefit of the magnates, the wealthy, the millionaires. Looking at Albania from this correct angle, the differences within 25 years are like the difference of night from day. During the war, our country was reduced to ashes, agriculture, the economy, the roads, houses and everything were destroyed, and now you compatriots can see how Albania is today.

Being all-powerful and masters of their own country, our people have performed great miracles within these 25 years. They have built hundreds of factories and plants, drained and protected the plains and broken in new land; and made great steps forward in education and culture, etc. The people’s state power has opened schools everywhere in all the villages. Eight-year schooling is compulsory for all the children of Albania. It is the intention of our Party and government that all of them will complete secondary school, too, in the not-too-distant future. Every year our University is filled with students from all parts of Albania. Although the number of our higher cadres is increasing each
year, the ever-growing needs of our economy and culture, which are developing vigorously and rapidly in all directions, require more and more educated people. Now there are outpatient clinics, doctors, nurses and midwives in nearly every village. The medical service in all forms is free of charge. You understand very well what a great thing this is for the people, because in the United States of America, Argentina and everywhere else in the capitalist countries, the doctor wants the dollars in his hand, otherwise he leaves you to die. Now we are struggling to ensure that every village has its own doctor. Anyone who gets ill goes to hospital, is treated and pays not a cent, while on the basis of the law, the worker or office worker also gets state social security benefits for temporary incapacity to work. The prices of medicines were reduced again recently, to the extent that they cost hardly anything. Schooling is also free of charge and in the nurseries and kindergartens the parents pay a very small charge for their children. Albania is the only country in the world which has eliminated all taxes.

In order to restore agriculture, the peasants have been provided with credits by the state to buy seeds, draft animals and livestock, etc., but frequently, especially on the occasion of jubilee celebrations, the state has made a gift of the credits to them. Tractors work everywhere and with reasonable charges, etc. Every year the state makes big investments of millions of leks in order to make our agriculture truly modern and advanced and now high yields in wheat, maize and all crops are being taken.

The aim of all the investments which are made is to raise the wellbeing of the people year by year. In comparison with the past we have made great progress in this direction. It is sufficient to mention that the average life expectancy in Albania today has reached 66-67 years as against 38 years in the past. Now our immediate aim is to raise this average life expectancy to 70 years and later to 80 years, and thus we shall go steadily up the scale. Our people know that life is not built with prayers or amulets by the believers, but with efforts and work, which are the source of the prosperity and wealth of the Homeland.

It is true that we received credits from the Soviet Union of the time of Stalin and from China for the projects we have built or are building, but you and the whole world must know that the valuable and necessary credit which has been given us is infinitesimal in comparison with the investments of billions of leks and the great economic strength which the Albanian people have created with their own toil and sweat. For example, if you take the figure ten to represent the credits for the machinery for the Vau i Dejës hydro-power station, near Shkodra, which you saw, in comparison with that figure, the investments of the Albanian people would be a hundred and ten, and these billions of leks come from the work, the sweat and the strength of the people, from the economizing, the planning and the correct organization of the
economy to ensure that the people’s money is not wasted but is employed in the people’s own interests. You sisters and brothers have seen some of the successes in Albania, therefore we invite you to stay a little longer and see more, because in this way you will be even more thoroughly convinced about the Albanian reality and this will rejoice you.

The sons and daughters of our people, wherever they are, see these successes clearly, despite the traitorous work done by Abaz Kupi and others, whom the American government has gathered up from all round the world. There are some of those honest old patriots who loved the United States of America but also loved Albania and rallied and militated around «Vatra» of the past, who are fighting for their democratic rights today. The traitors of the Homeland, who are simply individuals sold-out to the capitalists, are trying to take command of «Vatra», but in fact, it is not they who make the law among the Albanians of America, because the patriots of the «Free Albania» organization are working and struggling there, too.

Our people have been able to achieve this progress only because of the fact that today they are free, that they are no longer dominated by others, but rule themselves. This is the essence of the matter. We who are in the leadership do not remain in these positions because the police, the security service, or the army keeps us there, as certain newspapers in the West say, but it is our work, the people, that keep us there. If the people did not like us, they would criticize us once, twice or three times, then, if we did not correct ourselves they would tell us, «Go where you belong, because you have no place here. There are others who work better for the Party and the people». In such a case any one who is honest and conscientious must go to work there where the people will teach him how to work better. The situation created in our country, in which the people criticize freely and evaluate the work of cadres fairly, is the greatest thing which the Party has brought about. In this direction we are a hundred years ahead of all those countries where you live. They may be more advanced in regard to the development of technology, industry, etc., but in regard to the development of democracy and the people’s consciousness, they are a hundred years behind us. I am convinced that one day, those countries, too, will certainly reach the point we have achieved. This is an essential law of social development, but then we shall still be a hundred years ahead. However, neither we nor our future generations will be haughty to them, but on the contrary, we shall always remain modest, servants of our own people and our class brothers in different countries, as the Party teaches us. We are not conceited, but the truth is that in the world revolution we, too, have made a small but lasting contribution to the future of mankind.

Genuine democracy has great importance for our state. What they make such a great fuss about in the capitalist countries is not genuine democracy. Democracy there is only for a handful of
people, for the rich, whereas in Albania there is no democracy for the rich. In our country there is democracy only for the majority, for the people. That is the difference. There, there is the whip for the poor, here there is the whip for the wealthy. But as you know, the majority in the world are the poor, on whose backs live the wealthy, therefore democracy for the poor is the best democracy, genuine democracy. For this democracy to be guaranteed, accounts must be settled with its enemies: the former wealthy and the parasites, who should work where the material blessings are produced with toil and sweat in order to be educated and learn from the working class and the peasantry. We have examples that show that some of them have mended their ways, have been corrected in work, because, in the end, they were convinced that «the warm weather was over with August» or, as we say down there in Gjirokastër, «the mules forgot their old pasture». It is 25 years since the old pasture of the agas and beys disappeared in Albania. Now that they have lost their hopes and seeing that their children have gone to school, have become members of the Youth Union and follow the road of the Party, the former exploiters are thinking a little better and many of them are working with a will.

The Party clearly distinguishes the blameless from the guilty. If the son of an evil-doer works and makes sacrifices for the people, no one hinders him from advancing, so long as he recognizes the evil his father did and sincerely condemns the activity he carried out to the detriment of the people. This just policy, which is carried out in the light of Marxism-Leninism, is an expression of the democracy which is flourishing in our country. You yourselves can take part in some meeting of the people and you will see how freely the workers and the broad working masses criticize even the leading cadres, and this is another important expression of our democracy. When this or that work is not going well, or is not carried out as it should be, our people demand a reckoning from whomever is responsible and do not leave him at his ease. This is the genuine democracy which our people enjoy today. If such a democracy did not exist, brothers and sisters, the state power, this political line against internal and external reaction, would not have triumphed and this Albania would not have changed its appearance.

Some enemies abroad allege that, the communists do not respect the old, their customs, etc. This is completely false propaganda. No, we never forget the old, because we are the sons of our fathers, our blood has flowed from them and we do not divide the past from the present. Our forefathers taught us how to fight, how to sacrifice ourselves for Albania, how to love it. With the possibilities they had and in their own ways, they have inculcated the spirit of love for the Homeland and the people in us and we, their sons, are following in the footsteps of Scanderbeg of old, Ismail Qemali, Bajram Curri, Avni Rustemi and thousands of other patriots.
However, besides very fine and honoured customs in Albania, there were also evil things which we had inherited from the foreign occupiers and which had been eagerly embraced especially by the local traitors. One of these was the question of the treatment of the Albanian woman. In the past she had no rights as a person. Life was hell for her because she was oppressed. The patriarchal power of the father or the brother in the family extended to the point that the girls were sold for money, their wishes and desires in regard to marriage were completely disregarded. In some places they were betrothed in the cradle and, what is even worse, they could be killed without giving account to anybody.

The National Liberation War and the establishment of the people’s power created the possibilities for the Albanian women to raise themselves to the position they deserve. In the war, actively supporting the call of the Party, the Albanian women and girls fought like heroines. And now the woman is truly equal with the man, on whom she is no longer economically dependent, because she has a job of her own. In other countries there are women and girls who work, but work for women there is slavery, they are exploited, whereas amongst us they work for themselves, not only in the simple personal sense but in a much broader sense. The women are conscious that they are contributing at the same time to the whole of Albania. The Albanian women, who are half the population of Albania, feel that the Party has entrusted them with a very great duty. Now that the women are taking an active part in the work and the political-social life of the country, the Party has put before them the important duty of attending school and, in fact, all the 8-year and secondary schools and the University are full of women and girls. Today women are working everywhere, in commerce, the health service, education and culture. In many sectors of the economy and culture, they have taken over the running of institutions, enterprises and social organizations. The Party is assisting the women to take over the running of things everywhere. Wherever there are men with conservative ideas who hinder them, the Party comes out in defence of the women, with the aim that they should advance courageously and in this way wipe out the hangovers in the people’s consciousness.

In the capitalist world, money is everything. Whoever has money has power. So it was in Albania, too. In the family, only the man had authority, because he held the money, the purse. Is that not so Hulo? In order to liberate her from economic dependence, the Party told the woman who started a job not to give her pay to her husband, but to put it into the family budget and administer it jointly. And this is what was done. This made the husband lose his economic power over his wife. You will understand that with this measure, the Party was trying to combat the tendency of the domination of the husband over the wife and aimed

1 Hulusi Kalo, his boyhood friend.
to strike at the completely distorted old humiliating views about woman.

It must be admitted honestly, brothers and sisters, that the woman is more just than we, men, and much more thrifty. How unjust they were in the past to say that women had «long hair and short minds»! In our country time has proved the opposite. When they are liberated, women have splendid minds, plenty of brains, and are not behind men in any work. In the struggle against savage backward customs, the aim of the Party is that there should be no more forced marriages without sincere love, or with any payment, which is a variant of the selling of women which was practised under the influence of the laws of the church and the Sheriat and of religion in general. Religious custom forced the woman to remain shut within the four walls of her home and not go out to work. Previously the husband could divorce his wife by sending her off with a note in her hand and a bundle of personal belongings on her head. It was nothing to the man to kick out his wife today and take another tomorrow. Against this, dear sisters, we have achieved a very great success, which has exceptional importance and this success has been achieved through a difficult and patient struggle against the views of the old world.

In our country the emancipation of the woman has been carried out with a completely new and healthy content which it does not have anywhere else. In the countries where you live you see many «free» women who come out and parade etc., etc., but they never have the militant spirit and the lofty consciousness of the Albanian woman, nor do they have your spirit and consciousness, because though you have lived outside the Homeland for a long time, still you are Albanians, because your blood is Albanian.

On the basis of our five-year plans, our economy will advance further. Industry will develop further, agriculture, also, will become more modernized so that the fields of our country become more fertile and beautiful. Measures have been taken for the irrigation not only of the big plains, but also of the fertile lands of the Highlands of the north and the south, in Dibra, Kukës, Tepelena, Përmet, Mallakastra and elsewhere.

You know about the decision of the Party on the electrification of the whole of Albania by November 1971. With the vigorous measures which have been taken, we are confident that this task will be carried out before that date and that electric light will be taken to every home, even in the most remote mountain village. Up till now this is not being done in any other country of the world. The enemies can say what they like about Albania, but this is another magnificent success, a very great step forward towards reducing the distinctions between city and countryside, between mental and physical work. As you know, Lenin said that communism is «Soviet power plus electrification». There is plenty of electric power in the United States of America, France, Italy and other
countries. But in the hinterland of the United States of America, for example, there are people, such as the Indians who still use the oil lamp and the candle and even the pine-torch for light. The same thing occurs elsewhere. Can it be said that the United States of America, with that great industrial power, lacks the possibilities to supply electric power to every corner of the country? It has the possibilities, but it does not supply the power because it is not profitable to Rockefeller; not profitable to the big concerns, because the primary aim of their investments is to increase the profit of capitalists and not the wellbeing of the masses. Let hundreds of thousands of Americans be killed in Korea or in Vietnam, so long as the military bases spread all over the world are secured, more and more arms are sold and the wealth and economic interests of the capitalists are protected. Of course, all the American people do not enjoy this wealth. It belongs in the first place to the big capitalists while something is given as hand-out to part of the people. We know that the standard of living in America is higher, but this is not for all Americans. Let us take the unfortunate black population, for example. You and we know that for them life is a hell. They are deprived of many rights and, above all, are subjected to savage racial discrimination. The whites too, suffer from social inequalities, from pronounced economic inequality and capitalist exploitation. Hence, neither in the United States of America, in Argentina, nor in any other country, can they do these things that are being done in Albania, because those are countries where the capitalist class rules, while here the people are doing many things because they are in power, here the working class leads.

The future of Albania is brilliant, therefore the people are working everywhere with confidence and revolutionary courage and this will always be the case with us. Of course, even more sweat will be shed and more sacrifices will be made, because the people understand that nothing is done merely with the «holy spirit». And if, for example, we are not able to eat three courses at every meal, we shall content ourselves with one or two, but nevertheless we shall work to ensure that the coming generations eat three. Then again, all of us now eat at least one, while in the past a small minority had plenty to eat and the majority almost nothing.

Just like every family which works out its budget and thinks of the future, our state too, thinks of the future of the Homeland, works out plans for the good of the people, builds and develops the economy and struggles to gradually raise the standard of living and culture of the people. This progressive development of the economy and our life, which goes on consistently, unceasingly and reliably, guarantees the independence of the country, because it increases the defence capacity of our People's Republic.

Our people know that the expenditure for the things they consume and build has its source in
their sweat, toil and ability. They are conscious that some danger could come in the future, because round about us there are enemies with their swords unsheathed and all the people, in a body, judge how much they should spend a day for consumption, with the aim of saving the remainder for tomorrow. For these reasons our people have set themselves the task of creating reserves in case of danger. I am not telling you any secret, for Albania, like any other state, has its own reserve. We make our calculations about the future because we cannot go on simply eating with no thought for the future, like the dervishes in times gone by.

The great work which is done in our country for the mobilization of the broad masses of the people tempers and strengthens everyone morally and physically. Before Liberation the prefect, sub-prefect and every official were privileged but isolated from the people, because they were overlords who oppressed the people. Now the party teaches the communists, the cadres and all the officials that they must live with the people and feel themselves servants of the people. For this reason, for one month every year, every official works in production with the pick or the hammer, together with the workers or the peasants. Those who make mistakes in the course of their work, the Party sends to be re-educated in the ranks of the masses, puts them in the vice of the working class to «straighten out» their heads and sends them back to where they work or to some other place, not to sit back in an easy chair, but to work hard. Office work in Albania now has the aim of serving the base, the people. Office work, you might say, is «just to get things going» as we used to say during our games when we were children, as Hulo might remember. The leadership of the Party and the state too, is always at work together with the people. These forms of work and the links with the masses temper people and even rejuvenate the elderly.

You brothers and sisters ought to know that Albania is strong militarily, too. If the enemies dare to attack Albania they will suffer for it and will certainly be smashed, because we are a strong people as we have proved during the whole of history, while today, as I mentioned at the start, we are even stronger than before, because we are not alone. We have many allies, the peoples of the whole world are with us. We know that the governments in Argentina or Brazil are reactionary and do not like us, but the peoples or the communists in Argentina or Brazil are with us; and although the American administration headed by Nixon, Hixon or Wixon is imperialist, if anything were to happen to us in Albania, the democratic American people would be with us, would take the side of our people who are fighting in defence of their freedom and independence. Today our country is no longer one that can be trampled upon as before. Its defence capacity is great and this is due to the people and the Party. During this 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph
of the people’s revolution, which we celebrated together, you saw for yourselves the results of our great people’s war.

We are very happy that you brothers and sisters came to take part in our celebrations. We shall never forget your struggle and aid, your difficulties, hopes and ardent longing for the Motherland wherever you are. Some among you who live in emigration cannot return to the Homeland because of family ties, etc., which you have created there, while there are others who could return and want to do so but find obstacles raised to them there where they are living. We understand all the causes, but we are convinced that one day the Albanian patriots abroad will undoubtedly win justice. We expressed this conviction at different moments when the horizon of Albania was still obscure and many laughed at us «children». At that time we sought to make the world believe us, explaining the reasons on which we based our predictions, which were quickly vindicated. Now we are confident that the cause of Albanians who are languishing outside the Homeland will triumph, too. In this direction their own struggle is decisive.

Dear comrades, they tell me that some of you are about to depart. We are sorry that you are going so quickly, because we wanted you to stay longer to see all parts of the Homeland. However Albania is your Homeland, so come back again when you find the suitable time. For the others who are going to stay longer and will honour us even more with their presence, we shall give them the possibility to make other trips.

I take this opportunity to wish you, your families, and all the Albanian brothers, sisters, comrades and friends, in the countries where you live, good health. Please convey to them greetings and great love from our people, our Government and our Party and me, personally. I propose this toast to your health, to the health of the Albanian people and to the Party of Labour of Albania!

This comrade is an outstanding patriot from Kosova, one of our heroic brothers who live and fight in Yugoslavia. As you know, the people of Kosova can never be separated from Albania while muscle clings to bone.

Jakup, how does Albania look to you?

JAKUP MAHMUTI: Thank you for everything Comrade Enver. I cannot find words to describe all I have seen. It is 49 years since I left Albania, but the things I have seen with my own eyes are truly miracles which have been done thanks to the Party and you, Comrade Enver. With what the youth and the people have done, it is certain that Albania will advance. Let those who are angry at us come to see for themselves if they want to.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: That is so, Albania is advancing and will advance even more. Thank you very much for what you said.

But you, Hulo, how many years have passed since you were in Albania last?

1 Rexhep Duraku who had sat near him.
2 Representative of the Albanian community in France.
HULUSI KALO: Thirty-three years, since 1936.
ASIM LULO: It is half a century for me, Comrade Enver.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Oh, what a long time! That means you have seen great changes.
ASIM LULO: Apart from some mountains that I recognize, everything else has changed, but I see changes in the people, too. They are no longer the people that I left in the past. Everyone is happy, laughing and determined.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: That means the things I said are true. (Applause from all present).
And you, how many years is it since you were in Albania?

ILIAZ SADIKU: Thirty-three years. I am from Matohasanaj of Tepeleana. We found Albania doing fine, very well off, contrary to what we heard abroad. The mountain slopes of Tepeleana for example, which were covered with shrub and brambles in the past have now been cleared and planted in trees. I was astounded when I saw electric light in Matohasanaj, where we used the pine-torch or the oil lamp previously. When we heard abroad about the great progress of Albania, we were astonished and could not believe it, but now that we have seen these things with our own eyes, we are very happy. Long may you live at the head of the people and long live the Albanian people! It is true we are far away in body, but in spirit and heart we are always near.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Thank you very much. You are one of the Albanian emigrants to Argentina?

OSMAN KASEMI: Yes, we greatly rejoice over what we are seeing in our Homeland. I left Albania in 1928, when I was 16 years old. You know why we emigrated. Now that the chance has come to take part in this majestic celebration, we are very happy about all these changes we have seen in our Homeland and we promise you that we shall work as patriots with our fellow-countrymen and will always be with our beloved Homeland, with the People's Republic of Albania till death.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Thank you very much; with your pure and lofty feelings you give us strength.

HULUSI KALO: Comrade Enver, I think it is unnecessary to repeat the things we have seen here because you have carried them out yourselves. The important thing is to talk about these things there where we are living.

ELPINIQI FRASHËRÎ: Comrade Enver, I should like to say a few words.

First of all, I thank you sincerely for the great honour you have done us in inviting us back to our beloved Homeland; then I thank you for all these great and majestic things which have been built here, which we would not have believed, had

1 Economic emigrant to the USA.
we not seen them with our own eyes. Things have been done here which no one could have dreamt would be done for a very long time and not in just 25 years. However it is not 25 years, because the first years to Liberation passed in the work for the reconstruction of the damage caused by the war, hence these things have been done in just 12 or maybe 20 years of work. Therefore, what has been done in Albania is truly miraculous.

This time I am leaving, not only with satisfaction over the projects which I saw in our Homeland, which are very great, but also with some new concepts which have made a great impression on my mind. The new concepts with which I am leaving Albania this time are:

First, about the word «work», which, as I understand it, is the most honoured word in the Albanian language. Of course all these projects, which one is quite unable to enumerate, have been created through work.

Second, and possibly not in the right order, about the emancipation of women. I am astounded that the Albanian women have achieved this level of development we are seeing. In the past the women who had jobs could be counted on your fingers, while today we see women-doctors and engineers, they take part in every step of life and that is why our hearts are filled with pride for what the Albanian women have achieved, and what impressed me greatly was their outstanding modesty. I saw Albanian women and girls, capable engineers, who explained the different technical pro-

esses of production with great ability. This modesty can be seen in Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, whom I saw among the people. If a comrade had not told me «this is Comrade Nexhmije», I would not have known her, because she was just one among the others. When we shook hands, talked with her and, as I have told the comrades at other times, on the one hand I felt proud, and on the other hand, her attitude was a lesson for us, a very valuable lesson, and we see this in the women and girls of our country who are going ahead with great clarity and ability.

Third, about the struggle against backward customs. When we went to the Elbasan-Prrenjas railway, what we saw there impressed us very greatly. Among other things, the young people shouted: «Heroic youth, wipe out the backward customs!» In general, it can be seen here that man has been transformed. All these things, the roads, the houses, etc., can be built, but to mould the new man is a difficult job. In this direction a great deal of work has been done and that is why the people have changed. You have done a great job to uplift the Albanian women and youth. Speaking symbolically, I would say that in the past Albania was like a great giant in darkness and bound with chains, that had fallen into a deep sleep, while today it has awakened, has smashed the chains, is advancing and is confident that it will continue to advance.

We thank you for having given us emigrants reason to be proud of these things which have been and are being done in our Homeland.
Long live the heroic Albanian people with you at the head, Comrade Enver!

TELAT SHEHU: Dear Comrade Enver, I say comrade not only because this is the term used in Albania, but because we were comrades together long ago. I have come back to Albania three times. The first time I saw good things, the second time I saw even better things, while today I am seeing things even better than the two previous times. These things bring us closer to our country, to our people, with you as the leader of this country, therefore I say: Congratulations on this great work you are doing! I am confident that the fruits you are gathering today will be even greater in the future. Therefore I say from my heart: Long live the Party of Labour! A long life to you, Comrade Enver! Long live the Albanian people!

Finally amidst stormy applause, Comrade Enver Hoëka warmly embraced the emigrant brothers and took his leave.

THE CRIMINAL PLOTS AGAINST THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC MUST BE FOILED

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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The cordial dialogue which started towards the end of last year between the Soviet revisionists and the West-German militarists is now entering the stage of concrete bargaining, of defining the conditions and terms under which to reach a global agreement to suit their expansionist and imperialist aims. On the agenda was the conclusion of a Soviet-German treaty on the «mutual renunciation of the use of force», «official recognition of the Oder-Neisse border», on reaching a major long-term trade agreement between Bonn and Moscow, the establishment of diplomatic relations between revisionist countries and West Germany, and so on and so forth.
All this bilateral diplomatic activity which directly affects the German issue — one of the key problems inherited from the Second World War and closely linked with the fate of Europe — has aroused the legitimate anxiety of all the peoples of our continent. It is not difficult for anyone to see that we are now facing a situation in which a new monstrous revisionist-imperialist plot, spearheaded not only against the sovereign states of Europe, but also against the peoples of the whole world, is being hatched up.

It is a fact that «Bonns new eastern policy» and the radical shift in the stand of the present Soviet government on the German problem are intended to establish a new balance of power in the heart of Europe which is to serve the consolidation of German militarism and the aggressive plans of Soviet revisionist imperialism. The Western press, which reflects the concern of the European ruling bourgeoisie and the intensified efforts of the Soviet-American alliance to exercise its dictate and establish its domination over the entire world, and which regards the further strengthening of German militarism with no little apprehension, has pointed out that the aim of the new rapprochement of the Soviet revisionists with the Bonn militarists, their talks and future plans are intended «to bring about a new balance in Europe», to quote the terms it uses.

What are they really seeking to achieve? The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, in agreement with American imperialism, which, for its part is acting in the same way, has long been trying to make its flanks secure in Europe, to preserve its spheres of influence in this area and to concentrate the whole weight of its aggressive and expansionist strategy in the East. Its ill-famed initiatives for the so-called European security, the proposals to liquidate both the Warsaw and North Atlantic Pacts and to reduce the armed forces of the big powers in Europe and so on and so forth, also serve the same purpose.

But up till now, the implementation of these plans has run up against the German problem, or, in plainer terms, against the persistence of West Germany which is not predisposed to sell its «friendship» on the cheap. Furthermore, the more the Soviet revisionists' internal and external difficulties have increased, the more the latter have directed the edge of their aggression in the East, the higher the West Germans have raised the price of their collaboration. It is precisely in this situation that the Soviet revisionists threw the interests of the German Democratic Republic on the market of the imperialist wolves and put its independence and sovereignty up for sale. It is precisely under these circumstances that Brandt's «new eastern policy» emerged. Differing from the policy of Adenauer, who sought to gobble up the German Democratic Republic and the Polish lands across the Oder-Neisse by means of force, the new West German policy aims at attaining those same objectives but by waving the olive branch and the wad of marks. Adenauer, Erhard, Kiesinger and all the
German Christian Democrats had pinned their hopes of revenge, of setting up the Fuehrer’s great Germany, completely on a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. They became the fiercest warmongers and spared no efforts to transform the Wehrmacht into the main pillar of NATO and West Germany, into the main base for aggression against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Europe. But it would be pointless and senseless to pursue such a strategy further under the new conditions, when the American imperialists have become the closest allies of the Soviet revisionists, when the Soviet-American alliance has, among its main aims, to consolidate the present status quo and strengthen the domination of each partner over its own spheres of influence. Moreover, the German militarists could not cling to the old methods at a time when their American allies, having got assurances from the revisionists in Europe, began to concentrate their imperialist aggression and expansion in Asia and Latin America.

Brandt, with his “eastern policy”, is a product of the changes that have taken place in the policy of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, of their global strategy of “peace in Europe and war in Asia”. This sharp turn in the tactics of the German militarists could not have been taken by the Christian Democrats who were linked with the old, poor plans and had compromised themselves as ultra-revanchists and advocates of the policy of the use of force. The German bourgeoisie brought forward the social democrats who, having been in the opposition up till now, had not been so heavily committed publicly to the “old eastern policy” of Dulles and Adenauer. What is more, the change of horses in the Bonn Chancellery creates some conditions making it easier for the propaganda of the rulers of Moscow to justify their bargaining with West Germany. It is by no means accidental that Moscow advertizes the cabinet of Brand as “realistic”, “constructive”, alleging that it welcomes the Soviet initiatives in connection with the German question and “European security”, “with understanding”.

Now the Soviet and other revisionists are ruling out the demand that Bonn should recognize the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign, free and independent state. Gromyko continues to talk with Helmuth Allardt, the Ambassador of the FGR to Moscow, in a “business-like atmosphere of mutual understanding”, turning a blind eye to pretentions of Bonn towards the GDR. The Polish Prime Minister, Cyrankievich, for his part, declared on December 22, that the Polish government is ready for discussions with the FGR, provided it recognized the Oder-Neisse border.

It seems the militarists of Bonn welcome these unprincipled concessions by the Soviet and Polish revisionists at the expense of the GDR and they do not fail to reciprocate. The Brandt government was delighted to give its approval to a big economic agreement between the Soviet Union and West Germany, whereby the two monopoly firms
«Thyssen» and «Mannesmann» will supply the Soviet Union with 1.2 million tons of steel pipes to build a gas pipe-line which will feed the FGR with 3 million cubic metres of Siberian natural gas a year for twenty years. Now there is talk of a substantial credit which Bonn is to accord also the revisionist clique of Gomulka and the other satellites of Moscow.

«In our eastern policy,» declared Walter Scheel, the Foreign Minister of the FGR on December 22, «we are in the process of initiatives with better chances of success than at any other time in our post-war history.» The chances to which Scheel refers show, in fact, the sinister intentions of the West-German revanchists. The political, economic, cultural and other agreements opened new paths to the new rulers of Bonn for all-round penetration into the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, creating favourable conditions for them to take the rear of the GDR in order to eventually swallow and annex it.

It may seem paradoxical that the revisionist Soviet Union, which, on one hand, has become an aggressive imperialist state trying by all manner of means to expand its empire, to strengthen its oppressive rule over the satellite countries, while on the other hand, does not hesitate to sacrifice the GDR which is one of its main advanced outposts in the West. In fact, there is nothing contradictory in this and we do not think the Soviet revisionists put it up for auction without a high reserve price. The imperialist laws and logic of the division and redivision of spheres of influence are operating here, too, as everywhere else, and it is not ordained that this must always be done by means of force alone, by mutual territorial concessions and compensations and so on. By abandoning the defence of the German Democratic Republic and selling its supreme sovereign interests the revisionists think, and it is another matter if their calculations are wrong, to create a big Germany, friendly to them, a broad neutral zone equidistant from the two superpowers, and this would ensure the imperialist-revisionist plan of peace in Europe and war in Asia and other continents.

The so-called «Treaty on Mutual Renunciation of the Use of Force» on which intensive talks are now being held between Moscow and Bonn, or the official recognition of the Oder-Neisse border by West Germany, have this objective, the outlines of which are already clear. If it were otherwise, then, why does the Soviet Union demand a «separate assurance» from Federal Germany and not from NATO of which the latter is a member? Would it not achieve the same purpose, let those in Moscow call it what they please, if, for instance, a treaty on renunciation of the use of force were concluded between the North Atlantic and the Warsaw Pacts? Would their members be just as much committed? Why is a treaty similar to that desired between West Germany and the Soviet Union not concluded between the two German states? Can the GDR be defended by usurping its sovereign rights to decide for itself on its own fu-
ture? Can the recognition of the GDR, as an independent and sovereign state on the basis of international law be strengthened by publicly approving in this way, the claims of the Bonn revanchists that the GDR is not a sovereign state with all the necessary attributes but only an "occupation zone" and that they can talk about its problems with Moscow alone?

Or let us take the question of the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border, over which the Soviet and Polish revisionists, together with Brandt, have been making a great fuss recently. The demand of the Polish people to have the borders of their state guaranteed, that the Federal German Republic too, must recognize and respect its western border, is absolutely just. But why is this claim made only for the Oder-Neisse border and not for the western border of East Germany? Against whom is this new Locarno agreement aimed? What have the Soviet revisionists in store for the GDR?

The revisionists' demands for recognition of the Oder-Neisse border, together with a treaty with Bonn on mutual renunciation of the use of force, without the participation of GDR, no longer leave any room for doubt that the frontiers the Soviet Union means to defend, do not begin from the Elba but from the Oder.

The revisionist chiefs of Moscow are trying to cover up their immediate and ultimate imperialist objectives by all sorts of demagogy. They are trying to convince others that they want to leave the solution of the German problem to the Germans themselves. By means of this monstrous hoax they aim to kill two birds with one stone. On the one hand, they want to justify their capitulation in abandoning the signing of a peace treaty with Germany, that is, in recognizing de facto and de jure the realities created in Germany after the defeat of Hitler and, on the other, to cover up their disgraceful sell-out of the vital sovereign interests of the GDR to the Bonn militarists.

But this dirty game will bring the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade clique no benefit. There are few dupes in our time. The people of the German Democratic Republic cannot fail to see the conspiracies hatched up against them and will not remain indifferent when the future of their country is being jeopardized. They can never accept that their Republic, the creation of which was a great victory for all the German people and an important historic event for all the peoples of Europe, should be sacrificed to the expansionist interests of the renegades who have usurped power in Moscow.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and the other countries where the revisionists are in power must open their eyes and understand the new plot which is being hatched up at the expense of the GDR by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique and the government of the Bonn militarists. The other peoples of Europe must understand this, too. This plot revives German militarist revanchism and serves to whet its claws. The struggle for the recognition of the GDR as a sovereign state with full rights, first of all, by the FGR and by the other Western countries, is closely
bound up not only with the defence of the GDR, but also with the preservation of the interests of real security and peace in Europe, with the struggle against the aggressive plans of the Moscow imperialists, the US imperialists and the revanchists of Bonn.

No one should be misled by the false imperialist-revisionist propaganda that the rapprochement between Bonn and Moscow will ease tension in Europe and make the flames of war more remote from our continent. History has proved more than once that whetting the appetite of German revanchism has been catastrophic for Europe. And the attempts to urge the aggressors towards the East in order, allegedly, to save «European civilization» have been no less disastrous. Therefore, at the present time, and especially in the conditions of rapprochement and dangerous bargainings between the Soviet revisionists and the revanchists of Bonn, the defence of the GDR, its recognition on the basis of international law as an independent and sovereign state, is the touchstone for all the sound democratic forces, for all the peoples of Europe and the world. The unmasking and defeat of the criminal plots which are being hatched up against the GDR is a blow to the imperialist-revisionist aggressive plans, to the war preparations which the two big imperialist powers are making in order to put all the peoples of the world under their domination.

The Albanian people will defend, as they have always done, the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic with determination and from a principle stand, will tirelessly support the struggle of the freedom-loving German people against the perfidious conspiracies of the Soviet revisionist imperialists and their associates and allies, the West-German militarists and the American imperialists.
THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IS INVINCIBLE

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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The brilliant victories achieved by the Palestinian resistance in the struggle against the Israeli occupiers mark the emergence of an entirely new and decisive factor in the reality of the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict. We refer to the affirmation of the cause of the Palestinian nation, which, after the June war in 1967, in a completely autonomous manner, imposed recognition of its individuality and strength on the whole world.

It is true that «the Palestinian problem» has existed from the first day of the creation of the state of Israel, but up to recently, the big imperialist powers, taking advantage of the confusion and divisions in the Arab world, had succeeded in pushing it aside and treating it only as a problem of refugees who have to be given «assistance» and «settled» so that they forget their own homeland and their national identity. The imperialist powers sought to strengthen the state of Israel at all costs in order to have it as a gendarme to protect their interests in the Middle East and to divide the Arab countries, with the aim of exploiting their difficulties later for colonial penetration and domination in this zone. Innumerable resolutions, drafts, suggestions and schemes for mediations, etc., have been adopted and undertaken in the name of UNO by the great powers which manipulate and lead that organization. But in all these «documents» and «plans», the Palestinian question as a national question, as a major problem of the Middle East, separate from the general Arab-Israeli conflict, is missing. This «oversight» can be seen in the notorious UNO resolution of November 22, 1967, manipulated by the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, which the Palestinian people, quite correctly, have rejected as totally unacceptable.

All this shows clearly that the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are deeply involved in the Middle East conflict and have pretentions to place themselves in the position of the «international arbiter», do not want the settlement of the Palestinian national problem, but, on the contrary, are doing everything to prevent it. It is not difficult to explain their stand. Both of them want to protect their own imperialist interests in this region, to extend them and to create favourable conditions for the further intensification of their expansionist and hegemonic plans.

Settlement of the Palestinian national question would certainly affect Israel, which the United
States of America incites and employs as a tool for the realization of its hostile plans against the Arab countries and as the main support base for its imperialist penetration in the Middle East, while for the Soviet revisionists it would mean the elimination of the grave and complicated situation created in that zone, which they are exploiting for their hegemonic aims. The calculations of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique are based on the permanent threat of Israel to the Arab countries, on the hope that need will drive the Arab countries to turn to Moscow and accept the conditions it dictates. The only thing the two imperialist powers really want to achieve is to extinguish the legitimate anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle of the Arab peoples, especially the national liberation war of the Palestinian people, to maintain the tense situation and to exploit the tragedy of the Arab peoples in order to plunder the natural wealth and utilize the strategic positions of the Middle East.

Now, however, the Palestinian people's partisan war has terrified both the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. Now they are facing the fact that they can no longer keep silent about it, but neither can they defeat it. Although Israel is armed to the teeth with the most modern means by all international reaction, it is being shaken and defeated more and more each day by the liberation struggle which the valiant Palestinian partisans have launched all over the country. There is no doubt that the crisis which has gripped the state of Israel will become even deeper in the future. The fact is that despite the efforts that have been made to discredit and suppress it, the Palestinian resistance has steadily mounted and developed, dealing crushing blows to the whole imperialist and revisionist policy in the Middle East and defeating the manoeuvres and intrigues of this policy up to date. The growth of the Palestinian resistance into an organized national liberation war, with a clear program which responds to the national interests of the Palestinian people and which is closely linked with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples, shows that the countries of the Middle East are now fully capable of coping successfully both with the force of arms of foreign invaders and with the diplomatic manoeuvres of imperialists and revisionists.

Nevertheless, it should not be thought that all the dangers which are threatening the Arab peoples, and the Palestinian people in particular, have been eliminated or even reduced. The imperialists and revisionists possess colossal means; and they know how to manoeuvre and to exploit any uncertainty or wavering. They will never give up their aim of forcing the Arab countries to capitulate, and especially their aim of wiping out the Palestinian armed forces and burying the Palestinian national problem once and for all. The resolutions of UNO and its plans for mediation; which are simply the fruit of the anti-Arab plot of the American and Soviet governments, or the bilateral and four-party talks which they organize allegedly to achieve a «political settlement» of the problem of the Middle East, serve these aims.

An especially great danger for the anti-impe-
rationalist and liberation struggle of the Arab peoples is presented by the Soviet revisionists, who pose as their friends, while in reality they are their enemies, no less ferocious and cunning than the American imperialists. Their hostility to the Arab cause has always existed, at all times and in every stage of the long Arab-Israeli conflict. It has been displayed especially against the armed struggle and the national cause of the Palestinian people. Up until now, the Soviet revisionists have maintained a dead silence about the Palestinian national problem as though it did not exist at all, as if it were not a constituent part of a major international problem about which they claim they are greatly «worried»; because they are allegedly champions of the rights of peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence. Moreover, they have opposed the armed struggle of the Palestinian people with every means they possess, describing it, in chorus with the imperialist propaganda, as «terrorist actions», «provocations», «negative extremist acts», etc. The chiefs of Moscow have tried in particular to create distrust towards the Palestinian resistance in the Arab countries, by suggesting that with its fighting actions against Israel it is allegedly hindering the settlement of the conflict, inciting the zionists to undertake reprisals, etc. They have been doing the same job as American imperialism which wants to impose a separate peace with Israel on the individual Arab countries, on condition that they prohibit the activity of the Palestinian partisans in their territories.

Now that the armed struggle of the Palestinian people has not been quelled, but has been further extended, becoming a decisive factor in the Middle East, the rulers of the Kremlin have changed their tactics. Recently, a one hundred and eighty degree turn has been seen in the Soviet revisionist press and the statements of the revisionist leaders. With unprecedented hypocrisy and demagogy, they are claiming that they «support» the Palestinian armed struggle and are ready to «assist» it. It is self-evident that they mean neither support nor assistance. Their objective in the new existing situation is to harness the Palestinian armed forces to their chariot, to deceive and exploit them. By providing a few weapons, they are trying to get control of the Palestinian national liberation war, to keep it within the framework which suits their hegemonic interests and the circumstances which arise in their collaboration and competition with American imperialism. It is part of the nature of the revisionists and their savage methods to make their supplies of arms dependent on their conditions, so that along with them they demand to send «advisers», «experts», spies, saboteurs, etc., to the recipient country through whom to achieve their aims. If they manage to shackle the Palestinian resistance, they will seek to use it later as a means of barter in their dirty deals with American imperialism in the Middle East and other zones of the world.

The thing that all the imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries fear most is people's partisan war. When they do not succeed with pressure, threats, and other means of intimidation, they try to hinder and extinguish it with demagogy and
deception. This is what the Soviet revisionists are trying to do now with the Palestinian national liberation movement.

The Palestinian people, who are fighting for a just cause and who, during the last 20 years, experienced to their cost all the frauds, hypocrisy, lies and slanders of the big imperialist powers, cannot fail to understand that the hand which the Soviet revisionists are holding out to them today is a hand which wants to grab them by the throat and strangle them. They cannot fail to understand that the chiefs who are ruling in Moscow today are the allies of the American imperialists, who for their own imperialist interests, are ready to sacrifice the supreme interests of any people, including those of the Palestinian people. If the Soviet revisionists have now been obliged to «recognize» the armed struggle of the Palestinian people, this is because the heroic fight of the partisans, the men and women of Palestine, has imposed this on them. Likewise, it is this struggle which will bring about the failure of the revisionists' new intrigues, their efforts to sabotage the Palestinian resistance from within and to transform it into an appendage of their hegemonic and enslaving policy.

The Albanian people, who are in solidarity with and warmly support the fraternal Palestinian people, are fully convinced that their people's partisan war will triumph over their many imperialist and zionist enemies and make dust and ashes of all the intrigues and plots which they hatch up to leave the Palestinian people without a homeland and in perpetual slavery.

ANOTHER STEP OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS ON THEIR COURSE OF MILITARY ADVENTURES

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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For a long time now reports have been appearing in the pages of the foreign press that the Soviet revisionist chiefs and their partners in the Warsaw Treaty have taken the decision to set up «special joint military detachments», made up of contingents taken from the national armies of the member countries and placed under a single command. This information can be drawn also from the article by Army General, Shtemenko, Chief of Staff of the Command of the Warsaw Treaty, published January 24, in the newspaper «Krasnaja Zvezda», and that by Marshal Grechko, Minister of Defence of the Soviet Union, published in the Soviet magazine «Kommunist» in February.

The question is posed: What is the character of these new revisionist legions and what cause
will they serve? The tales spread by the Moscow marshals that allegedly they are intended for the «collective defence of the cause of socialism» carry no conviction. The answer must be sought in the military-political situation in the revisionist camp and in the aggressive and expansionist line of the Soviet revisionists, in their contest with the USA, in collaboration and contradiction with it.

For a long time, and this is no longer any secret, there has been no unity at all among the partners of the Warsaw Treaty, either on the general political objectives, or on the military strategy of this bloc. Major disagreements exist, especially over the co-ordination of concrete activities of the national armies with one another and with the Soviet army, over the way they function, over the rights and duties of the command of this Treaty in peace time and war time, etc.

The contradictions become deeper and the divisions more marked especially when it comes to the question of deciding the directions of the military policy of the Warsaw Treaty in connection with the concrete international situations and developments which arise in the world, in which they are not all interested to the same extent. Just as the American imperialists act with their allies of Europe, and especially with those of Asia, so the overlords of Moscow demand the total submission of the Warsaw Treaty member countries and that they place their armies at Moscow’s disposal, they want to turn them into mercenary armies, into «foreign legions» and obedient tools for the implementation of their future plans of aggression. This

cannot fail to cause serious disquiet among their satellites.

Now, whether they like it or not, the satellite countries of the Warsaw Treaty are in a Draconian way confronted with the urgent problem of defining the geographical-military limits of the Treaty; whether these limits will remain in Europe or be extended towards the East, against whom the Treaty must be aimed and against whom they must defend themselves, and so on. The most critical question is whether or not there is to be complete sovereignty of the independent state over its own national army, or will it be sacrificed on the altar of the selfish imperialist interests of the Soviet revisionist heads, whether or not each state will have the sovereign right to decide for itself, independently, for peace or war or will lose this right in favour of a supra-national ogranization, the control buttons and levers of which are in Moscow.

Problems, by no means small, have emerged over questions of military expenditure, armaments, over who ought to put up the money to pay for the build-up of the military activity of the Warsaw Treaty, problems which go beyond the bounds of the needs of a particular country and involve it in expenditure above its real possibilities. But looming above all, for all the small member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, dominated by the Soviet revisionists, is their fear of being automatically linked with the military adventures of the chiefs of the Kremlin, a thing which would have catastrophic consequences for them. A clear illustration of this is the hesitation observed, on the eve of
the aggression against Czechoslovakia, amongst those countries which joined the Soviet revisionists.

The fact is that in the revisionist countries the nationalist resistance by the cliques in power to Moscow's hegemony and policy of pressure is not diminishing by any means. Indeed, as a result of the policy of division and internal disintegration from within, which the USA and the other Western powers are pursuing towards revisionist Eastern Europe, it is increasing. Of course, the flirtations with West Germany, France, etc., which many Warsaw Treaty countries have been indulging in recently, surely are not to the benefit of Moscow's absolute domination over them.

Despite the extraordinary efforts of the Soviet revisionists to present the question as though all the armies of the Warsaw Treaty were with them in their aggression against Czechoslovakia, the reality is entirely different. It is true, for instance, that the Czechoslovak army did not fire a single shot in defence of its Homeland, but it is just as true that it did not conceal its hostility to the new invaders. Likewise, it turned a deaf ear to the appeals of agents of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique to march together with the Soviet tanks against its own people. Thus, it was proved that not only potentially, but also effectively, at the most critical juncture for the Soviet revisionists, the Czechoslovak army was not an obedient and submissive tool in their hands. Can they hope for anything better in the future?

The invasion of Czechoslovakia was a very bitter experience for the Soviet revisionists. They established their military control over Czechoslovakia with the aid of their satellites, too. But the others went along with them unconvincing and half-heartedly. All the mud stirred up by this barbarous aggression fell on the Soviet revisionists. They remained branded and disgraced in the eyes of the world. The armies of the four other countries, which carried out this act of aggression against Czechoslovakia together with the Soviet troops, barely set foot in the country before they withdrew. There is not the slightest doubt that for political, propaganda, and other aims, the Soviet revisionists did not want to be left on their own to «assist» the Czechoslovak people.

Now not only on the political and economic plane, but also on the military plane, the Soviet revisionists are demanding complete obedience and submission on the part of the satellites. In imposing a complete integration of armies and military policy, they are after total subjugation and integration of the revisionist parties and the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty. They have been working with extraordinary zeal for a long time to attain their objective. They have tried in other ways, political and especially economic ways, to place their partners under their iron control, but because of the various contradictions and expressions of resistance, they have been quite unable to achieve this. There has never been and never will be unity among the revisionists. The stronger the hegemonic pressure from Moscow, the more insatiable it becomes and the greater its efforts to completely gobble up the countries which have
submitted to it, the more the centrifugal tendencies increase on the other side, the greater the open and secret efforts of the satellite countries to lighten the burden of the Soviet revisionists' heavy yoke and the greater and more refined become their manoeuvres, if not to annul completely, at least to postpone and delay fulfilment of the demands of the rulers of the Kremlin as long as possible.

In this situation of instability and decay which reigns in the revisionist camp of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet revisionists are seeking other, more effective and decisive methods in their efforts to subdue their partners. They think that they will achieve their objective more quickly and fulfil their aims better by beginning with the organization of the «special joint military units and detachments», as the first step towards the complete integration of the national armies and their transformation into an ordinary Soviet army corps under the leadership and orders of the marshals of the Soviet Union.

Not only from the experience of the Czechoslovak adventure but also from many other signs, it turns out that the armies of the Warsaw Treaty are not completely reliable for the Soviet revisionists. They do not mechanically obey the orders from the leadership of Moscow. The apprehension and fears about the catastrophic consequences, which emerged openly in the revisionist countries hitched to the chariot of the Soviet Union at the time of the anti-Chinese provocations by the ruling Soviet clique on the Ussuri River, confirm even more clearly that this is how matters stand.

With the setting up of special detachments of troops, the Soviet revisionists want to make the other partners of the Warsaw Treaty more disciplined and compliant, so that such «unpleasant» things do not occur in the future.

But it is plain that the Soviet revisionists cannot content themselves with this. The hopes which they have based on the foreign legions go very much further. In the first place, these new special denationalized forces will constitute a savage and merciless striking force in order to intervene brutally and violently in the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, in order to suppress any attempt at revolt against the ruling cliques in power, or against the Soviet revisionists' domination. Having no definite national flag and camouflaged with such demagogical slogans as «defence of the cause of socialism», «defence of the socialist revolution and the socialist gains», etc., these forces have been called into being to legalize the intervention and aggression of the Soviet revisionists. Their creation in itself marks one of the practical aspects of the implementation of Brezhnev's notorious theory of «limited sovereignty» and of the right, which the revisionist patriarchs of Moscow want to reserve for themselves, to decide where «the revolution is in danger», so that they have to intervene, and «who is betraying socialism», so that they have to eliminate him.

Another objective, which the Soviet revisionists want to attain through the setting up of special military forces, is that, by means of them or under their name, the revisionists can camouflage the
long and hated stationing of their occupation troops in the revisionist countries. By clothing them in the uniform of a supra-national army, which "belongs to all of them", and which consequently, must be deployed in all countries, they hope to justify the permanent presence of their international gendarmerie, and to find "arguments" to combat their lack of popularity and the all-round pressures for their withdrawal, and finally to show the world that Soviet troops are no longer stationed in the countries of Eastern Europe, that these countries are "free", etc.

The fact cannot escape notice that the creation of special revisionist international units and detachments is connected not only with the internal situation of the Warsaw Treaty and the relations between the Soviet revisionists, on the one hand, and its partners, on the other, but also with the entire hegemonic policy and the plans for new adventures of aggression which the military staffs in the Kremlin are drawing up. In particular, this new military measure is further confirmation of the intention of the Soviet revisionists to intervene by force in other countries of Europe, especially in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Albania.

These aims cannot be disguised, as the chiefs of the Kremlin are attempting by evoking "old ties of friendship", even if such ties are traditional, or with demagogical "internationalist" slogans behind which lurk great Russian chauvinism, the old ties of the Russian czars with the czars of other countries. The possible invasion by the Soviet revisionists is based precisely on the old chau-

vinism of the czars of other countries. That is why this chauvinism must be destroyed, because it constitutes a very serious danger.

We Albanians have experienced the period of the hypocrisy and perfidy of the Soviet revisionists, who posed as our friends and benefactors, while they kept their dagger hidden, in order to subjugate us economically and politically and to crush us militarily.

Our people also understand the right of the peoples of Yugoslavia to defend their Homeland from any threat and attack.

The danger of a perfidious imperialist aggression, whether on the part of American or Soviet imperialism, cannot be ignored. In every country under threat of such aggression, the factors exist for a total mobilization of the healthy forces of the people to cope with their enemies. But for success to be achieved, the preparations for the defence of the country must be made in all due seriousness, by enhancing vigilance both at home and abroad, by linking the youth and all the working masses with the fate of freedom and the people. In the face of the danger of foreign aggression, it is important to block the way to the enemy's attempts to set up agencies, and to clearly differentiate those who are really for the defence of independence and sovereignty against the invaders from those who are preparing bouquets of flowers for them and who are falsely described as supporters of the Cominform or neo-Stalinists. They are no such thing, because the
boss that leads them, Soviet revisionism, is rabidly opposed to the Cominform and Stalin.

The foreign press has often said, and the development of events has confirmed it, that one of the numerous objectives of the Soviet revisionist chiefs in setting up special international units has been to use them as symbolic forces, or as the initial stage of the involvement of those countries which will put their military detachments at Soviet disposal in any eventual conflict. Of course, if a conflict is started, these forces will be increased.

Obviously, the Soviet revisionists really want to use these special forces as a counterrevolutionary army to attack the socialist states and to put down the revolution in the world, though in words they claim that they are taking defensive measures against imperialism.

On this road, they are following the strategy of the British and French imperialists, who by dispatching their notorious interventionist expeditionary force, comprised of British, French, Polish, Czech, Japanese, American and other troops to Soviet Russia, tried together with the white-Russian armies to strangle the October Revolution and the Soviet state. Now the Soviet revisionists are trying to repeat history: by creating the international brigades of mercenaries.

The Soviet revisionists want to transform the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty into sources from which to draw cannon fodder for the aggressions they are planning. Aggressors of all times have acted in this way. Without going further back into history it is enough to mention Hitler, who set up such mercenary units everywhere in the occupied countries in order to carry through his expansionist aims. Everybody knows what fate those mercenaries and Hitler himself met. The chiefs of Soviet revisionism, who are now trying to follow in Hitler's footsteps, should bear this in mind.

The creation of mercenary legions is the first step towards the total degeneration of the national armies of the Warsaw Treaty into mercenary armies of the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionist chiefs have begun to put this objective into practice, first of all, by causing their staffs and commands from top to bottom to degenerate. Now they are endeavouring to have their own men everywhere, to occupy key positions, so that later, they can put all the troops in their service.

The whole of this counterrevolutionary, anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist process testifies to the sinister plans of the Soviet revisionists, who want to finally liquidate even the slightest trace of sovereignty in the countries under their domination. They want them to be turned into mere colonies of the type of Czechoslovakia, where their arbitrariness knows no bounds, where the honour and dignity of the people are trampled underfoot, and where the only audible voice is that of quislings who praise the invaders and laud the betrayal.

The setting up of these mercenary forces is not based on principles, has no trace of interna-
tionalism, no spirit of international solidarity; it
is a brutal trampling on the sovereignty, freedom
and independence of the Warsaw Treaty countries.
The Soviet revisionists proceed not from sovereign
equality, but from distrust of their partners and
perfidy towards them.

The national army of every country is an out-
standing symbol of its national sovereignty and
independence. When it ceases to exist, sovereignty
and independence also cease to exist.

Politically, the new Soviet imperialists have
tied the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe
by means of the Warsaw Treaty, and economically
by means of Comecon. The Soviet occupation army
is stationed in all these countries. Now their com-
plete military integration is being carried out, too.
The question arises: What else is left apart from
the territorial integration of these countries with
the Soviet Union, which, in the last analysis, is
only a formal act?

Long ago, much earlier than the events in
Czechoslovakia took place, our Party warned that
the Warsaw Treaty had been transformed into a
means for the enslavement of the countries partici-
ating in it and into a dangerous weapon of the
imperialist policy of the Soviet revisionists against
the peoples and international security. The crea-
tion of the «special military forces» shows that the
Soviet Union has further degenerated and that it
is setting out on a course fraught with very grave
consequences.

We do not believe that the peoples of the
Warsaw Treaty countries, and together with them
the Soviet peoples, will allow themselves to become
the hirelings of the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade
clique and be used as obedient tools of its ensla-
vying and imperialist policy. The ideals of indepen-
dence and freedom, of the revolution and socialism
cannot be extinguished in their hearts. And we are
convinced that they will understand correctly the
grave situation into which the revisionist cliques
have led them and will unite with the revolution-
ary peoples, with all those who are waging a
resolute and uncompromising struggle against the
dangerous plans of the new Soviet imperialism.
This would serve not only their own lofty national
interests, but also the general cause of the freedom
and independence of the peoples, would serve
the great cause of communism for which they
have made so many sacrifices and shed so much
blood.

As regards our own people, they are afraid
neither of the mercenary armies which the Soviet
revisionists are organizing, nor of the other forces
of the Warsaw Treaty. The Albanian people and
their glorious army, under the leadership of their
heroic Party, are united to a man ready to face
any aggression, from whatever quarter it may
come, and to emerge victorious over it. The ene-
mies will never catch our people asleep, nor can
the aggressors’ forms of organization or the dema-
gogical catch-words, which accompany such organ-
izations, like those which the Soviet revisionists
are now using, deceive them.
THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS ENTANGLED IN INSOLUBLE CONTRADICTIONS

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A grave situation, full of difficulties and crises, has swept all fields of life and activity in the Soviet Union. It has become so acute and evident, both in the economic and social fields, as well as in internal and foreign policy, that there is no longer any way to hide it. It is spoken of high and low; even the press and the men of the Soviet revisionist clique itself, which is now reaping what it sowed on its course of betrayal and counter-revolution, are obliged to mention it. It sowed the wind and now it is reaping the whirlwind.

After Stalin's death, the Khrushchevite revisionist clique undertook the filthy role of turning the Soviet Union from a socialist state into a capitalist state, while striving, of course, to retain the mask of socialism in order to deceive the people and to avoid dangerous opposition and clashes. It is pursuing this course with great persistence and zeal in all fields, but not without difficulties and serious defeats, which disrupt its plans, expose its traitorous anti-Marxist line, and deepen its contradictions with the working class and working masses in the Soviet Union and the peoples and the revolutionary forces throughout the world.

It was on this course that Khrushchev broke his neck. He was exposed in the eyes of the peoples as a rabid anti-Marxist and grave-digger of the revolution and socialism. He destroyed the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state power, built up with such heroism and sacrifice by the Soviet proletariat and kolkhozian peasantry under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. It was the principled struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania, all the sound Marxist-Leninist forces, their merciless exposure of his counterrevolutionary policy and activity, as well as the resistance from the Soviet people themselves, which made him end up in the rubbish bin of history.

The Khrushchevite troyka that replaced him followed the same line with even greater zeal, out-doing the master himself, both in internal policy and in foreign policy, though with more refined methods.

In the first place, it pursued Khrushchev's line for the further degeneration of the party, which now has nothing Marxist-Leninist about it except its name, and has turned into an opportunist party of the social-democratic type, an instrument of
deception and oppression in the hands of careerist, bureaucratic elements of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, that privileged caste which rides roughshod on the working class and the working people. The dictatorship of the proletariat has ceased to exist; and behind the anti-Marxist slogan of "the state of the entire people", the fascist dictatorship of the new class of oppressors and exploiters has been established. The international bourgeoisie cannot contain its joy when it sees that its ideology and culture are replacing the socialist ideology and culture in the Soviet Union, that the norms and morality that prevail there nowadays do not differ in any respect from degenerate bourgeois relations and that disgusting product of capitalist society called the "American way of life".

The Soviet economy has run into insurmountable difficulties and is heading for bankruptcy. The new economic system, the reform which was adopted by the Soviet revisionist leadership some years ago, was designed to create the conditions and pave the way for the operation of capitalist laws in the sphere of production. The abandonment of the unified general state plan, the decentralization of production and putting profit in command as the basic principle and the fundamental motive force of the entire economy, destroyed its socialist structures and gave a further impulse towards capitalist degeneration. If Khrushchev laid the foundations and began the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, his successors carried it forward both in extent and in depth.

Now the Soviet revisionists are tasting the bitter fruit of their work. The restoration of capitalism brought with it all the chronic afflictions of the bourgeois system. The enterprises, which are allowed to produce whatever they like and how they like, to buy and sell wherever they like, to set the production costs and sale prices of their goods, to increase or reduce their investments according to their own interests, to increase and reduce the number of workers, struggle with one another over raw materials, bank credits, markets, equipment, etc. The chasing after profit on the basis of competition, which put an end to the socialist solidarity and mutual aid between working collectives, gave birth to disproportion and anarchy in production. The "sacred" principle of the bourgeoisie that the stronger strangles the weaker, has been sanctified in law. The growth rates of industrial production have slackened, the plans are not fulfilled, Khrushchev's "miraculous" 7-year plan was a failure and the 5-year plan of Brezhnev and Kosygin, who boasted that they would correct the "weaknesses" of Khrushchev, is failing, too. The land of the Soviets, with colossal resources of raw materials, cannot supply its own industry with such materials, at a time when it is exporting them at a low price, to the capitalist countries. In agriculture, the production of grain, meat and other livestock products is declining continuously, millions of hectares of land have been left unplanted during these last five years. Abuses have become widespread in all sectors. The revisionist bour-
geoisie is in a rush to consolidate its positions as a ruling class.

All the disturbances of the revisionist economy, its difficulties and crises have fallen on the backs of the workers. Unemployment, that grave malady of the capitalist system, the cruel whip which is always cracking over the heads of the workers, a threat throughout their lifetime has become a normal phenomenon in the Soviet Union. The desire of the new bourgeoisie to enrich themselves as quickly as possible has led to continuous increases in the prices of the main necessities of life, and hence to the devaluation of the wages of the bulk of the population, the workers and peasants. Direct taxes on the population have been increased, cultural and social funds are being reduced, charges for services are increasing, and so on. The capitalist reform of the economy and running of the state leads not only to uneven development of various sectors of the economy, regions and republics, at one another's expense, but also to mass dismissal of workers from their jobs, causes social and national conflicts, deepens the class division, and further exacerbates the class struggle.

The historic deed of Lenin and Stalin in solving the national question on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, has been destroyed by the Khrushchevite renegades. The great Russian chauvinist bourgeoisie fully revived, and brandishing its naked sword, does not hesitate to use machine guns, just as the czars once used the headsman's axe, against the masses of the people of Russia and other nationalities who dare oppose the repressive, anti-socialist policy of the clique in power. In the various Soviet republics the seed of nationalism is germinating and developing, national conflicts and separatist tendencies are emerging, and this is an inevitable consequence of the revisionist policy of the re-establishment of capitalism.

This situation cannot fail to cause discontent and anger among the broad working masses, and they cannot fail to judge who are the culprits. Finding itself in a fix, the renegade clique in power is trying to manoeuvre. With the aim of placating and deceiving the masses, it admits the fact that various problems exist, but lays the blame on various institutions and individuals, alleging that they have not implemented the reforms «as they should», and thus must bear the main responsibility, as Brezhnev has declared on several occasions recently, while at the same time, promising new reforms which allegedly will cure all the ills from which the Soviet economy is now suffering. The discontent of the working masses, who are fed up with empty promises and demagogic speeches, is assuming major proportions.

The defeats which the new Soviet leading team has suffered in its foreign policy, are no smaller than those of Khrushchev. However much the clique may try to befog and mislead the Soviet people, they cannot fail to see the 180° turn which the Soviet Union has made in the international arena under the Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership, cannot fail to see the fact that today the Soviet
Union has come into conflict with all the revolutionary and peace-loving peoples of the world, with the closest and most intimate friends of the Soviet people, and has become allied with their most ferocious enemies, with American imperialism in the first place, as well as with West-German and Japanese militarism, and is developing a disgusting collaboration with the most reactionary regimes in Asia and Latin America. The armed aggression against Czechoslovakia exposed the revisionist chiefs of Moscow as dangerous enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples. The international backing for the Soviet Union, its great authority as a socialist state, the support and love of the proletariat and the peoples of the world for it, no longer exist. The Soviet people cannot fail to see all these things and to draw the appropriate conclusions.

The imperialist policy of the revisionists which is based on violence and armed force, on the increasing militarization of the economy and the armaments race, could not fail to bring the groups of military men to the fore and increase their pretentions for a direct participation in determining internal and foreign policy at the highest levels. It is not accidental that the names of marshals and admirals, like Grechko, Yakubovsky, Gorshkov, etc., are mentioned so frequently in the Soviet Union, as if the country were at war.

Betrayal brings only ruin. It does not build, but destroys, as the betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists who usurped power in the Soviet Union, has done. It has destroyed the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet economy. It has disrupted the socialist camp, the international communist and workers' movement, the national liberation struggle of the countries oppressed by, or dependent on, imperialism. All this is greatly in the interests of the international bourgeoisie, with American imperialism at the head, and that is why it is assisting the Soviet revisionist clique in every way, to ensure that it goes as far as possible down the road of capitalism and counter-revolution. The Soviet Union ceased to be the centre of the world revolution and, from the support and inspiration for the freedom-loving and revolutionary peoples it once was, it has become an imperialist and fascist state, which has turned all its potential and batteries against socialism, against the independence and sovereign development of the peoples. It was precisely on this course and on this basis, when American imperialism was convinced that the Soviet Union not only no longer presented any danger to the world capitalist system, but could be an important partner for the salvation of this system and to calm the waves of the proletarian revolution surging all over the world, that the foundations were laid for the monstrous alliance which is developing between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, an alliance which constitutes the pillar of the world counter-revolution and the greatest danger to the freedom of the peoples and international security today.
In assisting the Soviet revisionists to restore capitalism, American imperialism and world capital have their own purposes and gains: first, a capitalist Soviet Union is less dangerous to them than a socialist Soviet Union, apart from the fact that they intend to weaken it, and are weakening it even as a capitalist state; second, this provides them with possibilities to destroy the Soviet revisionist empire by wresting the satellites from the Soviet Union by different ways and means; third, by co-ordinating their plans and aid in the international field they aim to pit the Soviet Union against the revolutionary and liberation movements in the various countries.

Have American imperialism and world capital succeeded in these intentions? This cannot be denied. The actual position of the Soviet Union in all fields, as mentioned earlier, indicates the results of the course of the restoration of capitalism.

America and the other capitalist countries have opened their strong-rooms and are providing the Soviet government with big credits, billions of dollars, marks, pounds and francs, on very attractive terms. Now the revisionist traitors are knocking at the doors of all the banks of the capitalist world. The Soviet Union has become the greatest recipient of foreign credits today. The policy of «open doors» to foreign credits could not fail to lead to rapprochement with the revanchist militarists of West Germany and the Japanese militarists, who are realizing their old imperialist plans of penetrating the Soviet Union, in «peaceful ways», and today have become the closest friends of the Kremlin rulers, after the American imperialists. The first signs are appearing that the big Western trusts are drafting plans to set up their own industry in the Soviet Union, which will be administered with their direct participation and will remain their property. The American automobile king, Ford, spoke very clearly about this during his visit to Moscow last month. It is as clear as the light of day that the imperialist monopolies have not gone so crazy as to help the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, but have the clear-cut objective of driving this country as far as possible on to another course, very well defined by them. Their credits are provided mainly to develop the sectors of luxury and consumer goods. In this way, the international bourgeoisie, on the one hand, incites and satisfies the demands of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, immerses it more completely in the capitalist way of life, and on the other hand, provides the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique with possibilities and urges it to invest its own means in other sectors, especially in the military sector, in order to impel it forward on its aggressive policy. The imperialist powers are acting with the Soviet leadership now as they did before the Second World War with Hitler, whom they incited towards the East, against the Soviet Union. The fact that their calculations turned out wrong and Hitler turned on them is another matter. That risk exists in this deal of major proportions and far-reaching consequences, but it
is a calculated risk, of course to the extent that such things can be calculated in the contradictory context of capitalism.

As a result of the anti-Leninist course followed by the Khrushchevite leadership for years on end, the Soviet Union has become weaker in the field of production, is lagging behind the United States of America in other fields and the distance that separates them is not being reduced, but, on the contrary, is growing ever greater. The penetration of world capital in the form of credits, or any other form, will deepen this inequality and weaken the Soviet Union more and more, a thing which cannot fail to interest the Western bourgeoisie. The fact is that in the field of exchanges with the capitalist countries, the Soviet Union sells them mainly raw materials like minerals, gas, oil, and timber; this is how it repays the credits it receives, too. World capital is exerting its direct influence on the economic structure of the Soviet Union, and this inevitably leads to radical changes in the superstructure, besides the direct influence the West exerts, at all levels, on the institutions of the Soviet superstructure.

As was mentioned above, its anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary foreign policy is the other great source of the insoluble crisis in which the Soviet revisionist leadership is floundering.

When it comes to attaining their expansionist objectives, whether in regard to their revisionist allies, or in regard to other countries, the new Soviet imperialists are no longer concerned about what methods they use. In collaboration with the American imperialists, and at the same time in competition and contradiction with them over markets and spheres of influence, they do not hesitate to practise the policy of imperialist, political and economic penetration. The many units of the Soviet naval fleet which are prowling like monsters about the waters of the Mediterranean and the Indian and Pacific Oceans, are not sent there on a pleasure trip, but to get a foothold in those zones for purposes of pressure, blackmail and show of force. The Soviet revisionist expansion is now aimed at the broad expanses of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The current policy of the Soviet leaders is a typical colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. It is already an acknowledged fact that, under increased political, economic, military pressure, the revisionist countries dependent on Moscow are being treated as ordinary colonies and this has brought about new contradictions within the front of the revisionist countries. Thus, their disagreements over political, economic and military questions are not diminishing, but on the contrary, are steadily increasing. New, even more complicated, deeper and more acute contradictions are added to the long-standing ones. The problem of Czechoslovakia remains an open, incurable wound. Despite all the heavy-handed measures the Soviet revisionists have taken to subdue the Czechoslovak people, the situation is still far from «normalized». The resistance which the Soviet occupiers are
encountering in Czechoslovakia, is a continuous blow to the international authority and prestige of the Soviet Union, a permanent exposure of their demagogic fraudulent slogans. As long as the Soviet tanks remain in Prague and the machine-guns are trained on the Czechoslovak people, who can put any trust in the «peaceful» aims of the Soviet foreign policy which Brezhnev avows? And the treaty of «friendship and alliance» under the Soviet jackboot, which Brezhnev and Kosygin signed recently with their vassals in Prague, raising Soviet armed intervention in any other country of the revisionist «community», allegedly in the name of the defence of socialism, to a «universal principle», has aroused new anxieties in many of those countries.

The dilemma of choosing between the way of violence and the peaceful means to ensure their dominance over Czechoslovakia and the other satellite countries, remains just as difficult for the Moscow leaders as it was on the eve of August 21, 1968. Brezhnev brought out the theory of «limited sovereignty», but despite their servility and hypocrisy towards the master in Moscow none of the ruling cliques of the revisionist countries has been enthusiastic about this philosophy of mediaeval feudal lords. The fact is that this theory has caused confusion everywhere in the revisionist countries, and sooner or later its political consequences will come out in the open.

The other aim of the Kremlin chiefs, — to automatically link the satellite countries with their plans for military adventures, is also encountering only slightly disguised resistance. The difficulties that have arisen for the Moscow staff over the creation of «special forces» of the Warsaw Treaty, express this atmosphere precisely.

The policy of the «building of bridges», of rapprochement and collaboration, which the United States of America and the other Western countries pursue towards them, is making the situation of lack of unity, friction, and distrust among revisionist cliques, even more tense. The Kremlin bosses regard the flirtations which the other revisionist countries are carrying on with the Western world with great concern, but they find themselves in a weak position to stop them, when they themselves are totally committed to the great friendship with the USA, West Germany, France, Britain, etc. The Moscow-Bonn rapprochement and the new relations which are being established between Federal Germany and the other revisionist countries, create new dilemmas for the Kremlin, to which there is no easy solution.

Its anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary course has more and more frequently led to great and insoluble problems for the leading revisionist clique of Moscow, has made its internal and external contradictions even more acute, and placed it irrevocably in struggle against the Soviet peoples and the revolutionary peoples of the world.

To cope with this situation, on the one hand, it is stepping up its demagogy, multiplying its oaths of «loyalty» to Marxism-Leninism and the
ideals of the October Revolution, and, on the other hand, tightening the screws, resorted to intimidations and strengthening the fascist dictatorship. The frenzied propaganda campaign and the base misrepresentation of the truth which it organized on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Lenin, provided a typical example of its art of unscrupulous demagogy. Open and disguised anti-communists, opportunist of all hues, and rabid reactionaries, have all fought hard against Lenin and Leninism. But they, at least, declared themselves to be opponents and openly defended their own class, while the Khrushchevite revisionists fight Leninism while posing as Leninists. And what is more monstrous, they strive to attribute their own bourgeois and imperialist spirit to Lenin and Leninism. History has known no greater insult and derision.

Part and parcel of this sinister tactic are the hints which the Kremlin rulers drop that they are allegedly returning to the policy of Stalin, to his ideas and practice of leadership, which made the Soviet Union a powerful socialist state, with sound internal unity and great international authority, with an advanced economy and dynamic rates of growth. This is another scandalous sacrilege and deception. For ulterior motives today in the Soviet Union it is permitted to write the odd good word about Stalin, to show his face in some documentary or historical film and mention him in an occasional speech. And not only in Moscow, Prague or Sofia, the order has gone out to spread the rumour that the Brezhnev clique is allegedly gradually rehabilitating Stalin and returning to his line and method, practising «neo-Stalinism». The bourgeois propaganda in the West, all those who are interested in saving Khrushchevism and the course of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union from the eventual revolt of the Soviet people, who, in the end, will wake up to the betrayal and act, are blowing the same trumpet. This cunning propaganda is intended to deceive the Soviet people, to deceive the other peoples and revolutionaries, to spread illusions and thicken the fog that conceals the crime and betrayal. Even the slogan of «neo-Stalinism» is an insult on Stalin, his ideas and work of genius. The shameless attempts by the Soviet revisionists to attribute to Stalin their fascist police methods, their anti-Marxist and imperialist policy, cannot deceive the revolutionaries and the Soviet people, because Stalin was not like that but a great Marxist and internationalist, a sworn enemy of opportunists and renegades of all hues, of fascism and imperialism.

The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique makes mention of the correct slogans of the time of Stalin, such as the need for «strengthening the leadership of the party», «strengthening proletarian discipline», and «strengthening democratic centralism», not in their true Marxist meaning and not with the aim of re-establishing the norms of the Leninist party, because such a party no longer exists in the Soviet Union, but in order to justify its oppressive measures, to strengthen its fascist state power, to pre-
vent the masses from passing judgement on the grave state to which they have been reduced and condemning those who, by abandoning the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, are responsible for this situation. Whatever attempts the Brezhnevs, Kosyogins and all their associates may make, whether by slandering or by praising the names, teachings and ideas of Lenin and Stalin, they can neither blacken nor appropriate their teachings which will raise the genuine revolutionaries and Soviet proletariat to their feet to overthrow this gang of traitors and sworn enemies of socialism and Leninism.

The difficulties of the Soviet Union extend to all fields, to the economy and policy, both at home and abroad. This shows that Soviet revisionism has now entered a new phase of its crisis, has entered its general crisis and that its inglorious end is inevitable. The tangle of contradictions can never be unravelled. Their successive defeats and fear of rendering account for their betrayal and crimes have given rise to squabbles and disagreements within the revisionist leading group of Moscow itself. Now the wound has become gangrenous and is spreading all over the body. Surgical intervention is essential. Of course, Brezhnev and company would like to carry out some operation like the one they performed when they removed Khrushchev. Perhaps this time they intend to get rid of more than one, and to attribute all their own sins and defeats to them, in the hope that, in this way, they can gain a little more time, during which they will try to consolidate their fascist state, to shut the mouths of the discontented and to suppress any resistance. The «repairs» the revisionists want to carry out, will make the situation even graver, and will deepen the contradictions and the crisis which has them in its grip.

The revisionists and their bourgeois allies are striving to create the impression that the situation can be improved through the replacement of some persons in the leading spheres or through some minor reforms and amendments in the field of the economy. This is a deliberate attempt to conceal the real causes and sources, to avoid bringing out in the open that this is a political crisis, an inevitable consequence of the restoration of the capitalist regime, of the whole anti-Marxist and bourgeois line and policy of Khrushchev and his successors, who continued Khrushchevism without Khrushchev and have usurped power in their hands today.

It is clear to everyone that the situation in the Soviet Union is not going to alter with the replacement of a few persons in the leadership, and even less can it be thought that there will be any change in the present course of fascism at home and imperialist domination and expansion abroad. If the revisionist chiefs of the Soviet Union are quarrelling amongst themselves today, it is not over principles. They are quarrelling over who is most capable of continuing the deception and betrayal of the Soviet and other peoples, who is most capable of further strengthening the sys-
tem of oppression and aggression. Those who are ruling in the Kremlin today are bandit groups from the same lair. For the situation to change effectively the whole lot must be cleaned out, and all their seed must be eliminated. Only the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, only a new revolution like the Great October Revolution, can put the Soviet Union back on its previous socialist course, only such a revolution can restore its former name and glory. And this is a task of the Soviet people themselves.

BEHIND THE SOVIET «AID» LURK THE SINISTER AIMS OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS

From the talk with a delegation of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

July 27, 1970

We are very pleased that the delegation of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has come to our country for a friendly visit. The Party, the Government and the whole Albanian people are very happy that today we have amongst us the representatives, the sons and fighters of the heroic Vietnamese people, comrades and pupils of your outstanding leader and fighter, Ho Chi Minh. On this occasion we heartily welcome you to our country! Although our countries are far apart geographically, our peoples are close together in heart and spirit. It is the common fight which we are waging against the same ene-
mies — the American imperialists and the modern revisionists, that brings us together.

We thank you sincerely, both for your coming to Albania and for the talk in connection with the situation in Indochina. We know something about the war which the peoples of Indochina are waging, but with what you told us, we have extended our knowledge further.

We fully support the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their fight. The Albanian people are very interested in the war which your people are waging because they consider it their own fight. We have always said this to the other Vietnamese comrades who have had occasion to come to Albania. This expression of our Party’s is no mere platitude, but a conclusion from a real, historically formed concrete conviction. In the existing situation Albania has been and is in constant stern struggle with the American imperialists and the modern revisionists who are led by the Soviet revisionists.

In the stern struggle against the American imperialists the heroic Vietnamese people are fighting for their freedom and independence, but with the war they are waging against their common enemies, they are fighting, at the same time, in defence of the freedom and independence of the Albanian people, too. This is how we view your struggle and that is why we say that, with their war, the heroic Vietnamese people are defending the cause of the Albanian people, too. Since we are all engaged together in this great common fight against American imperialism, we feel very close to you in your sufferings and strivings, your defeats and victories. Your victories rejoice us immensely, because they are leading you towards your final objective and also strengthen our position, and this adds even more to our gratitude for the heroic fight of your people and encourages us to wage an even more determined and stern struggle against our common enemies. We are waging this struggle to assist ourselves, the heroic Vietnamese people and the whole communist and national liberation movement throughout the world. Of course, our struggle is a modest one, because we are a small people, nevertheless, in proportion to our possibilities, we try to make our contribution.

We believe that if we do not wage a merciless struggle in all directions against the American imperialists and the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, we are not assisting the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people as we should.

In your fight you also have the aid and support of other peoples of Indochina and the world. This aid and support is truly great, nevertheless the struggle of the Vietnamese people themselves is the main thing for the liberation of your Homeland. It stands above all. Your victory will come, first of all, thanks to the heroic fight, thanks to the bloodshed and sacrifices of your people, while aid from abroad, although it has great importance, is insufficient to ensure victory.
defeated the French troops in Dien Bien Phu\(^1\) without any outside aid.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: You defeated the French troops although they were not of a small power and fought your people barbarously. De Castries\(^2\) was unable to resist the attack of your heroic army at Dien Bien Phu.

Some of the weapons with which you fought the French imperialists you captured from the French soldiers, while for the remainder which you needed, you set up simple workshops in the forests where you began to smelt all sorts of scrap iron to produce weapons and ammunition. However primitive they were, with these means you triumphed over the French army with a fighting tradition much greater than that of the Americans.

If the Soviet revisionists, whom we never confuse with the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and the real Soviet people, had not betrayed Marxism-Leninism, American imperialism would have been very greatly weakened by now and, in our opinion, the war in Vietnam would have ended long ago with the brilliant victory of the Vietnamese people. Despite the trickery of the Soviet revisionists, the Vietnamese people will triumph because they have great fighting experience.

However, we believe that if you get caught up

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1 The battle of Dien Bien Phu, March-May 1954, marked the victory of the Vietnamese people (1945-1954) in the war against the French colonizers.

2 Commander of the French expeditionary forces.
in the machinations of pseudo-revolutionaries, you will lose. We believe that Vietnam has not committed itself to this course and will not do so. In our opinion, the war is the course which will finally solve the problem of the genuine liberation of Vietnam.

We are convinced that the American imperialists will never be driven out of Vietnam, except at the point of the bayonet. The Vietnamese communists and people see this problem correctly. The Soviet revisionists who claim that they are seeking a political solution, in reality, are making deals to the detriment of the peoples, therefore they should keep out of Vietnam where they are not allowed to do as they like.

We see that the Soviet revisionists have come to agreement with the American imperialists over the Middle East, therefore they are «assisting» the Arabs, not in order to liberate the territories occupied by Israel but to strengthen their colonialist positions in Egypt, Syria and many countries on the continent of Africa. Proceeding from these aims, the Soviet revisionists want to continue the talks according to the saying «reel in but don't break the line». For all the peoples who are waging national liberation wars they prepare plan after plan «to assist» them and nothing more. Nixon is not in the least afraid of this policy which the revisionists of the Soviet Union are pursuing, because, in reality, it does not harm the interests of the American imperialists.

With such a policy on the part of the Soviet revisionists, the imperialists are able to carry on for years on end by talking empty words, delivering speeches, holding discussion after discussion, recalling and withdrawing their ambassadors from Paris, sending groups of ambassadors with the Jarrings and John Bulls, etc., and, at the same time, to continue the war in Vietnam, to finance Israel, etc.

Israel is bombing Egypt every day, destroying its anti-aircraft system and the missile bases which the Soviet revisionists have established there. In return for replacing the weapons destroyed in Egypt, the Soviet revisionists are seizing concessions from it, behaving there like the worst of usurers.

The fight which you are waging against the American imperialists fills us with hopes that your successes will be even greater in the future and that your final victory is not far off.

The intervention of the American imperialists in Cambodia has been another defeat for them because now, instead of being a neutral country, it has become a country which is fighting against them. The American imperialists tried to get Cambodia within their own sphere in order to use it in their war against Vietnam, but they were unable to achieve their aims. In that country too, the manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionists are quite obvious.

Looking at these questions from outside, we think that the Soviet revisionists will try to find ways to sabotage the joint fighting unity of the peoples of Indochina which was established at the
Conference of the Indochinese states for struggle to the end against the American imperialists.

Why do the Soviet revisionists and their satellites not recognize the new Cambodian government headed by Norodom Sihanouk, whom they recognized before the coup d'état was carried out? They do not recognize it, because they do not want to spoil their relations with the American imperialists — this is quite obvious.

If the Soviet revisionists were for the liberation of Vietnam, then why do they not recognize the legitimate government of Cambodia, so long as it takes part together with Vietnam and Laos in the Indochinese front against the American imperialists? Why do they maintain relations with the government of the traitor Lon Nol who assisted the Americans to move into Cambodia? From this very simple viewpoint the conclusion can be drawn that since the Soviet revisionists maintain such stands they are with the American imperialists and not for the liberation of the peoples.

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU: There is a proverb which says, «The friend of your enemy is your enemy, too».

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: It is very important to know both your friends and your enemies, thoroughly. With what they are doing, the Soviet revisionists emerge clearly as the traitors they are. Lenin teaches us that external aid is not the main factor. We do not know in detail how the Soviet revisionists behave with you, but we know them well. When they give you something they want you to act according to their wishes. In their relations with us Albanians, the Soviet revisionists went so far as to threaten us and warned that if we did not do as they said, they would not give us any aid. We did not do as they wanted, therefore they made relations with us so tense that we were at daggers drawn, and we said to them at the Vlora base: Leave the ships here and get out as quickly as you can, or we shall turn the guns on you. From our experience of «friendship» with the Soviet revisionists, we have reached the conclusion that they are big blackmailers, and the truth is, as you say, they are «friends» only for a quarter or half the way, in other words, they only appear to be friends. They act exactly like the capitalists. The revisionists of the former people's democracies of Europe have now brought out a fine «theory» according to which they can take billions of dollars in credits from the American imperialists, or from those of West Germany, to buy machinery and equipment and by means of these they are allegedly going to build socialism! Nikita Khrushchev and his successors, the Soviet revisionists, corrupted the sincere and fraternal aid which the Soviet Union provided at the time of Stalin. Later, Khrushchev with very hostile aims continued to give us «aid» but gradually these aims became clear until finally, we understood that this was an imperialist action intended to turn Albania into a colony. He displayed similar hostile
aims against other countries, too. Brezhnev and Kosygin are continuing the same policy today.

Here in Europe a great clamour is being made about «European security». At first sight it seems as if the Soviet Union is trying to avoid war on this continent. Then why are we against this «security» for which the Soviet government is making such great efforts? Because this so-called European security does not have a European character. Its outstanding feature is a phoney defence in Europe because, in fact, the intention is that the revisionist Soviet Union and the United States of America should rule here, although the latter is not a European state. It is clear that this defence is false from the fact that the Soviets agree that a non-European state should take part in the meeting, a thing which means that the Soviet Union and the United States of America are to make the law throughout the world. The peoples of Europe do not want co-existence under the baton of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Therefore, for the peoples of this zone in general and for the People’s Republic of Albania in particular, not only is this «security» worthless, but it means enslavement.

This «European security» is an attempt to eliminate the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the one hand, and between the Soviet Union and the states of Western Europe on the other hand. In reality these contradictions cannot be eliminated through this «European security». At the most, they might be temporarily reduced. West Germany, of which the Soviet revisionists are afraid, will be temporarily restrained; possibly a non-aggression pact will be signed with the German revanchists. This effort of the Soviet revisionists with (West) Germany, which has provoked two world wars, looks like a good thing on the surface because with a non-aggression pact war is allegedly avoided, while with «European security» «peace is secured in Europe» under the Soviet-American domination and collaboration!

However, it is clear that all these efforts are being made so that the two big imperialist powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, will not have troubles in Europe and will have their hands free to extend the war to Asia, Africa and Latin America, in order to overcome the dangers which are threatening their interests on all continents, where hotbeds of national liberation and revolutionary wars are being created. The suppression of national liberation wars, of the war in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, in the African, Latin-American countries and elsewhere, is in the interests of both the American imperialists and the capitalists of Europe, and the Soviet social-imperialists.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the only party in Europe which is against the so-called European security. Although the Rumanian leaders pretend to be against the Soviet revisionists, they are in favour of this «security». In fact they are resisting the Soviets, proceeding from bour-
geois positions, because they think that by supporting this alliance they remove the danger which is threatening them from the Soviet social-imperialists, although with this stand they are not removing the danger at all.

Our Party thinks that if the revolutionary movements throughout the world are suppressed, if the American imperialists are allowed to go on killing people in Vietnam, to suppress any liberation movements in India, the Arab countries, in Latin America or anywhere else, then what kind of security is this? For the peoples, the only way to gain security is through their national liberation wars. This is the angle from which we see this problem, therefore we build the policy of our government looking at matters from this viewpoint.

Representatives of Scandinavian states such as those of Norway, Sweden, Finland, etc., ask our government why it is not responding positively to the «European security», at a time when all the other states of Europe are giving a positive response. We have explained to them the reasons why we are opposed. Our policy is one of solidarity with the national liberation struggles which the different peoples are waging, solidarity to the end with the war of the heroic Vietnamese people, the main people fighting so valiantly, arms in hand, on an extensive scale. Your fight proves that American imperialism can be defeated. Life is confirming that the United States of America can be beaten even by a small people like the Vietnamese people.

This is one aspect of the problem. The other aspect is that if we don’t fight modern revisionism at the same time, American imperialism cannot be combated properly. Lenin said this and the facts and life confirm it.

Let us take the question of the Arab countries which have allegedly won their freedom. In the leadership of some of these countries are such dubious bourgeois or reactionary elements as King Hussein, etc., who, falling under the influence of the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists, have reduced their countries to bloody arenas.

And another fact. When the Yugoslav peoples rose to their feet for the liberation of their country, Tito, who was first secretary of the party, posed as a Marxist-Leninist and as such took up the banner of the war. However, he became an agent of the imperialists, and went so far as to turn his country into a degenerate capitalist state. You have followed the Yugoslavs’ policy and know that they, too, speak about the war in Vietnam, but, of course, you do not believe their words. They also speak against the policy of the American imperialists in the Middle East, etc., but on the other hand, they receive billions of dollars in credits, apart from other things, from the United States of America. Indeed, just three days ago, an American-Yugoslav bank was set up in Yugoslavia.

The fight against American imperialism is the main, essential thing, but it is waged successfully only when a powerful struggle is waged
also against the modern revisionists who are in
the service of capitalism and use Marxism as a
disguise in order to bring about the degeneration
of the communist parties and the working class
everywhere, and therefore are dangerous. The
Soviet revisionists, and not only them, but Tito, too,
and others who pose as friends of the peoples, as
Marxist-Leninists, while in fact they are trying to
dig the grave for the peoples, are false friends.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people is on
the right Marxist-Leninist course, therefore the
Albanian people are on the side of your people. We
are whole-heartedly with you until final victory.
In our people, Party and Government, you have
loyal and true friends who have never hidden from
you the ideas they have. Likewise, we have loyal
friends in the heroic Vietnamese people, who, we
hope, will continue the struggle through to final
victory and in this direction we will give them
all our modest aid.

Therefore, dear comrades, who have come to
Albania to strengthen the friendship between our
two countries, let us drink this toast to the friend-
ship of our two peoples, to our common victory
over the American imperialists, to the triumph of
socialism and communism throughout the world!
Please transmit to the comrades our heartfelt
wishes for their speedy victory and assure them
that we are with the struggle of the Vietnamese
people and will stand beside them to the end for
our common victory!

DIFFICULTIES ARE OVERCOME AND VICTORY
IS ACHIEVED ONLY WITH A CORRECT
POLITICAL LINE AND SOUND UNITY

From the talk with the delegation of the «Al-Fatah»
Movement for the National Liberation
of Palestine

August 3, 1970

We are very happy, that you, our Palestinian
brothers, have come for a visit to our country.
When we heard that your delegation was to come
to Albania we were immensely pleased. The com-
ing of friends from Palestine is bound to please
the Albanian people, because they whole-heartedly
love the Arab peoples and the fighting Palestinian
people, in particular. I say the Palestinian people,
in particular, because your situation is worse than
that of the other Arab peoples, your sufferings are
not over, and continue to be greater than the suf-
ferings of the other Arab peoples.

The Arab peoples are honest, open-hearted
and sincere, and as history tells us, their struggles
have been bitter and, generally speaking, they have always fought heroically. They are revolutionary and have a fighting history.

The Arab peoples have not only fighting traditions but also cultural traditions. Becoming acquainted with the cultural achievements of other countries in ancient times, they set out on the road of knowledge and progress and made their recognized contribution to the further development of world culture. Through Arab scholars, the world became acquainted with many philosophical, literary and scientific works of Greek and Roman antiquity, with the ideas of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle etc., translated into the Arabic language. Great thinkers and philosophers, renowned poets and historians, outstanding doctors and scientists have emerged from the ranks of the Arab peoples. All these great fighting and cultural traditions have been handed down from generation to generation among your peoples.

However, there are governments and states which degenerate, just as there are persons' who degenerate. You know the history of your peoples better than we do, therefore you know that the Arab empire, which had extended over great domains, from the borders of China to Spain, degenerated, because the chiefs and the wealthy degenerated, while the people always remained strong. Since that time, many of the Arab peoples have gone through great difficulties which came about because their lands, regardless of the fact that they mostly belonged to the wealthy, being very fertile, attracted the greed of perfidious enemies who gradually invaded your countries. Thus, over a long period, the imperialists managed to enslave your peoples. However, thanks to the wars they waged, many of the Arab peoples won their freedom, but the difficulties have not ended for them and especially for you, Palestinian brothers.

We understand your difficult situation very well, and we are completely with you in spirit. We have followed the struggle of the Palestinian people and will continue to follow and support it with all our might, and we consider that we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with you. We tell you this with the greatest sincerity, without any ulterior motive. We never say anything about our friends behind their backs.

You are representatives of the «Al-Fatah» organization, the political orientation of which we know in general. Although we are Marxist-Leninists, and irrespective of the fact that there are differences in our ideological views, we support the orientations of your organization, because you have made the armed struggle to the end for the liberation of your Homeland and the Palestinian people the fundamental task of your movement and therefore you can be certain that you will always have the Albanian Marxist-Leninists among your most sincere friends.

Like you, we, too, have some experience from our National Liberation War. When we started the war, obviously, we did not hurl all the masses into
the fight right at the beginning. In our country, as everywhere else, in the ranks of the people there were the poor, the middle strata and also the wealthy. We decided to encourage, to open perspectives to and rely on the poor strata of the people, because they are the foundation of the victory. In Albania the main aspiration of the masses of the poor peasantry, who comprised the majority of the population, was the land. In our conditions, whoever possessed the land, guided the destiny of the Homeland, therefore we told the people that the land should belong to him who tilled it, and one of the first things we would do after the victory would be to give the land to the peasants. Through the centuries they had fought for the land but they had never realized their dream. That is why when we came out with the slogan, «The land to those who till it», at first the peasants did not believe that they would really become owners of the land.

From the beginning of the fight many fine comrades were killed, but their sacrifice gradually aroused the trust and confidence of our peasants that the National Liberation War, which was led by the sons of the people, would truly secure them the land. And thus the peasants began to join us. I think that you, too, are quite correct in making the question of the land one of the main questions in your program. Since you have risen and are fighting for the liberation of your Homeland, you must fight with unwavering determination to carry this great cause through to the end.

In our country there were also wealthy people, honest nationalists, who were against the occupiers. In these circumstances we had to differentiate among them. Those who had some wealth and were against fascism, we invited to join us. At first, many of them had doubts and did not come close to us immediately, but later when their sons and daughters joined our ranks, they, too, were convinced and were won over to us, to the point that the homes of some of them became our bases. So true is this that I myself, the General Secretary of the Party, have sometimes sheltered in the homes of these people, although the enemies who had sentenced me to death were searching for me everywhere. Of course, on many problems we could not have the same opinions as those who were wealthy, but some of them, who had patriotic feelings and saw that the Albanian communists were honest people and that their sons and daughters were with us, could not but sympathize with our struggle.

We clearly explained the aims of the war to the honest nationalists who came from the wealthy strata of the population. We explained that it was not possible for them, either, to live with the foreign fascists who had occupied our country and who aimed to enslave Albania more and more and were in fact doing so. With the patriots not organized in parties, of the poor and middle strata, of various anti-fascist currents of town and countryside, we created the National Liberation Front. Even nationalists, who were against communists
at first, united with this organization, later, after patient work to explain things to them, the majority of them became fighters and our allies. Some of them were even elected to the leading forums, right up to the Anti-fascist National Liberation General Council, where they fought and worked in the most honourable way and after Liberation became defenders and supporters of the agrarian reform and other socio-economic transformations of the country.

However, there were also other nationalists who, in fact, were pseudo-patriots, like a certain Abaz Kupi, who, when it came to acting concretely, would not fight against the occupiers. Then we took a clear stand towards them and told them we could not continue the alliance with them since they were not fighting shoulder to shoulder with the people and us against the German occupiers. This they did not do and could not have done, because, in reality, they had links with the German nazis, as we discovered later. We thoroughly exposed every stand of theirs which was not compatible with our line and uncompromising fight against the Italian and German occupiers, until they threw off their disguise and came out against the National Liberation Front, against the people, and openly joined forces with the German occupiers.

I do not know whether you have a communist party, but there may be communists working in illegality, therefore they must fight shoulder to shoulder with you, because the «Al-Fatah» organization has a clearly defined program which is permeated by the idea of resolute struggle for the liberation of Palestine against the zionist state of Israel, got up by imperialism. We are not acquainted with them, but we have heard that there are such communists in your country. Some say that they are Guevarists. If this is so, it means that they are not Marxists. All of you must strive to build up unity with one another in the fight, must bandage one another’s wounds, because only with the unity of the revolutionary forces and through the armed struggle can you emerge from the grave sufferings which others have brought upon you.

In a speech of one of your leaders which I read recently, I saw that the program of your «Al-Fatah» organization is not against the Israeli people or against the Jewish religion, that you are not racists, but on the contrary are progressive people. However, quite rightly you cannot permit international zionism to create in your country a state, such as Israel, which oppresses the Palestinian people. The stand you maintain on this question is completely correct, therefore, we, as Marxists, agree to it, otherwise we would not support you. I have read in some materials that there are Palestinians who have declared that they will destroy the Jews as a people. Such a view is not in any way correct. Your line is correct and that is why it is finding and is bound to find support among progressive forces everywhere. Then the Palestinian communists should be even more united like true brothers and in complete unity
with you in the fight against the common enemy for the complete liberation of Palestine.

In the national liberation struggle against occupiers, both the Marxist-Leninists and the honest nationalists, all the staunch fighters for the liberation of the Homeland, must be clear on who are their friends and who are their enemies that must be fought. In order to fight the enemy successfully unity must be created, first of all, among the fighters themselves, then between them and the masses of the people for whom they are fighting. And they, too, must know the reason for the fight so they can judge whether the struggle which is being carried out should be supported or not. If the people judge the aims of the war and value them, then the fighters will become invincible. Whatever name someone may adopt and whatever his proclamations about carrying out this or that work, in the final analysis it is the people who will evaluate these things, and this not on the basis of words, but on the basis of deeds carried out for the people. When the people see that someone is acting correctly, honourably, and making sacrifices for them, then they support him unreservedly and strengthen their unity with him. Therefore the unity within the movement and the unity of the movement with the people are decisive factors.

It must be borne in mind that all do not understand the importance of unity and the way to achieve it in the same manner. However, unity cannot be ensured without a strong leadership at the head of the movement.

The unity within the ranks of your organization and its unity with the people, then, are major factors and essential for achieving victory, in our opinion. If you have this and if the correct political and military line is kept pure, you may be sure that you will always score successes. If the opposite is the case, you will be faced with many difficulties. With the correct line and with strong unity, you will surmount every difficulty.

Your unity with that of the other fraternal Arab peoples is exceptionally important for you, too. This unity is vital to the liberation of Palestine and the conquest of your enemies, because the Palestinian people are a component part of the Arab peoples, therefore their opinion about the liberation of your people cannot be an external factor of secondary importance, but on the contrary, is an internal factor of first-rate importance.

The genuine unity of all Arab peoples against their common enemy and for the good of all these peoples is essential, but it must be created in struggle and not with words. We Marxists can collaborate even with a minor king like Hussein of Jordan, of the Hashimite dynasty (although everyone knows how much «benefit» the peoples have had from monarchs), if he fights for the freedom of the Arab peoples. But if Hussein tries to manoeuvre with the American imperialists against the cause of the freedom of the Arab peoples and against the freedom of the Palestinian people in particular, we cannot be in unity with him. On the contrary, we must fight him until he suffers
the same fate as Feisal who came from Medina and was placed over the Iraqi people, as well as that of Nuri Said. From the experience of our country, we can tell you that our ex-king Ahmet Zog, after thoroughly fleecing the people, when the Homeland was placed in danger, grabbed the cash like a thief and cleared out, leaving the Albanians to the mercy of the fascist aggressors. Therefore we could not, in any way, be in unity with a thief and executioner of the people. Hence unity is created in struggle and must only be created in struggle.

The international alliance with the workers and the peoples of the whole world, also, has great importance for the struggle of your people and the achievement of victory. On this question it is essential that your people utilize every possibility to acquaint themselves thoroughly with who are their friends and who are their enemies abroad. I say this, because the situation in the world is now very complicated. All peoples need to know their friends well, so that by linking themselves closely with their friends, should cope successfully with every difficulty and trap which the enemies might prepare. However, before you can know who is your true friend, you must act as the wise saying of our people has it: «Measure seven times before you cut». You must think whether the friendship of this or that country is in the interest of your people first of all. This is how we Albanians act; we always bear this principle in mind in selecting our friends. If linking with a certain country is in the interest of the people, then you should agree to become friends, if it is to the detriment of the people, then you must not establish friendship with this or that country. Someone may say that you are small and need friends, therefore bow in allegiance and join up with him. No, we can never agree to such a friendship or subjection. Regardless of the fact that we are small, we never bow in allegiance. This is valid both for the big peoples and for the small. The only true friends are those who support you, especially when you are hard-pressed, when you are in trouble. Our people have a wise saying: «You know your good friends in difficult days». Therefore, it is very important for every people to know their friends.

Generally speaking, all the peoples are your friends, while the cliques ruling in different countries and those who come into the leadership of states are not and cannot all be your friends. The American, French, British and other imperialists cannot be your friends. But besides these, now another new imperialism, Soviet imperialism, has emerged. The Soviet revisionist chiefs who pose as Marxist-Leninists, in fact, are traitors to this ideology, the only aims of which are the freedom, prosperity and happiness of the peoples. Therefore they are traitors to the Soviet peoples and, at the same time, traitors to your people, to our people, to the Arab peoples, etc.

In the Arab countries there are persons who, thinking that the Soviet revisionists are «helping» them, call them friends. But we say bluntly that
these people are greatly mistaken. Whatever the Soviet revisionists may provide is temporary and intended to deceive you and to create the impression that they allegedly defend the peoples and their liberation wars, while on the other hand, they take measures to ensure that this so-called aid does not go in favour of the Arabs, for example, but for their own gain. It is a mistake to rely on the friendship of Soviet social-imperialism for the temporary so-called aid which they provide with ulterior motives. No one should be deceived by the «aid» promised by the revisionists. Therefore, anyone who is concerned about and fighting for the interest of his own people, must not build his hopes on their aid. They might give someone arms, but the question must be asked: Why do they give them? As far as we know, up till now they have not supplied you Palestinians with arms, precisely because you are determined in the struggle against the enemies of your people, and we think that so long as you continue to struggle for the complete liberation of your Homeland, they will never supply you with arms.

It may be said that the Soviet revisionists have given Vietnam some weapons. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that these are a few old weapons that they do not need. Apart from this, they are obliged to do this, because a different situation exists there for them: their stand towards the war in Vietnam is a life or death issue for the Soviet revisionists. Their authority is greatly dependent on what happens there, because, in order to deceive others, they have posed and still pose as defenders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. However the Soviet revisionist chiefs are not fools, therefore, with their hypocritical stand towards Vietnam, their aim, on the one hand, is to protect their own interests there, and, on the other hand, to avoid discrediting themselves in the eyes of the Soviet people and the peoples in the whole world and to restrain the struggle of the Vietnamese people, a thing which is greatly in the interests of the American imperialists.

The Soviet revisionists have also supplied some weapons to Egypt but these they administer themselves, they have them in their own hands, thus nothing can be done with them against the Israeli aggressors. The aim of the Soviet revisionists, who pose as friends of the Arabs, is to get control of the ports of their states in order to ensure through them freedom of movement in the Mediterranean Sea. In our country too, their objective was to get control of the port of Vlora, and precisely there they clung to us like burs, but we encircled all their submarines with guns, until, in the end, they were obliged to withdraw. We must be realists, in the Middle East where they have got a foot in the door and are strengthening their positions, the Soviet revisionists now want peace and quiet to avoid trouble for themselves and not because they are concerned about genuine peace for the people of that zone.

The emergence of the Soviet revisionists' fleet
in the Mediterranean will create many difficulties. Now they will try to build naval and air bases so they can concentrate their fleet in this zone. It is clear to us that the Soviet revisionists have their fleet in the Mediterranean not to defend the peoples but for their own imperialist aims. We Albanians are convinced of this from our own experience. Thinking that we were small and they would crush us, they tried to stab us in the back, but they did not attain their objective because we aimed the rifle at them, and they are afraid of this.

The Soviet revisionists call us «sectarian» because we always tell the truth and so do not tag along in their wake. The revisionists, who pose as communists but are not communists, do not have good intentions towards us Albanians. It does not worry us what names enemies call us. All revolutionaries, even those who are not Marxists, understand our correct, principled stands and the truth about us, therefore they honour us, while the revisionists deride us. This is an honour to us. When the enemy says bad things about you, this means you are on the right road. The Soviets are very afraid of the Palestinians, too, because they are determined fighters, and therefore, while maintaining your usual modesty, you must put your trust in the strength of your people, in the strength of the rifle and the people's resistance. You must never surrender your rifles and, despite all the difficulties that may be created for you, must never become discouraged.

Perhaps we are mistaken, but we believe that difficulties will be created for you both by your open enemies and by your false friends. The Palestinian refugees have been dispersed over the territories of fraternal Arab countries and are still living as refugees without a homeland. From what I have read, the uncle of King Hussein was ready to wipe you out in Jordan if you had not taken up arms. You said stop, also, to Karame1 of Lebanon and his associates, who are maintained by the banks of American and British imperialism. All these enemies of your people and of the Arab peoples in general, are ready to rise against you and crush you, therefore as I said, you must never surrender your weapons, because they have saved you and they are the only means which will save you in the future, too.

We think that the «Rogers Plan» is the result of a great betrayal on the part of the Soviet revisionists. They have reached agreement with the American imperialists to settle the problem of the Middle East between themselves, with the aim of strengthening their dominant military and economic positions there, and also of suppressing the will of the Arab revolutionaries who, without doubt, are the most revolutionary elements in Africa, and therefore the enemies are striving to suppress any revolutionary centre or element there. Now the Soviet revisionists have come into the Mediterra-

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1 At that time prime minister of Lebanon.
nean; they have become «friends» with a number of Arab countries, including Libya, from which, in fact they are trying to seize ports. While such a situation in this region constitutes an advantage for Soviet social-imperialism it is to the detriment of the American and British imperialists who saw clearly that, in these conditions, they could not come out with a plan for the subjugation of the Middle East, without reaching an agreement with the Soviet revisionists, and in order to achieve this aim, they were obliged to make concessions to the Soviet revisionists who posed as Marxists. These concessions are made by the Western imperialists in favour of the Soviet Union, because it is no longer a Marxist-Leninist country. This means that, in fact, the new rulers of the Kremlin do not want the genuine freedom of the Egyptian people or the Jordanian or Palestinian peoples, although they spread lying propaganda alleging that the Soviet Union is still a communist country and a champion of the freedom of the peoples.

The «Rogers Plan» is to the detriment of the Arab peoples and especially the Palestinian people. It is in favour of American and Soviet imperialism and, in particular, in the interests of Israeli zionism. Without doubt, efforts will be made by the enemies of the Arab peoples to achieve this compromise, but the «Rogers Plan» will certainly run into many obstacles and difficulties, the biggest of which will be the fight of the Palestinians, your fight, which has been of appreciable help to the Arab peoples and has given their reputation a great boost.

We were very pleased with the stand of Boumedienne against the «Rogers Plan», when he declared publicly that the Algerians were for the liberation of all the Arab territory occupied by the Israelis and in favour of the Palestinian people’s war. This is a correct stand. We were pleased with the stand of Syria and Iraq, too. We also listened attentively to Mr. Nasser’s speech, but when he spoke about restoring the Palestinians’ rights, he gave us the impression that he was not so categorical in what he said. Perhaps we did not understand him well, but we think there are rights and rights, therefore everything has to be defined clearly and without equivocation, and it must be clearly understandable to all what rights, concretely, must be restored to the Palestinians.

We Albanians have our bitter experience in this direction. There are many similar events in the history of our people. The Albanian people were among the first fighters to resist the Turkish Empire. In the Balkan War they assisted the neighbouring peoples, the Greeks and the Serbs, against the Ottoman Turks, but when the time came for Albania to be liberated from bondage to «the sickman of the Bosphorus» all the neighbouring states, supported by the great powers of that time; Britain, Germany, France, Russia, etc., fell on our country to partition it. At the Ambassadors’ Conference held in London in 1913, when the borders of Albania were laid down, the Serbs took from us Kosova, a
big and very fertile piece of our territory, which they still have under their domination to this day. Montenegro also seized a part of our territory, and so did others. The appetite of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro was whetted. The Albanian territories which he seized with the aid of the imperialists did not satisfy him, so with the aid of the czar of Russia he tried to take Shkodra and the surrounding districts. But our grandfathers took up their rifles, fought with determination and saved this piece of the Homeland. In connection with this event, one of the diplomats of that time said that the czar of Russia wanted to set fire to Europe to cook Prince Nicholas' omelette.

We think that what occurred once upon a time with Albania is likely to occur with Palestine, too, when it comes to implementing the «Rogers Plan». When the present Foreign Minister of the Kremlin Gromyko, posing as the champion of the Palestinian people, like Sazonov\(^1\) in the past, begs the imperialists for 5 kilometres here and 7 kilometres there for the Palestinians, Rogers will repeat that Russia's Gromyko wants to set fire to the world to cook the omelette for Hussein or someone else. With this I want to say that the «Rogers Plan» for the so-called peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question must be combated tooth and nail, because it is to the detriment and against the interests of the Arab peoples and of the Palestinian people in particular.

We love the small, long-suffering and valiant Palestinian people, because they are our brothers and we are convinced that their cause is just and will triumph. Although we, too, are a small people, we shall raise our voice loudly in defence of the cause of the Palestinian people and against the «Rogers Plan», which is very dangerous and in the interests of no one but the two big imperialist powers.

In our opinion, the decisive thing for the future freedom of your people is that you continue your just struggle, therefore strengthen your unity as much as you can, because in order to deceive you and to hinder you on your course, there will be no lack of all sorts of arrows, including allegedly theoretical ones, of every kind, directed at you especially by the Soviet revisionists, who while swearing black and blue that they are for the «liberation of the peoples», are «Leninists», etc., will try to persuade you to do as they say, in the first phase, that you must stop the war, must sign the agreement with the enemies, leaving you with the hope that they will examine the question of the Palestinian people in the future. But their first phase will have the aim of consolidating the positions of the state of Israel, which will make your position much worse later.

We tell you openly that we would consider the signing of such a compromise as the Soviet revisionists aim to achieve, very regrettable, because

\(^1\) Russia's foreign minister at the time when Albania's borders were being defined, in 1913.
it would make the just solution of the Palestinian question more difficult. This agreement envisages the recognition of the state of Israel for which the cliques of Ben Gurion, Golda Meir, the pirate Moshe Dayan, and others, have been fighting the Arab peoples since 1948 and even earlier. Now efforts are being made to have this problem signed and legalized through the UNO. The American and Soviet imperialists are pledged to this, are making efforts to achieve it, while the Palestinian people are still living in tents and receiving from UNO a handout of 500 grams of sugar and 300 grams of oil a month; one blanket every three years and must live under the «care» of one doctor for every ten thousand persons, etc. The Palestinians who show themselves ready to become supporters of this compromise, who make some speech against the interests of their own people, will be sent for a holiday to the United States of America, and might be even given a beautiful villa in Lebanon or another country, as a reward, etc.

The Soviet revisionists, also, will eulogize anybody who supports their policy, will praise him as a good, intelligent, capable person, give him a villa and a motorcar in Moscow, send him for a holiday to Yalta, etc. This is what they did with Larbi Buhali who lived far removed from the Algerian people and the struggle that they waged, therefore the Algerian people did very well that they shut him out. We, too, have gone through these phases with the Soviet revisionists, but we put them in their place, therefore the people sup-
ported us. If you are not linked with the people, and if you base yourselves on the enemies, it’s all over with you, you are finished. Those who hide themselves from the people cannot be communists. When the situation demands it, there are moments when the communists must remain in hiding, but when the situation changes, this clandestinity comes to an end. In any case and whatever the conditions of the struggle, the communists must always be linked and march with the people.

We are confident that things will not go smoothly in the Middle East, either for the Soviet revisionists or for the American imperialists, first of all because you Palestinians, as courageous, resolute and intelligent people, will not tolerate being for ever with your belongings on your backs. Undoubtedly you will encounter difficulties in your struggle, because King Hussein, like his uncle with his British adviser Lawrence, will continue to hatch up intrigues on the urging of imperialists and revisionists. Nevertheless, your cause will triumph, no one can crush the will of your people who are fighting.

We judge you from the stands you maintain and the activity you carry out. The activity of your leadership, following the blow Hussein and his clique wanted to strike you, seems to us correct. We have heard that Hussein was surrounded by the «Al-Fatah» troops but this organization adopted a patient stand with which it calmed the situation and demanded that Hussein remove his
prime minister and commander-in-chief. This was one of the first tests during which we think that «Al-Fatah» judged things correctly, otherwise the situation might have become worse. But even if the situation had become worse we believe that you would have known how to act. And if more favourable circumstances had been created and it seemed as if everything had been achieved, you Palestinian fighters would not have relaxed but, on the contrary, would have kept your vigilance constantly at the necessary level. No situation would have found the Palestinian fedayeen, who have always kept the rifle in hand, unprepared. In these conditions, neither Israel, the Soviets, nor anyone else, would be able to harm you. With their resolute struggle the fedayeen of «Al-Fatah» will not go on much longer carrying the blankets from UNO, but, in unity with the army and the people of Jordan, will raise high the banner of the Arab people's liberation struggle, will triumph over the imperialists and Israel and, through their struggle, will certainly succeed in liberating their homeland, a real homeland, in which they can live, and then, your many friends throughout the world will hail your victory.

We are sure that you yourselves follow events vigilantly, therefore we consider it unnecessary to try to teach you lessons to show you how the people's freedom is won. We want to tell you only that when we were in conditions similar to yours today, we bore in mind that one must not retreat over matters of principle which have been well thought out, but must act courageously to apply them in practice.

We have never been afraid of the threats which the enemies have made and are still making against us. Since they secured their freedom, the Albanian people have fought with determination for decades on end and that is why they have emerged stronger from every battle and have made the borders of their Homeland inviolable. Without this determination of the people we would have been overthrown by the enemies. Today, too, we are ready, as always, to withstand whatever kind of war the enemy might undertake against us, whether from the social-imperialist Soviet Union, revisionist Yugoslavia, monarcho-fascist Greece, fascist Italy, the United States of America, or all of them, and this has tempered us, made us stronger, made us impregnable, otherwise we would have been gobbled up long ago. The enemy is perfidious. He might attack Albania, but you can be sure, comrades and brothers, that he won't come out of it without being badly mauled by our country. He might attack somewhat more easily when he is convinced that the object of his attack is ready to hoist the white flag, that is, to submit. But the enemy is afraid to do anything against us, because he is well aware that it will not be easy to come out alive from the adventure which he might undertake.

The enemies are pursuing similar tactics and aims with you, too, but it is difficult for them to achieve their aims, because they have to reckon
with the unity of the fraternal Arab peoples which constitutes a very important factor. Many chiefs of the Arab countries need to keep this in mind. Like it or not, when the masses of the rank-and-file Arabs see that their Palestinian brothers are being killed, they will not remain indifferent, but will come to your aid. In this case they will ask the question: Why are our Palestinian brothers being killed, fighting the Israelis, the Soviets or the Americans? And undoubtedly, they will arrive at the correct conclusion that the foreign enemies have robbed them of their homeland, their freedom, their products and all their other wealth, are insulting them, violating their rights, etc., etc. Then Arab opinion will certainly build up powerfully and say: What are we doing? Why don't we all rise in struggle against the common enemy? A million or so Albanians in Yugoslavia suffer similar treatment, although they are on their own land. Whether Tito likes it or not, the Albanians who live in their free Homeland cannot fail to think about their brothers in Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia, whom the injustice of the past has left outside the Albanian state borders, cannot fail to raise their voice in support of the efforts which the Albanians in Yugoslavia make to retain the purity of their Albanian language, to have an overwhelming majority of Albanians in the organs of power and not Serbs and others, to put an end to the savage persecution by Serb chauvinists, etc., to stop the emigration of Albanians from their national territory, and many other problems of this nature.

For our part, we have never remained indifferent to the events concocted in Yugoslavia to the detriment of our brothers of Kosova. On the contrary, we have exposed them continually to Albanian and world opinion to the point that, now, at last, Tito has been obliged to grant some rights to the people of Kosova, who have never lost their national sentiments and never will do so. Let him try to refuse to give the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia their due rights, this will be so much the worse for the Titoite regime and we, from free socialist Albania, will never be silent about this as long as these rights are denied our brothers on the other side of our state border.

Perhaps I have spoken too long, but this is because we do not often have the chance to meet you.

_Taking the floor, the leader of the Palestinian delegation among other things said:_

These things we heard from you we consider valuable and profound lessons, which are the result of great and lengthy experience.

On this occasion please allow me to convey greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the «Al-Fatah» and «Al-Asifa» movement of Palestine to the Albanian comrades. The Palestinian people have always followed the struggle of the Albanian people under your far-sighted leadership, with sympathy. Therefore we consider this talk with you a great school which will greatly assist our organization and leadership.

During our visit to your country we have
found your people to be sincere friends, who nurture sympathy for our people and support our struggle unreservedly. We have seen in Albania that your wise leadership has made it possible for the Albanian people to understand the struggle which we are waging correctly and to support it. We are convinced that your support for the Palestinian people is great and when we return we shall make known to our comrades everything that we have seen and learned from you, although even without having come to Albania, our comrades were aware of the love which your people nurture for our people, but from now on, they will regard your support as a tangible truth. We are convinced that your support will be continuous. For our part, we give you our word, the word of a comrade and a fighter, that as long as we are alive, we will never give up the armed struggle.

At this very moving moment, Comrade Enver Hoxha rose to his feet, embraced the leader of the delegation and shook hands warmly with the other Palestinian friends present.

You are absolutely right, continued Comrade Enver Hoxha, this is the only road to peoples' liberation, comrades and brothers, especially for the heroic and fraternal Palestinian people. We are confident that your people will liberate themselves. Therefore, in the name of the Party and the Albanian people, I assure you once again that in Albania you have and will have an unwavering loyal ally and friend in both good and difficult days. We shall always assist the fraternal Palesti-
theless, it is still threatened by the imperialists, the Soviet socialimperialists and their minions.

However, we never forget that we are not isolated, therefore we closely link the struggle and victories of our people with the struggle and efforts of other fraternal peoples who are fighting for the same objectives, among whom are the Vietnamese people, the African peoples, the Arab peoples, and especially the Palestinian people. We are convinced that the final victory will be achieved, but we know, also, that while we are fighting, along with victories, there will also be temporary defeats; under which genuine revolutionaries do not give way.

The exploiters still ruling in the world, wherever they are, are nothing but a few cliques which will be buried by the peoples’ liberation wars. We consider every struggle which has as its aim the liberation of any people our struggle, and likewise we consider each of their victories and defeats ours. When we see that the Arab peoples are fighting, here in Albania we feel ourselves strong. Likewise, when the Soviet revisionists, the American imperialists, or other enemies, try to quell the struggle of the Arab peoples, we feel that the danger to Albania is increased, too. Therefore the duty of genuine revolutionaries is to open the eyes of the masses in Europe and everywhere else, so they never fall asleep, into the beguiling lethargy of the false peace, false coexistence and false disarmament, concocted by the two great powers in order to quell the peoples’ revolutions and national liberation wars, which are a serious threat to them and that is why they make every effort to extinguish them.

The allies of national liberation wars and the main supporters of revolutions and national liberation wars are the socialist countries, in the first place. For all the reasons I stated above, socialist Albania, to the extent of its possibilities, basing itself unwaveringly on Marxism-Leninism, is with all the genuine revolutionaries and the peoples who are fighting imperialism and revisionism.

Misusing the name of Lenin, the revisionists have done great damage to the national liberation movements with their anti-Leninist theories. They are carrying out their undermining work through parties called «communist» which have degenerated into parties betraying the cause of the peoples. There is a party called «communist» in Jordan. I say this, because we know the Jordanian «communists» thoroughly and the secretary of that party Massar, who goes back and forth to Moscow all the time. In 1960, when Nikita Khrushchev began his attack on us, because we pointed out all the things he had done against Albania and the peoples’ national liberation wars, Massar abused us. Give the Palestinian comrades the speech delivered by the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the Meeting of 81 communist and workers’ parties in Moscow in 1960 if they want it1. I think

1 Comrade Enver Hoxha addresses the functionaries of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs present at this meeting.

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that this «communist» is urged by the Soviet revisionists to sabotage your people's struggle. To this end, in order to fight you in every way, he receives not only money but also weapons from your enemies. The chief of the Jordanian «communists» is even ready to assist King Hussein against you. Apart from this, when he sees that you are resisting, with the encouragement of the Soviets he will even try to create «Fedayeen» groups which, for purposes of deception, will spread propaganda that they are allegedly fighting for the liberation of Palestine, but which in reality will try to undermine your struggle.

THE PALESTINIAN FRIEND. We know that he has received weapons from Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. He openly defends the monarchic system prevailing in Jordan and the decisions of this party are to the liking of the existing regime there. Massar has created an organization with the name «Partisan» and fights against all our organizations for the cause of the peace plan concocted by the enemies.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Do you see how they operate? Under the call of Lenin, let us fight together with the Husseins. Our Party advises that we must always be severe with the enemies, but just and sincere with our friends.

...Comrades and brothers, as you yourselves have said, this is the first contact between us. In the future we shall have other, more frequent contacts. At present the situation is difficult for you, but the time will come when a better situation will be created for Palestine.

I stress once again, dear friends, that Albania, with what small possibilities it has, will spare nothing to support the struggle of the fraternal Palestinian people.

On behalf of the Party and the people, I wish you further successes, and that you will carry the course of the struggle you have begun through to the end, because this is the only way to salvation, the road to liberation. There is no other way. When there are no more imperialists and modern revisionists then genuine peace and real respect for small peoples such as yours will be established throughout the world.

Let us drink this toast to your health and the health of the fraternal Palestinian people!

Thank you very much for the talk. Convey my regards to your leader, Yasser Arafat.
THE SOVIET-GERMAN TREATY, A DANGEROUS PLOT AGAINST THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND THE WHOLE WORLD

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

August 22, 1970

The protracted bargaining between the Soviet revisionists and the German revanchists resulted in the signing in Moscow, a few days ago, of a pact bearing the simple title of «Treaty between the USSR and the Federal German Republic». In the Kremlin and Bonn there is an endless pealing of the bells to celebrate the «new turning-point» in Soviet-German relations and to praise to the skies the «realistic» and «salutary» policy of the Moscow chiefs and their West-German colleagues. The state leaders of the two countries, the diplomats, journalists, all the means of agitation and propaganda have been set in motion to convince others that the Soviet-German Treaty allegedly marks the «greatest historic event in Europe since the Second World War», that the «big reconciliation» between two great enemies has been achieved, that, at last, the doors to «eternal peace» have been opened to our old continent. They are striving to exploit the occasion to convince the peoples of Europe and the world that allegedly the two, greatest powers of Europe — the Soviet Union and Federal Germany, not only recognize the existing borders of all the countries of Europe as inviolable and solemnly pledge themselves not to resort to force against each other, but also become superguarantors, as Kosygin put it, «for the maintenance of peace and stability on the European continent».

Of course, if the new Soviet-German agreement is considered detached from the foreign and home policies of the two countries, if only the letter of the treaty and not its spirit is examined, then the many fine words we are now hearing from both Moscow and Bonn might be believed. But Europe has not yet healed the wounds resulting from its old illusions, it is still suffering too painfully from the consequences of the «solemn» promises and assurances of the past to allow itself to fall for new illusions like those of the thirties, to trust new empty promises and assurances.

Hitler had declared more than once that he would never attack other countries, indeed he had signed non-aggression pacts with almost all the countries he invaded, but when the time came he did not hesitate to annex Austria and occupy France, to gobble up the smaller European countries and attack the Soviet Union. The big European powers had publicly pledged in written and unwrit-
ten form that they would defend the "existing borders" of the European states with all the means they possessed, but when the time came for them to act, they approved the Anschluss and concluded the Munich Agreement, remained passive andouters towards the occupation of Albania by fascism, and so on.

Anyone who makes an impartial and realistic examination of the present-day international situation and, in particular, that of Europe, anyone who correctly appraises the foreign policy of the Soviet social-imperialists and that of the Bonn revanchists, cannot fail to arrive at the conclusion that the new Soviet-German treaty marks a new and extremely dangerous plot, directed not only against the European peoples but also against the peoples of the whole world. Viewed as a whole, this treaty is an agreement reached between the two new imperialist powers in the framework of the Soviet-American global strategy for the protection of their dominant positions and spheres of influence in Europe and, in particular, it reveals the attempts of the Soviet revisionists and German revanchists for the political and economic subjugation of European countries.

The solution of the German question, one of the most important key problems bequeathed by the Second World War and closely connected with the fate of our whole continent, has constantly preoccupied the peoples of Europe. They have watched all the positive and negative steps that have been taken during the past twenty-five years in this field with the greatest attention. In many respects the German problem has served, during this period, as a barometer to measure the rise or fall of the political pressure in Europe.

Now the question arises: Does the treaty concluded between Moscow and Bonn serve the just solution of the German problem and genuine security in Europe?

The agreement concluded in Moscow on August 12, as well as the numerous speeches and statements of the Soviet and West-German leaders, devoted to this event, never expressly mention or make even the slightest allusion to the need for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. Is this fortuitous? At one time Khrushchev and the leadership, which is in power today in the Soviet Union declared almost every day that the Soviet Union could not further delay the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and if those in Bonn were unwilling, they would conclude such a treaty with the GDR alone. At that time they said that everything was ready for this and that signing it would require only enough time to take out their fountain-pens.

Why have these gentlemen now "forgotten" this issue of such importance which was one of the fundamental problems of Soviet foreign policy? The fact is that, on the German question and on that of the peace treaty, the present-day Soviet leaders have completely capitulated to Bonn. They have accepted the situation of the accomplished fact with which they have been faced by the Western
powers and Federal Germany, that is, the recognition of the flagrant violations of the Yalta and Potsdam decisions, the negation of all the ideals for which the Soviet and the other anti-fascist peoples fought, the abandonment of hopes to eradicate German militarism and revanchism, the permanent source of war and aggression in Europe, once and for all.

The Soviet revisionists can deceive nobody and cannot create the illusion that the agreement they concluded with Bonn replaces the peace treaty with Germany. The question of the peace treaty with Germany does not concern only the Soviet Union. This is a key problem for all the European states that have fought against nazism. Hitlerite Germany was defeated by the big anti-fascist coalition, and a peace treaty should have been signed with Germany by all the states that participated in the anti-fascist war, as was done in the case of Italy.

Now defeated Germany is passing into history without having signed a peace treaty, and this crime which is being committed against the peoples of Europe and the whole of mankind, who suffered so much from nazism, is due, in the first place, to the United States of America, Britain and France that violated the joint decisions of the war-time allies, took the remnants of nazism under their protection and revived German militarism, embodied today in the Federal Republic.

The Soviet Union with Joseph Stalin at its head could not and did not accept such a crime, whereas the revisionist traitors with Brezhnev and Kosygin at the head are striving to rehabilitate Federal Germany, a defeated state which should have signed a peace treaty that would, of course, include restrictive clauses, and to free it of any obligation. Moreover, thanks to the Soviet revisionists and with their backing, it turns out that this Germany has become a «guarantor» of the borders of the European states.

This way of «resolving» the issue of the peace treaty with Germany is not the best, as Mister Kosygin claims. The true and just solution is the conclusion of a treaty with the participation of all the states of the anti-fascist coalition. No other agreement of whatever kind, whoever its signatories, can replace it.

The present stand of the Soviet leaders towards the German problem is a heavy blow to the interests of the whole German people, who wanted to get rid of the yoke of militarism and revanchism and set out on a really democratic and peaceful course, the course of rapprochement and co-operation with the other peoples of Europe. The treaty the revisionists concluded with Bonn does not strengthen the anti-fascist and democratic forces in Germany, but, on the contrary, by assuring the present-day ruling circles of Bonn of their aid and support, and moreover, by issuing them a political «good conduct certificate» at such an international level, justifies and sharpens their reactionary revanchist and expansionist appetites.

The creation of the German Democratic Repub-
lic was a great victory for the entire German people, an event of historic importance for all the peoples of Europe. The efforts of the Germans themselves, of all the anti-fascist and progressive peoples in the world, of all the peace-loving and progressive forces, for the recognition of the GDR as a sovereign state with full rights, in the first place by the Federal German Republic and by the other Western states, have shown that the solution of this problem has been and remains the key to the solution of the German question. The recognition of the German Democratic Republic has been rightfully considered an issue closely connected with ensuring genuine peace in Europe and with opposition to the aggressive plans of the imperialist powers, including Bonn.

Now with the agreement concluded in Moscow, the Kremlin chiefs are stabbing the GDR, its political position, its name and international prestige; in the back. In the Moscow-Bonn talks and in the latest Soviet-German treaty, the German Democratic Republic has been treated by both sides, not as an independent and sovereign state in the affairs of which nobody has the right to interfere, but as a country for which other powers and states can decide, dictate and impose this or that joint decision. It is considered by the Soviet revisionists an object to do a deal over with their partners from Bonn, a Soviet estate with which the Kremlin can act as it pleases, keep it for itself, sell it, rent it out, impose this or that internal or international political status on it, close or open its borders, etc.

Until recently the Soviet revisionists were making full recognition of the GDR, from the international viewpoint, by the FGR, a pre-condition for the conclusion of any agreement with Bonn. They were swearing that no results would be achieved in the Soviet-German talks if Bonn would not definitely renounce its claim that it represents the whole of Germany, if it would not abandon its policy of «the unification of Germany», that is, of swallowing up the GDR. No trace of this premise remains in the treaty. The Moscow propaganda seeks to justify this capitulation of its bosses by claiming that the Soviet-German agreement says that the sides also regard the border between the Federal German Republic and the German Democratic Republic as inviolable.

In fact this muddled formulation of the treaty cannot conceal the reality. The fact remains that the Federal Republic does not recognize the GDR, that it continues to pose as the sole representative of the whole German nation and to consider the German Democratic Republic a territory which has been left temporarily outside its border, but which it will find the proper time and means to «take» within its territory. This political line and official stand of the Federal government towards the GDR was publicly endorsed by the Soviet revisionists when they accepted as an official document and addition to the treaty the note sent by Bonn, on August 12, to the Soviet government,
expressing the so-called German desire to «work» for the peaceful re-unification of the two German states. As reported by the French news Agency, during the talks Gromyko declared that «the notion of the inviolability of the borders does not exclude a further amendment through talks.» «This,» the agency continued, «is important, because although such words do not figure in the text, they have been recorded in the minutes of the discussions and can be used for interpretations».

It remains a fact that while the Soviet revisionists have made great concessions to Federal Germany even before this, but especially with the present treaty, the other imperialist powers with the USA at the head do not even deign to recognize the German Democratic Republic and defend Bonn’s stand and aims towards it to the end.

All this open and behind-the-scenes bargaining between Moscow and Bonn shows that the GDR has been put up for sale by the Soviet revisionists. Will they sell it piecemeal or en bloc, denying its rights, discounting and humiliating it? This depends on a number of circumstances. But the fact is that while the Kremlin chiefs are very sensitive towards the «desires» of the Bonn revanchists, they are showing themselves utterly indifferent towards the desires of the GDR and of the whole German nation.

Although the Soviet-German treaty does not mention it, the West-German leaders have stated publicly that, in the Moscow talks, the Soviet government pledged itself to recognize Bonn’s «spe-
cial rights» over West Berlin. Indeed, some have even declared that the Soviets have already agreed to consider it an integral part of the Federal Republic. Moreover, the Soviet chiefs have undertaken to compel the GDR to make major concessions over the question of Berlin, which directly affect its integrity and sovereignty. This is another betrayal of the German people by the Soviet revisionists and overt encouragement of the revanchists of Bonn. Until quite recently the Soviet leaders were insisting on West Berlin being a separate territorial entity with an independent international status and that the question of relations between the two parts of Berlin was entirely within the competence of the GDR. How is it that they have now made a commitment to Bonn «to settle» the problems of Berlin, «to change» the existing situation? Where did they get this right? Their retreat from their previous positions on this question is another proof of the new plot being hatched up at the expense of the GDR by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique and the government of the Bonn revanchists.

The significance of the Soviet-German treaty lies not so much in what has been achieved today as in its later international consequences, in the roads it opens to the aggressive plans of Soviet revisionist imperialism and German revanchism. In the centre of Europe a new alliance of imperialists, a new ratio of forces, which sooner or later, will begin to see new «living space» to the detriment of the vital interests of other nations, and peace and security in Europe, is being formed.
The aim of the treaty is to sanction and preserve the spheres of influence of the big powers in Europe, while recognizing in advance their rights, and leaving their hands free to interfere. It is true that the treaty mentions the inviolability of borders, but this refers to the borders of spheres of influence, because as far as the other countries are concerned, they remain under the threat of the tanks of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Of what inviolability of borders can one speak when the Soviet revisionists implement the policy of «limited sovereignty» towards their satellite countries, or when under the Atlantic Treaty, the USA is allowed to interfere in the domestic affairs of its partners whenever it considers that a threat to their «political independence» or «security» has emerged? Can one speak of any inviolability of borders while Soviet and US troops are stationed in many European countries with the right to enter or leave as they please and are not subject to any control by the governments of the countries where they are stationed? Two years ago the Soviet revisionist troops occupied Czechoslovakia. Can it be said that they will not repeat such an action on another occasion, because the «commitments» they have undertaken under the Soviet-German treaty prohibit this?

On the contrary, the treaty makes clear that, for the time being, Federal Germany is giving the Soviet revisionists a free hand to act as they like on the other side of the Elba, although the Bonn revanchists will seek to undermine the revisionist empire through peaceful evolution.

Any bargain between imperialist wolves, hence this one between the Soviet revisionists and the German revanchists, too, cannot be concluded positively without mutual concessions. In return for the recognition of the Soviet revisionist domination in the East, Bonn secured Moscow's support for its economic and political expansion in Western Europe.

The Western bourgeois press voiced more openly the fear which political personalities expressed in veiled terms, namely, that the German-Soviet collaboration officially sanctioned and further strengthened by the new treaty, will give West Germany the possibility of gaining political superiority in addition to its economic superiority in the Common Market, turning it gradually into a dominant power in this region. They feel that Bonn's «new policy towards the East» and the radical change in the stand of the present Soviet government towards the German problem serve to strengthen German revanchism and the expansionist plans of the Soviet revisionists, and that the Soviet-German collaboration directly harms their national interests and peace in Europe. But, for the time being, they do not go beyond expressing their worries and reservations. Although not very remote history has shown that German militarism never stops midway, and the occupation of Czechoslovakia leaves no doubt whatever about the plans of the Soviet revisionists, the European bourgeois ruling cliques
think that German and Soviet revisionist aggressiveness can still be stopped by some political manoeuvres or by exploiting and playing on the existing contradictions. Thus, for example, many people in the West think that the Soviet-German aggressive collaboration can be coped with by maintaining the American influence and positions in Western Europe, while others see the means of dealing with this danger in the conclusion of a general agreement on «European security» in which the European states would formally commit themselves to respect one another. But in either case, the domination of the two great imperialist powers in their spheres of influence in Europe, would be sanctioned, leaving their hands free to exert pressure on the smaller, or economically and militarily weaker countries. On the other hand, without the adoption of effective measures no formal agreement would be able to prevent German expansion. Any European security that is not directed against American imperialism and Soviet revisionism, that does not oppose German revanchism, would mean not the security of Europe; but its enslavement.

The Soviet revisionists are now conducting a large-scale propaganda campaign to present their agreement with Brandt as an important step towards «European security». This is a big bluff and deception. With such slogans they want to distract the attention of the peoples of Europe from the real situation on their continent, to conceal the grave situation created by Moscow’s domination in Eastern Europe and to camouflage their aggressive plans in other areas of the world. By «European security» they mean their own security, ensuring peace on their flanks in Europe in order to concentrate on Asia and other areas to which their aggressive plans extend.

In many respects, the Soviet-German agreement conforms to the global policy of Washington. Like the Soviet revisionists, the American imperialists too, are seeking the preservation of their present-day positions in Europe, tranquility and peace with the Soviets, so as to transfer their attention to Asia where their aggression and expansion is concentrated at present. The easing or settlement of the German problem at least by sanctioning the present political status quo, if no more than that, is in the interests of the two imperialist powers and conforms to their strategy for domination of the world. The agreement concluded between Moscow and Bonn does not damage their spheres of influence in Europe, but on the contrary, legalizes them. Furthermore, it paves the way for the liquidation of the American-Soviet confrontation in Germany and Europe created historically, but which in the present conditions of the Soviet-American alliance becomes a hindrance to their joint aggressive plans.

Therefore, the peoples of Europe should have no illusions. They must not allow themselves to be hoodwinked by the fraudulent propaganda of the Soviet revisionists, Brandt and his American friends, just as they must not believe the capitulationists and all those who are spreading the false
hope that the Soviet-German rapprochement and new agreement will bring about detente and stave off the danger of war in Europe. History has already provided so many proofs, which it would be superfluous to mention, that appeasement of German revanchism and retreat before it have been disastrous for the peoples of Europe. In the past, in order to divert the aggressors from their own countries, many politicians have tried to turn them towards the East, even giving them their aid and support for this purpose. But it is a fact that the aggressors have never worried about «European civilization» and have destroyed Europe first of all. There is no doubt whatsoever that the aggressors, be they Americans, Soviet revisionists or others, will first subjugate Europe, deprive its peoples of their freedom and independence, and strangle any revolutionary and democratic movement. And in fact, the so-called European security is a step the American and Soviet imperialists are taking for the enslavement and «pacification» of Europe.

Peace on our continent can never be seen as separate from the world situation, from what is happening around us. How can there be security in Europe when aggression is taking place in the Middle East, when the American and Soviet troops are stationed in hundreds of bases in various European countries, when their fleets are prowling like monsters around the Mediterranean, when the American aggressors have spread the flames of war to the whole of the Indochinese peninsula?

Hotbeds of imperialist war have spread very rapidly even in the past, let alone now, when distances no longer count and isolation has become practically impossible. The only road of salvation for the European nations is to unite in the struggle against American imperialism, Soviet revisionism and German revanchism, to fight tirelessly to put an end to spheres of influence and all other forms of the American and Soviet revisionist domination over the European countries.

However much its authors may try to mitigate their contradictions and to draw imperialist gains; the Soviet-German agreement can never yield the desired results. It is true that it will heal some of the wounds of the revisionists and revanchists, but it will also open new ones, no smaller or less painful for them. The conclusion of the treaty cannot fail to increase the West-German penetration into the revisionist countries, and this cannot fail to weaken Moscow's domination over them. Thus far, the Soviet leaders have been using the card of German revanchism as a means to strengthen their domination over the satellite countries, to station their armies there, to preserve their economic domination in these countries, etc. Can the Soviet leaders prevent the revisionist cliques from broadening their «bridges» with West Germany and with the West in general, at a time when they themselves are doing such a thing? Will this not weaken Soviet influence, will the centrifugal forces not increase and give rise to new frictions and conflicts on this basis?
Following the Soviet-German rapprochement new developments will emerge in Western Europe, too. The strengthening of Bonn cannot fail to meet the resistance of its other partners, of all those who fear German supremacy, just as the fact that Bonn may begin to demand to play the role due to it on the basis of its position and strength it has in Western Europe, cannot fail to arouse concern in Washington. The reservations with which Paris, London and Washington, not to mention others, received the news of the agreement, are very significant.

Between imperialists there are always contradictions which never remain static but continually develop and deepen. Each of them seeks not only to preserve its positions, but also to strengthen them to the detriment of the others, every action of one is followed by a reaction of the others.

For the time being the Americans have reconciled themselves to the expansion of West Germany in the East, because they want to weaken the Soviet Union, both politically and economically. But this, on the other hand, cannot fail to lead to the strengthening of West Germany which, as the main NATO partner of the United States and the main striking force of this treaty, is taking advantage of America to increase its own economic, political and military strength. In these conditions, German imperialism cannot remain idle for long. One day it will try to settle matters by pushing someone aside. Therefore, there is no guarantee whatever that Federal Germany will remain indifferent in the future, leaving America in peace to dominate Western Europe as it pleases. Thus, new circumstances will be created, the ways to counter-actions and conflicts are open, and, in the future; we may become witnesses to unforeseen events.

As far as the Albanian people are concerned, they categorically reject the new imperialist agreement concluded between Bonn and Moscow and denounce it as a plot directed against all the sovereign states of Europe and the peoples of the world. Our people, as active participants in the war against nazism, will continue to fight for a just solution of the German problem and will resolutely defend the sovereign interests of the GDR from positions of principle. They will support and join the struggle of all the European peoples for the preservation of real peace and security in Europe against the perfidious plots of imperialists of every hue — whether Americans, Soviet revisionists or German revanchists.
THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, RELYING ON
THE MASSES, ENSURES THE FREEDOM OF THE
PEOPLE AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE
HOMELAND

From the talk with a delegation of the People's
Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville)

October 17, 1970

We consider your coming to Albania an
important event and hope that it will serve to
further strengthen the relations between our two
countries and help us become better acquainted
with one another. During our friendly visits, we
have possibilities to exchange views on any prob-
lem which interests us, both on juridical matters
and on international questions, about the social
movements in our countries, etc. The exchange of
experience between friends has great importance
and we Albanians consider it very necessary.

In the past, we, like you, have suffered greatly
from various occupiers and imperialists, who have
tried to leave us at the lowest possible level of
development with the aim of oppressing and ex-
ploring us more easily.

The whole history of our country has taught
us that to secure complete freedom for the people
and the independence of the Homeland we must
rely on the masses, because among them is the
strength, among them the revolutionaries find the
most correct opinion and judgement; among them
is the source of genuine progress; freedom, and
democracy. Therefore it is very important to recog-
nize and understand the indispensability, the great
necessity for links with the people.

We are conscious of the struggle and efforts
we have made and still have to make for the
freedom and independence of the Homeland, be-
cause the imperialists and their lackeys regard us
as a thorn in their flesh. In order to guarantee our
permanent and complete victory we have to wage
greater battles than we have waged up to now.
Between our two countries there are a number of
issues which bring us together, such as the strug-
gle against capitalist and imperialist oppressors.
This is a question of great importance.

Our efforts must be directed in support of all
those who, for known reasons, have remained poor,
without schooling and political education. It is es-
sential that the masses must be educated in order to
achieve such a level of development in their own
country, that they understand that the income
secured through their own toil and the sweat of
their brow should be returned to them and not go
into the pockets of capitalists. Proceeding from
this requirement, the duty devolves upon us to draw important lessons and make generalizations in order to find and light the ways which will lead our peoples to happiness.

Our Party is called the Party of Labour: It could have been called communist, as it was at the time of our National Liberation War. However, after Liberation, a great prospect of work was opened up to the Albanian people, not only for the construction of socialism but also for the creation of the new man who was to carry out this construction. That is why, after the Liberation of the country, we thought we should call our Party the «Party of Labour of Albania». This change was linked first of all with the social composition of the country which was reflected in the Party, too. The people, who until shortly before the formation of the Party were not very clear about what the revolution and communism were, against which the reactionary governments of the past, which we overthrew with revolution, carried out slanderous propaganda, approved this change. The Party with its tireless, patient work made clear to the masses what communism really represents. In our country day by day they became more clear about the struggle and efforts of the communists, who were not the representatives or sons of capitalists but sons of the people who fought, sacrificed themselves, and shed their blood for the interests of the people.

Immediately after its foundation, the Party called on the people to rise in struggle against the occupiers, but also to take power in their own hands in order to carry out economic reforms later, as well as other social reforms, for the overthrow of the feudal-bourgeois superstructure, to throw themselves into the struggle for the construction of our brilliant future, which became clear to all only after the people seized power, because only in these conditions does it become possible to commence the reforms. We seized power when the Second World War was still not over. After the victory we began to implement all those reforms; first of all, we liquidated the foreign concessions, took control of foreign trade, etc. I believe that you, too, are thinking about finding new ways to liquidate all foreign concessions.

We set about the reforms, but naturally not copying from any one. We began to build socialism according to our own concrete conditions, step by step and patiently, always taking care to ensure that the people understood that everything we did was for their good and for the good of the Homeland, because only in this way would they follow us.

Thus after Liberation, after the establishment of the people’s power, we did not demand that the peasantry carry out the collectivization of agriculture immediately. We did not proceed from what had been achieved up to that time in the Soviet Union, where collective farms and state farms had been set up, because we were convinced that our people had no knowledge of them and would not listen to us. First, we had to carry out the land
reform because, during their whole existence, our people had fought for a bit of land. The conditions in our country were that we had little land and many people. And the feudal chiefs had seized what little land there was. Hence, without fail, we had to give the land to the peasants. On this question we kept in mind the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which advises that one should not speak to the peasants about collectivization at the start, because it is impossible for them to understand this immediately. First, teaches Marxism-Leninism, you must give the peasant the land, give him what he has fought for, then, using the method of persuasion, you can go gradually further, and this is what we did. At first, through the land reform, we gave the peasants the land we confiscated from the feudal owners, the wealthy and all those who had collaborated with the occupiers. The Albanian peasant had dreamed of, fought, poured out his sweat and blood for this land. Likewise we also helped him so that he would no longer work it with the wooden plough as up to that time, but with steel ploughs with which the state provided him. And the peasant set to work enthusiastically to produce for himself and his own state. Later, after continuous educational work with the peasants by the Party, it became possible for the peasants themselves to understand the need for the construction of socialism in the countryside, the collectivization of the land and the other means of production.

For the construction of socialism we relied heavily on the youth. They are the most vigorous,

the most revolutionary, grasp the new better and more quickly, and understand Marxism-Leninism more correctly and profoundly, and this helps them to see their future more clearly.

In regard to cadres we had great problems at first, because there were very few of them, but now we have solved this problem with the best of our own people by showing special care for their training and boldly and courageously putting them in the key positions.

We also built up our legislation, as our comrades have already explained to you. We have made available to you in a fraternal way everything we have achieved in connection with legislation so that you see how we proceeded. In the course we have followed, perhaps we have made some mistakes, but we have corrected them, adapting our course to the different phases through which our country has passed, and we shall continue to make amendments as the new conditions of the socialist development of the country require this. Life dictates to us that corrections must be made continually in every field and on all those problems which do not conform to the reality created. For example, if we had done twenty years ago what we have done today in the field of legislation, that would have been madness.

When we have to solve a problem with which we are faced, we analyse it quite dispassionately and take our decision proceeding from the view of whether or not the issue is in favour of the people. This is how we think and act when the need arises.
to promulgate a law, which must sum up a real situation and respond to a given moment. It cannot be altered at will, or according to the opinions of this or that individual, the law must be the means with which the contradictions can be resolved, so that they do not become deeper. When a revolutionary regime exists, the law must be revolutionary, too.

That is the way we proceed and no obstacle or difficulty has stopped our march forward. Communists do not despair and are not afraid. We have had and still have difficulties and they will exist for us in the future, too. But without doubt we shall overcome them all. You may say that you still have illiterate people in your country. We do not know the state of education there, what phase you are in at present and the difficulties you are facing, but from our experience I can tell you that we too, have had great difficulties in this direction. Liberation found us with more than 80 per cent of the people illiterate. At first we had exceptional difficulties for school buildings and teachers, the material base of the school was very weak, but we set to work with a will, relying on our own forces. Today there are schools in every village of Albania and not with just one teacher, as we dreamed in the past, but with five, eight, or even more teachers. Now we have managed to establish compulsory 8-year schooling everywhere and we are struggling to make secondary schooling compulsory in the near future. Today we have also established our university which trains highly quali-

fied cadres to fulfil the needs of all sectors.

The Party taught us that we must make efforts to mobilize all forces to ensure the continuous advance of the country. On this course we encountered great difficulties and obstacles. First, we had here the Yugoslav revisionists, followed by the Soviet revisionists, who worked against our country. Now you have the Soviet revisionists in the Congo but, proceeding from the bitter experience of our relations with them, we cannot fail to tell you in a comradely way: Watch out! They are as dangerous as the other imperialists. We say this to you, because we have suffered the consequences of their perfidy on our own backs, and we can give you many examples to prove this. The Soviet revisionists are disguised, secret capitalists. In fact they have betrayed socialism.

The Soviet revisionists provide some «aid», but in according it they proceed from imperialist aims, whereas a socialist country proceeds from Marxist-Leninist principles in according aid, from just internationalist aims. Hence the difference is like night and day. Although the aid of genuine friends is always aid, it is not decisive for the independence and the economic construction of a country. Our people have a wise saying, «You cannot maintain the household on borrowed flour». This means that, regardless of the aid which friends accord a country, only its own people, the masters of the country with their own toil and sweat, can lift it out of backwardness. The history of the National Liberation War of our country proves this, too.
During the Second World War, the Soviet army led by Stalin did heroic deeds and made great sacrifices, gave brilliant proofs of its internationalism and struck the mortal blow at the German invaders. But if we had not fought ourselves, if our Party had not been strong and unwavering, we would not have achieved the triumph of the complete liberation of the Homeland.

In Greece, too, there was a powerful communist party which had achieved sound positions in its own country during the war. However, because of the existence of different currents in its ranks and the mistakes of its leadership, it lost the positions it had won. Some may say that Greece did not win because the Red Army never set foot there, but the Red Army of Stalin did not come to Albania either. Nevertheless, we were liberated and liberated with our own forces. Otherwise new invaders would have occupied our country, as the imperialists of the West, the British and others, did with Greece. The sincere aid which the Soviet Union gave us in the time of Stalin would have been without effect, would not have yielded those results we have achieved, and we would not have had this level of development we have today, if we had not worked ourselves. With this I want to say that aid of whatever kind, still remains aid. Hence the decisive thing, both for our country and any other, is not the aid of friends, but above all the tireless work and the struggle which the people, led by a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, wage in defence of their victories and the construction of a happier life.

It is our heartfelt wish that within the shortest possible time the friendly Congolese people, too, will make their country prosperous, throw off all their remnants of obscurantism and any influence from imperialism, and bring to light all the great values of their national culture, as well as the values of the cultures of the other peoples, a thing which has very great importance.

According to the very limited knowledge I have about the history of your country, I know the culture of your people is ancient and extensive. As far as I know, the Bantu were a big people who occupied a very extensive territory and had and ancient culture. With a genuine revolutionary spirit, with a profound love and tireless work for the development of your culture, all the values of the ancient culture of your people will be raised to a higher level. If the colonialists have left any of the works of the ancient culture of your people standing, they have done this simply for their own advantage and in no way to bring out its great and ancient values.

To use a legend of our people, when «God» created the world, he gave Albania, our small country, more mountains and rocks than plains, but when the people with the Party of Labour at the head took power, they found very great wealth hidden there. In order to exploit this wealth in favour of our people and the Homeland, one of the most important problems, indeed of extraordi-
nary importance, is the maintenance and strengthening of the people's power and the unity of the people round the Party. Without creating this unity, the state power cannot be safeguarded and strengthened and the happy future cannot be built. Unity can be created only when it is based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, properly understood and applied, according to the specific conditions of the country.

It must always be borne in mind that the principles of Marxism-Leninism must be understood and applied correctly in any given situation by the masses. Of course, during efforts to put a principle into practice, debates may be held in order to open the way to its true implementation or for other purposes. If at a given moment obstacles to the implementation of the principles are encountered, then the debate must be opened again, with the aim of ensuring that the principles are applied to the end. A matter of special importance is that before a principle is applied, those who are to put it into practice must be convinced themselves, and then after the decision is taken, it must be applied with great precision. In this direction, as in every other direction, the Party demands iron discipline. The militant of the Party must be such that he can lead the masses correctly and clearly in any situation. It is essential that he is in the vanguard in every task and carries out to the letter every decision which is taken. If he acts otherwise, this leads to the destruction of the Party and in this case it will be like what happened with the revisionists, who have driven their parties into degeneration.

In our country at present, in the factories, plants, institutions and other work centres, the new plan for the coming five-year period is being discussed. This will be a big five-year plan, because very important new projects, such as factories; plants, combines etc., will be built. In connection with the plan, we have envisaged the building of a series of projects for the functioning of which we have the raw materials in the country, such as copper, chromium, iron-nickel and oil. Now we are prospecting for new deposits, especially for oil.

As always, during this five-year plan too, we shall devote special attention to the ideological education of the masses.

We hope this will not be the last visit you make to our country and we assure you that our people will go to your country.

The Party instructed our comrades, from the start, to provide the Congolese delegation with all the necessary facilities and explanations.

THE CONGOLESE FRIEND: Thank you very much for your very warm welcome, for the things you explained to us and the great encouragement you have given us. We are going home from the visit we have made to your country with exceptionally great impressions. We have been astounded by the successes Albania has achieved during these 25 years of liberation. I want to assure you that the People's Republic of Albania is regarded very
highly in the Republic of the Congo. Now there remains nothing more for me to say except that both today and in the future, our two countries will march shoulder to shoulder with each other.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* I too, want to express the love of our people for the Congolese people and to assure you that our country and people will always support them in their just struggle and efforts.

Thank you for coming to Albania and the good words you said about it. I wish you a good journey and hope that we see you again!

**WE MUST FIRMLY OPPOSE THE Reactionary Tactics of the Capitalist AND Revisionist Bourgeoisie WITH OUR REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS**

*From the talk with a member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP (M-L) of India*

*November 14, 1970*

Thank you very much for undertaking such a long journey and coming to meet us and talk with us here in Albania. We are a small country in Europe and members of a Party which is also small; you can appreciate what a great need we have for consultations with our comrades from other Marxist-Leninist parties.

We have a great and sincere love for the great and ancient Indian people whose rich history extends over many centuries. Your people have played an important role in the history of mankind and we think that both now and in the future they will play an even greater role in the revolution.
Evil has come to your people from our continent, Europe, which is still the cradle of imperialism and colonialism. Not only have the French, British and other imperialists emerged from Europe, but their successors, who established themselves in North America, where the USA, the most ferocious imperialism in the world exists today, also have their origin here.

Now the times have changed greatly to the detriment of imperialism and colonialism and in favour of the peoples and the revolution. The enemies of the peoples are in a great crisis, while the revolution is steadily mounting. We shall continue to fight harder and harder against the imperialists, because the imperialist enemies, the bourgeoisie and reaction never lay down their arms peacefully or in a parliamentary way, as the modern revisionists preach. Lenin, as the immortal theoretician and thinker of the world proletariat, teaches that we must fight with all our strength against imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie. Between us and them there is not and there can never be peace.

In Europe, the revolution and socialism have triumphed and continue to triumph only in little Albania. The revolution had triumphed elsewhere, too, such as in the Soviet Union and some countries of Eastern Europe, but later counter-revolution was carried out there and capitalism triumphed again as in all the other countries of the world where the bourgeoisie is ruling. Are the Marxist-Leninists going to permit all the peoples of the world, the world proletariat and the heroic peasantry in all the countries that are languishing under savage capitalist exploitation, to be deceived? No, they can neither tolerate nor permit this. In this direction we can take as an example the sufferings of India where hundreds of thousands of people die every year as a result of savage capitalist exploitation. Let Brezhnev, Kosygin and company prattle as much as they like that allegedly socialism will triumph in India in a peaceful way, but the situation in your country cannot be altered without struggle. The Indian proletariat and the peasantry cannot wait for Indira Gandhi and the Maharajas, and their sons and daughters to voluntarily hand over the land and the keys to their treasure stores. Let Brezhnev, Kosygin and company or their successors shout as much as they like that allegedly the Soviet Union, as a great force, will change the future of the world! No, only the peoples, the revolution launched arms in hand on the road which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us, will change the future of the world. Nothing can be changed with words as the revisionists pretend. With words alone, the Nixons and all the capitalists can go on living as long as they like.

Now, after all this diversion which the Soviet revisionist traitors have created for the revolution, the situation has become somewhat more difficult. For example in India, apart from the support which they give the reactionary government of Indira Gandhi and the Indian bourgeoisie, with their betrayal, the revisionists have disorientated
the former communist party and split it into three parts of which two are not Marxist-Leninist, although they call themselves such, while only the third part, your party, takes a Marxist-Leninist stand.

Faced with the revisionist betrayal, we Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries must stand firmly in revolutionary Marxist-Leninist positions, because only on this road we will be able to overcome the attacks of imperialism, Soviet revisionism and social-democracy equipped with all kinds of lies, «theories», trickery and other such things. We shall withstand their attacks, because we are revolutionaries, because we are guided by the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, the most advanced ideology of mankind, which represents the desire of the most revolutionary masses of the peoples: the working class and the peasantry.

We must go into battle in an organized way because this has great importance for us. Benefiting from the experience of all the Marxist-Leninist parties and the world proletariat, our Party has faced up to the enemies and has triumphed over them in struggle only by being organized and by closing its ranks firmly in a steel unity of thought and deed. While we, today, are a granite wall built on the foundations of our revolutionary ideology, the revisionists are like a wall of mud bricks. They are like a basket of crabs tearing at one another.

The Indian proletariat and the Indian peasantry, hundreds of millions strong, hungering for food and thirsting for land through the centuries, have fought consistently against the British, against the reactionary Gandhi ideology of «passive resistance», against the Maharajas and their government, and today are going ahead like a steam roller which is growing bigger and bigger to flatten the enemies and to smooth the road to the future over which the Indian people will pass.

The history of our people, your people and all peoples of the world teaches us that our forefathers have fought against oppressors, but their uprisings have always been crushed, because each people lacked the main thing, an unyielding leading staff, a strong and capable party, such as the Marxist-Leninist party, the only party that can lead the people resolutely to victory. In the view of our Party, the Marxist-Leninists of the world must bear this lesson of history in mind in order to be able to exert all their strength to create and consolidate their Marxist-Leninist parties in the heat of the struggle and according to the real conditions of each country.

For the creation of genuine communist parties, it is important to take account of the concrete, internal and external conditions of each country, recognizing that the internal factor is decisive, while the external factor, however important, remains only an auxiliary factor. The revolution will certainly be launched by the revolutionary masses in each country; it will triumph if it is led by the Marxist-Leninist party, otherwise even if independence is won, the social liberation of the
working people cannot be achieved and not the people, but anti-popular bourgeois governments, will govern the country.

If the Albanian people themselves had not fought under the leadership of their Communist Party, even if they had won a certain independence without this party, still they would have remained under the yoke of a monarch. The Albanian people fought, won and took power in their own hands, because they had their own Communist Party at the head. The Soviet army helped us, although not a single Soviet soldier entered Albania; this aid was an external factor of great importance, but if we had not fought ourselves, we would not have had socialism in Albania today, because there were external forces prowling around, intending to enslave our people again, such as the British and American imperialists, the renegade Tito, etc., all of whom we have fought hard and never bent the knee to.

With precisely this decisive factor in mind, the present Soviet revisionism is making every effort to fight the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of India today, that is, to fight you, because it is your party which will organize the proletariat and the peasantry and lead the whole Indian people in revolution, basing itself on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In India you are employing different ways of struggle in many directions and you will certainly triumph, because you are not alone. All those who are fighting the forces of imperialism, the Soviet revisionists and their minions, are with you.

As far as we know, your party has laid its foundations and at present is operating in many places through actions against the big landowners and the wealthy. I repeat, we are speaking from what we know from outside, nevertheless we think that the course your party has chosen is correct. The Indian peasantry, which is very poor, has no possibility to see and judge the secret machinations of the Delhi government which is very remote from the people, but everyday it sees clearly and feels on its own back the heavy yoke of the big landowner who takes the food from it and leaves it to die of starvation. When the land is seized from the landowner and given to the peasant, he is convinced that this is the road that must be followed and understands what great strength the people have to resist the violence, not only of the landowner, but also of the reactionary government and its army.

We communists, following the Leninist principles, are against individual acts of terror, because we are aware that killing one person does not harm the bourgeoisie which easily replaces him with another, just as suitable or even more suitable than the former. We communists work and struggle with a decided program, not to kill individuals, but to get rid of the bourgeoisie as a class, in order to seize political, economic and military power from its hands.

You know this yourselves, but from our experience of life we can tell you that the bourgeoisie tries to strike fear and panic among the masses by means of force and attacks, with the aim of oppres-
sing them more and more and paralyzing any movement among them. When we began the war with actions in the cities, the Albanian people were greatly invigorated. It is not their custom to be cowardly, indeed valour is part of their tradition, because they have always lived rifle in hand and have struck merciless blows at their enemies. However the occupiers imposed a great terror in our country by means of their armed forces. At the beginning of the occupation, in order to implant panic; the reactionaries spread rumours such as, Italy is a great power with 45 million people, therefore it is impossible for us to rise against it, etc. But as soon as we began the first actions in the middle of the cities, the news spread like an electric flash among the people. Then we distributed leaflets. We formed the first guerilla units which carried out actions every night, continually, all over the country, such as burning the enemy’s stores, cutting telephone and power lines, killing dangerous, branded spies and traitors, and so on, stepping up the intensity of the fight organized and led by the Party. In this way the people gradually began to become conscious of their strength and the justice of their cause and increased their participation in the fight. Every home of the poor became a nest of fighters. Thus the enemy’s slogan that we were allegedly unable to fight a big state like fascist Italy was smashed to smithereens.

However, we always kept in mind the problem that one must go into battle in an organized way. The Party tried to explain this thoroughly to the people. Hence we always had in mind that we must be well organized and that, in the first place, the members of the Party must be organized and conscious of what they were to do. To this end, to make conscious all those comrades who did not understand the line, we used Marxist conviction, first of all. However, faced with the war, the attacks and the danger from the enemy, we did not waste too much time on these people. When they did not march with the Party, we left them to follow the war outside the ranks of the Party. The army, the Front, the youth and the women were firmly united around the Party, which was the spearhead. The problem was to attack the enemy on all fronts in an organized way and with planned measures. I am not raising the question of fighting on all fronts, as the main issue, but first of all the problem that it is essential that the whole people oppose the enemy with full consciousness.

From the experience of the Marxist-Leninist parties and our Party, I can tell you that the enemies have always tried to attack the party and, first of all, to attack the leadership and unity of the party, while during the war, to attack the most courageous people. Then the enemy’s arrows have always been aimed at the organizations of the masses to disrupt their mobilization by launching harmful propaganda slogans based on old philosophical concepts, in order to confuse the masses in all possible ways, to arouse panic among the people and to cause the failure of the party’s work. Here is an example. In the past the majority of Albanians were of the Moslem
faith, nevertheless the overwhelming majority of
them took part actively in the war. Then, in order
to smash their unity in the fight under the leader-
ship of our Communist Party the fascists and the
local traitors committed provocations, trying to
exploit the religious feelings of the masses. You
know that the Moslem religion calls the raising of
pigs a sin. Exploiting this, the reactionaries smug-
gled pigs into the mosques by night and next day
said to the peasants, «Look what the communists
have done». Thus, the enemies used everything to
achieve their aims.

Today the modern revisionists, too, have
learned such base, counterrevolutionary tactics and
pursue them towards the genuine Marxist-Leninist
parties. You are experiencing these things to your
cost, because in India you have two parties op-
posing you, that of Dange and that of the new re-
visionists, who camouflage themselves with slogans
very dear to the genuine communists and the
masses, such as «Long live Lenin, Marx, Engels!»,
etc. They use such slogans all the time and we
should not be surprised if they bring out others,
too. We know their tactics, because we have re-
visionists here, in Europe. But all their manoeuvres
and traps will be short-lived, because they are all
the offspring of capitalism and imperialism in
decay, which is dying, while no sophistry or deceit
can stand up to our ideology, which represents the
new.

We know that the struggle of the proletariat
led by the party has exceptionally great importance,
as Marx and Lenin teach us, but I think this is
especially so in India. I do not know this concretely,
but I assume that the Indian proletariat must be
very oppressed, must suffer greatly and therefore
you must have a great field for revolutionary
action.

There are great possibilities of work to or-
ganize the struggle, to wage a co-ordinated struggle
in both town and countryside. We know today that
imperialism and world capitalism have concen-
trated their forces wherever there are the greatest
assets. However, that is precisely where there is
greater exploitation and, consequently, greater re-
istance. No doubt, the reactionary Gandhi govern-
ment dispatches the police to the villages, but it is
impossible for it to disperse all the forces of re-
pression it possesses over the whole of India. Thus
the possibility exists for your party to organize the
peasantry, too, and to strike a blow at reaction in
your country from the direction of the coun-
tryside. Of course, when you have organized the
forces in the cities, too, then the blow can be struck
from the two sides, and in these conditions the
bourgeoisie and the feudal lords will be caught
between two fires.

But we must never forget for one moment that
from the nature of his work and his life the
peasant is a petty-bourgeois who, when he gains
something, is satisfied with that and goes no
further. He is content once he gets a bit of land.
If you glance at the history of the peasant upris-
ings in Europe, you will see all the ebbs and flows
of these uprisings, and they have failed precisely
for the reason I stated, whereas the proletariat is
quite different. It carries the revolution through to the end, because, as Marx says, it has nothing to lose but its chains. The proletariat knows that the factories and the state power must be seized, and to achieve this, the old state power of the bourgeoisie must be overthrown. Our Party kept this principle in mind and faithfully carried it out in theory and in practice. There were not many workers in our country, because industry scarcely existed, there were only a few small factories and workshops, therefore the working class was small, whereas the peasantry made up the overwhelming bulk of the population. Nevertheless, right from the start, we made the essence of our doctrine clear to our patriotic and militant peasantry, educated them with our proletarian ideology, therefore they were with the Party, joined us in the partisan units and we made them think like proletarians. True, they fought for the land, but they understood that they must also fight for state power as well as for the land, because in this way the bourgeoisie and the occupiers would be defeated and they could be sure of the land they had won. Of course, your party, too, bears in mind this Marxist teaching, because our two parties have the one ideology.

The question of how to act with the trade unions is another important and difficult problem for you and for all the new Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe which have been set up in countries like Italy, France, Austria, Germany, etc. In those countries, pretty well the whole working class is included in the bourgeois revisionist and reformist trade unions. The capitalists have long and great experience of working with these unions, they have entangled the worker in a host of different laws: on economic treatment, social insurance, pay rates, and so on, so that the working class of our continent does not move outside the rules which these trade unions have established and is afraid of individual isolation, because, if a worker sympathizes with and joins the Marxist-Leninist party, the capitalist employer sacks him and the existing unions led by the bourgeois and revisionist parties do not defend him.

Now the problem of the trade unions is a problem which every Marxist-Leninist party must study thoroughly, must think about how to get around this situation, how to break through this barrier and make the working class conscious so that it will not be deceived by the bourgeois trade unions, the imperialists and the revisionists. This is a very important problem. The question that arises now is whether to work from within the existing unions, or to create our own new unions which will be in militant revolutionary positions and must not fall into the positions of social-democracy either in the political struggle or in the economic struggle. Here in Europe, in the West, it seems as if political and economic struggle is being waged, but in fact, what goes on in the ranks of the trade unions is bargaining between the bosses of these organizations, the worker aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. Even the so-called demonstrations which are held are only to support their negotiations.

Of course, for us the question of the struggle
which we have to wage is not put forward in this way. We are for a political and economic struggle by the working class, of course, going beyond the bounds of rules and laws imposed by capital. If we are able to lead this struggle from outside this will be very good, if we are able to lead it from within, without falling into the positions of the capitalists and social-traitors, this, too, is not wrong, but if we can lead it from outside and, at the same time, have our forces inside, then we will defeat the reformists and revisionists, etc., and strengthen our positions in the ranks of the working class.

The victory always depends on the proletariat, therefore it is essential that we make it conscious of its historic role so that it understands ideologically and politically the role of its strength as a class, so that it understands theoretically that it is facing a savage enemy, capitalism, and all its organs of repression, so that it understands that only in unity, united around a party with a clear program of struggle, firmly guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, is it able to face up to cunning enemies of every ilk.

Therefore, I think this problem must be studied. Sometimes we have talked about such problems with the comrades of Marxist-Leninist parties who have come to our country, but we ourselves are unable to say how this work should be carried out, because everyone knows the situation in his own country better than anyone else. Our duty is simply to exchange opinions.

In order to prolong their existence, the capita-
talists and revisionists employ all kinds of forms and tactics in conformity with the situation and the ideo-political level of the working class. In Germany, for instance, a new tactic is being used. What tactic? Appeals are being made to the workers to take part concretely in the "management" of capital. Wherever the capitalists want to build a big iron and steel plant, efforts are made to get the workers to participate in buying shares, but the overwhelming majority of the shares belongs to the capitalists, such as the big capitalist, Theissen, who may employ tens of thousands of workers in his enterprise. Then to avoid workers' strikes and demonstrations he puts 95 per cent of the shares in his own pocket and distributes only five per cent among the workers. Formally, the workers have the right to send their representatives to the administrative council of this enterprise in numbers proportionate to the shares they possess. But how are these representatives appointed and who are they in fact? They are the representatives of the worker aristocracy and the operations are manipulated on the basis of the 95 per cent, and in this way decisions are taken in an allegedly "democratic" way, some occasional favour is granted the workers, fiery debates are held and sometimes even a "passive strike" in order to give the impression that something is being done, whereas in reality, everything has been decided at the outset by the owner of this enterprise, he decides how much he will give the workers. That is how they are operating in Germany. We know this tactic but there could be others, too.
After the events with the students in May 1968 in France, De Gaulle, too, wanted to adopt a similar tactic. French monopoly capital was somewhat shaken by all those powerful demonstrations which were held in France at that time. De Gaulle tried to carry through such a reform but the owners of capital did not accept it. Then he threatened them that he would resign and that is why he organized the referendum, having forewarned the people that if they did not vote for him he would retire. In these referendum manoeuvres, the present-day president of France, Pompidou, played a role against De Gaulle, not openly of course, a role which brought about that De Gaulle did not receive the necessary number of votes to come out on the top once again and to implement the kind of reform I mentioned. In these circumstances De Gaulle resigned.

In your country for example, they made great use of Mahatma Gandhi who developed the idea of "passive resistance". In the conditions of India, your Marxist-Leninist party has a great role and we think that it takes account of the social experience and history of the workers' and peasants' movement of India, of the various states of your country, makes use of the experience of wars against the British and against the capitalists in general, because, in particular, there are and must be specific features that must be kept in mind, since the situation in one state has not been the same as in another, and the situation in one state today is not the same in another. Likewise all the problems of the world outlook must be kept in mind, taking account of religion, the level of economic and cultural development of each state, etc. The correct, consistent, revolutionary stand of the party results from the study of these special features and conditions and its strategy and tactics are defined on this basis. Unless I am mistaken, it is important that the strategy must be the same, whereas in regard to tactics, these can vary in different states at the same time, bearing in mind the conditions of each state or province. Your party could use one tactic in Calcutta, another in Bombay, and another again in Bihar, etc.

To say that what the PLA did in the conditions of Albania must be done everywhere is not right, this does not work. In solving the problems which arise for your party in your country, your judgement alone will be more correct, whereas our judgement may not be correct, because you have to be in India, to be thoroughly acquainted with the situation, have to know the state of affairs or the problem well, and then you can speak with competence.

Nevertheless to exchange experience with one another is very valuable. You may come to Albania whenever you wish and find it possible to do so and we shall welcome you as friends and comrades in the struggle.

Let us drink this toast to the friendship between our two parties and peoples in the struggle against the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, to the health of your leadership, to your health!

I wish you a good journey and au revoir! My best regards to all the comrades!
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